February 25, 1963

Mr. Robert W. C. Brown
International Research Associates, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Brown:

Mr. Rosenbaum came in last week and we enjoyed meeting him and discussing the study plans. We agreed, when he was here, that we would first prepare a list of informants to whom your questionnaire could be sent. This would have the double purpose of indicating to you how many questionnaires we thought we could handle, and the localities we would try to cover. With a short-handed staff (which we are right now) this has proved to be something that would well require, however, a little more time than we had thought last week. We would like to suggest now that you send us, whenever you have them prepared, 200 questionnaires. In the meantime, we shall be working up our lists and getting ready to mail out the forms. When wo do mail them, we shall give you accomplete list of those receiving them.

Thank you for the kind comments about the Council in your letter of February 21. I hope that

before this is over you may get down and we shall have a chance to meet.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MEMORANDUM

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1963

TO:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

February 21, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

By the time you receive this letter I'll be in Birmingham, a city which everyone in Atlanta has forewarned me ressembles a feudal town at the height of the dark ages. I don't know if these friendly warnings show that Atlantans are comparing the two cities in a detached cosmopolitan manner, or if, they are merely Atlantaphiles.

When you have determined the number of questionnaires you will need for local people and how many for state observers, please write directly to Robert Brown in New York and they will be sent to you.

In the covering letter that you said that you would send out, you could mention the following:

1) The study is sponsored by the American Library Association,

2) INRA, the organization conducting the research is an independent outfit.

3) All replies will be kept strictly confidential.

4) The questionnaires should be filled out and returned directly to INRA as soon as possible.

INRA will pay for all the mailing and postage costs.

Please give my special thanks to your assistant, Margaret Long, who helped set up the meeting with Mayor Hartsfield. I plan to contact the people you recommended in the various cities on my itinerary and I hope to be able to see you when I return to Atlanta to give you good news on my field work and glad tidings from your friends.

Sincerely,

Mike Rosenbaum

CC: Robert Brown

Mike Rosenbaum

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

February 11, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Advisory Committee for Access to Libraries Study

FROM: Robert W. C. Brown - INRA

SUBJECT: Report of Progress

This initial period since the first meeting of the advisory committee has been largely devoted to a study of the available literature and consultation with experts on the two main foci of the study: (a) the extent and nature of library resources and services, and (b) the denial of these resources and service to various sub-groups of the population. In addition, the various methods devised for the study in the first meeting of the advisory committee have been developed to the point of readiness for the actual field work. And, finally, we have determined that it will be possible to complete the study in time for the July meeting of the A.L.A.

The available literature of interest has been of three types, including:

. The background literature on library resources and services which is essential in determining the measures to be used to compare the facilities of one community with those of another. Invaluable documents on this aspect have been:

(a) The Library's Public, by Bernard Berelson

(b) Public Library Service, A Guide to Evaluation, With Minimum Standards, by the A.L.A., 1956

(c) Costs of Public Library Service in 1959, by the A.L.A.

. Studies directly concerned with the problems of denial of access to libraries, both to school children (as in the case of the Wilson Library Bulletin article of November, 1962) and to racial groups (as in the case of the United States Commission on Civil Rights 1961 Report on Education, which has a chapter on Southern libraries).

. Reports on the incidence on denials of equal access in particular communities. These reports, while often individually brief and unrevealing in content, have been invaluable when combined together in providing an indication

of the extent and degree of denials of access in various areas of the country. Reports of this kind have been available through the good services of various organizations interested in the field of civil rights, including the Anti-Defamation League, the NAACP, the Southern Regional Council, American Friends Service Committee, Southern Conference Educational Fund, CORE, and the Southern Education Reporting Service.

It should be gratefully noted that all of the above groups, and several other organizations as well, have been most cooperative in offering not only full access to the information they have available on areas of interest to this study, but also in offering their personal services insofar as they may be considered useful to the study.

In addition to studying the available literature, we have been developing the specific techniques to be used in the field work of the study. The core instrument of the study will be the questionnaire to be mailed to all library systems throughout the United States. A copy of the initial form of this questionnaire is enclosed. This questionnaire has been submitted to two types of testing. First, all five members of the advisory committee who live within the area of New York City and environs have been personally consulted as to the contents and phraseology of the questionnaire. All have given generously of their time and provided many valuable suggestions, which are being taken into consideration in the revision of the questionnaire. Secondly, the questionnaire has also been submitted to testing in the field.

The field testing was accomplished during a trip to a wide variety of communities in Virginia by my assistant and myself. While Virginia communities do not, by any means, exhaust the variety of conditions that are found throughout the South, they do provide a panorama of varying degree of access to public libraries. We found all those we contacted to be highly concerned with the problem of access to libraries and, on the whole, highly cooperative. During the course of the trip we talked not only with librarians, but also with Mr. Peter Sussman, director of state advisory committees of the U. S. Commission of Civil Rights, Elizabeth Cole, director of the Education Division of the Commission, Mr. Heslip Lee, director of the Virginia Branch of the Regional Council, and many other persons who were likely to have either special interest or expertise in the field of library access.

The design of the questionnaire involves several considerations of interest to the advisory committee. First, the questionnaire covers three areas of access: school children, persons speaking languages other than English, and the racial situation. It will be noted that the three topics are taken up in this order. It is hoped that both the order of the questionnaire and the manner of phrasing the questions will tend to bring about a greater

level of response than might otherwise be possible. It will be noted for instance, that several questions provide means for those whose libraries practice segregation to make positive responses. They can, for instance, cite laws or regulations that inhibit library freedom to change the pattern, even should the library itself desire to do so. Many valuable suggestions along this line have been received -- and here one should note particular thanks to Dr. Berelson for his extended consideration of this issue -- and are now being incorporated in the revised questionnaire.

It is our hypothesis that despite this care in the design of the questionnaire, a sizable number of librarians in the South will not answer because of the number of questions contained in it on the problem of race; it is far more difficult to establish good rapport with a mail questionnaire as compared with a carefully conducted personal interview. For this reason, we have also prepared a secondary questionnaire. This second questionnaire will be mailed to a variety of persons throughout the South who have volunteered to serve as reporters for the purpose of this study. Primarily, these arrangements are being made through various organizations which have branches and other representation through the South.

A third form of reporting will be used with certain other individuals, who will be asked to report on the broader picture of larger areas in the South, as compared to the detailed reporting on specific communities that is asked for in the first two approaches.

One additional step now being developed is a more extensive trip to the South by my assistant, who will visit specific communities in a variety of states. The main purpose of this trip will be to test certain hypotheses that are not amenable to mail-survey procedures. He will, for instance, test the hypothesis that librarians in the South are more prone to desire full access to their libraries than other members of their communities. He will also attempt to trace the dynamics of specific community developments towards, or away from, full access to library facilities.

In all of these steps, the members of the advisory committee can be of the greatest help if they will continue to send us articles and information that come to their attention and which bear on the subject-matter of this study. In addition, suggestions specifically relating to the librarians' questionnaire will be most welcome. And, finally, any other suggestions or ideas related to any other portion of the study will be gratefully received.

I N R A

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK LT 1-2010 CABLE: IPORES

February 4, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

First of all, my thanks for your having Mr. Blackford send us so many useful materials in response to our letter of December 12th of last year. Since that time, our study of access to public libraries has been slowly gathering momentum, as we have developed a backlog of acquaintance both with the subject matter of the study, and with some of the people who are involved in its problems.

Last week, I went down, with an assistant, to Washington, D.C., and a wide variety of communities in Virginia, to talk to people in the midst of segregated, and recently segregated library situations, and those active in civil rights. In all this, one fact stands out above the rest. This is that all roads lead to Atlanta. At least this is the impression we received as we learned more and more about organizations that have been working in the field of civil rights in the South.

When we were in Washington meeting with Peter Sussman of the United States Civil Rights Commission, he asked us first of all if we had been down to Atlanta to talk to you about our study.

In Richmond, we had the good fortune to talk with Reverend Heslip Lee. The man and his work are equally impressive. Reverend Lee said that he was certain that his local chapters would cooperate with us in the study by having members act as local observers who would fill out a questionnaire dealing with specific conditions in the local public library and also a more general view of the community's attitude and progress in the field of civil rights. He suggested that we should go directly to Atlanta so that we could get the cooperation of the Southern Regional Council and its director. Unfortunately, we were due back in New York and could not follow this advice immediately. Later on, I am sure, either I or my assistant will get down to Atlanta, so that we can discuss the project more fully.

RECEIVED
FEB 7 1963

As you know, the major focus of our study will be the situation with respect to denial of access to libraries of Negroes in the South. We want to find out what proportion of the library resources and services are open to Negroes, in which areas there are bookmobiles, who they serve, and so forth. In addition, the study will report on trends that have arisen in the last few years in regard to lessening or increasing of restrictions, and what types of communities have made progress toward complete access and which have not.

Theoretically, we might employ a number of professional investigators to collect the needed information. However, the budget for the study is not large enough for us to do this, even if it were the most promising method. The methods we are planning to use include the following. First, we plan a nationwide mail survey of librarians. This will be followed up in certain Southern communities by personal interviews and on-the-spot observations of the local library by one of our staff members. At the same time, he will interview city officials, newspapermen, minority group leaders, civil rights leaders and others who are familiar with the local situation.

Our major problem is that these two direct and fairly conventional research methods will not begin to suffice. Many librarians in the South, past experience indicates, will fail to return questionnaires that allude to racial problems. And we do not have a budget permitting widespread personal interviews throughout the South. Consequently, we have been seeking the cooperation of organizations interested in civil rights problems, and asking them if they will request their state and local offices to fill out questionnaires about the library situation in their communities.

Every indication so far is that the most valuable group of persons who could cooperate in this way would be the state and local leaders of your organization. I hope you will find this idea amenable to your own thinking. I am sure that such an arrangement would be a very large step in the direction of making our study far more complete, and hence, a far sounder study of conditions throughout the South.

If this does sound feasible, the mechanics could be handled several ways. Perhaps the most effective procedure would be if you were to send out the requisite number of questionnaires to each state, and let them distribute them to the local offices. We would not want you to be hit by out-of-pocket costs, of course, and the budget is certainly large enough for us to compensate you for the mailing and similar costs which would be involved. If this procedure is followed, you could accompany each set of questionnaires with a letter briefly describing the nature and importance of the study, and urging cooperation. The completed questionnaires could be returned directly to us in New York.

I am looking forward to hearing your reactions to this suggestion.

Sincerely,

Robert W. C. Brown

RWCB:rs

PUBLIC LIBRARY SURVEY

1. Name of library _____

2. Address _____ _____ _____
(Street) (Town or City) (State)

3. Recently, the large increase in the proportion of students using public libraries has resulted in certain restrictions on these students in some libraries. Are there any such restrictions in effect in your library?

Yes ☐ No ☐ (IF "NO", PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION 7.)

4. Do these restrictions apply to elementary, high school, college, and/or graduate students? (PLEASE CHECK ALL BOXES WHICH APPLY)

Elementary ☐
High School ☐
College ☐
Graduate ☐

5. Which of the following types of restrictions are in effect?

Limitations on the number of books that can be borrowed at any one time.....☐
Restrictions on the use of periodicals in the library.....☐
Restrictions on the use of reference books in the library.....☐
A requirement for a permit to use the library, signed by the parent, teacher, or school librarian.....☐
Other (Please specify) _____
_____ ☐

6a. Do you think that these restrictions should be increased, decreased, or kept at about the same level in the immediate future? And in the long run?

	For the Immediate Future	In the Long Run
Increased.....	☐	☐
Decreased.....	☐	☐
Kept the same.....	☐	☐

6b. Please explain _____
_____
_____

7. In the entire area which your libary system serves, about what proportion of the population would you estimate either cannot read English at all, or can read some English, but feel more comfortable in another language?

0 - 5% ☐
6 - 10 ☐
11 - 20 ☐
21 - 30 ☐
31 - 40 ☐
41 - 50 ☐ Over 50% ☐

(IF LESS THAN 1 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION ARE IN THIS CATEGORY CHECK HERE AND SKIP TO QUESTION 10) ☐

8a. How many of the volumes in your system are in a foreign language?

_____ (Number in a foreign language) _____ (Total number of volumes in libary system, to agree with Question 22e)

8b. Which foreign language has the greatest number of volumes?

_____ (Language) _____ (Number of Volumes)

8c. Which foreign language has the second largest number of volumes?

_____ (Language) _____ (Number of Volumes)

9a. Do you think that the present proportion of foreign language volumes should be increased, decreased, or kept the same?

Increased ☐
Decreased ☐
Kept the same ☐

9b. Please explain _____

_____

_____

10. What do you think are the most important issues facing your library today? (PLEASE RANK IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and so forth)

____ Expanding physical plant
____ Improving quality of book collection
____ Expanding book collection
____ Expanding service to school children
____ Expanding service to Negroes
____ Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____

_____

11. Are Negroes currently permitted to enter the main public library?

Yes ☐ No ☐ (IF "NO" PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION 18)

12. Today are there any restrictions on the use of the library facilities or services of your library that apply to Negroes or have there been any such restrictions within the last five years?

Yes ☐ No ☐ (IF "NO" PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION 24)

13. Which of the following type of restrictions are in effect today? Which have been removed within the last five years? (PLEASE CHECK ALL ITEMS WHERE NEGROES EITHER HAVE MORE LIMITED SERVICE THAN WHITES, OR WHERE THEY ARE COMPLETELY UNABLE TO AVAIL THEMSELVES OF SERVICE.)

	Today	Removed in Last Five Years
Borrowing books from the main library.....	☐	☐
Use of reference materials.....	☐	☐
Use of the periodical collection.....	☐	☐
Borrowing of paintings or recordings.....	☐	☐
Reading books in the main reading room.....	☐	☐
Borrowing books from the state library system	☐	☐

14. Which of the following services are available in your library? For which, if any, of them are there restriction on use by Negroes today? Which restrictions have been removed within the last five years?

	Available	Today Restrictions on use by Negroes	Removed in Last Five Years
Discussion groups.....	☐	☐	☐
Story telling.....	☐	☐	☐
Films.....	☐	☐	☐
Exhibits.....	☐	☐	☐
Forums and/or lectures.....	☐	☐	☐
Visits of school classes.....	☐	☐	☐
Listening hours.....	☐	☐	☐
Other (Please specify)_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐

15. Does the library have:

	Today	Removed in Last Five Years
a) Separate entrances for whites and Negroes.....	☐	☐
b) Separate check-out desks.....	☐	☐
c) Separate washroom facilities.....	☐	☐

16. Today are there any differences in the hours when whites and Negroes have access to the library? Have these differences been removed within the last five years?

Today ☐ Removed in the last five years ☐

17. Today are there any restrictions on the use of the library facilities or services of your library that apply to Negro children, Negro adults, or, to some extent to both children and adults?

	Today
Just children	☐
Just adults	☐
Both children and adults	☐
None of the above	☐

(IF "NONE OF THE ABOVE" SKIP TO QUESTION 22.)

18a. Do you think that the various restrictions on usage of the library by Negroes should be increased, decreased, or kept at about the same level in the immediate future? And in the long run?

	In the Immediate Future	In the Long Run
Increased	☐	☐
Decreased	☐	☐
Kept the same....	☐	☐

18b. Please explain _____

_____

_____

19. Are there any state or local laws, library regulations or community traditions which limit the capability of the library to reduce the restrictions on Negroes, should it want to do so?

(PLEASE CHECK ALL BOXES WHICH APPLY)

		Please Describe
State laws	☐	_____
Local laws	☐	_____
Library regulations.....	☐	_____
Community traditions	☐	_____

20. Has your library board discussed the issue of reducing restrictions on the use of library facilities or services to Negroes in the last five years?

Yes ____ No ____

(IF "NO," PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION 21.)

20a. What was the position of the library board? _____

_____

21. Does the library system have any branches and/or bookmobiles? How many of each?

_____ (Number of Branches) _____ (Number of Bookmobiles)

21a. How many of these branches and bookmobiles give the following kinds of service:

	Branches	Bookmobiles
For whites and Negroes equally	_____	_____
For whites only	_____	_____
For Negroes only	_____	_____
For whites with partial service for Negroes	_____	_____

(PLEASE CHECK TO BE SURE THAT THE TOTAL NUMBER IN EACH COLUMN AGREES WITH THE ANSWERS IN QUESTION 20a.)

22. Please indicate which of the following organizations and groups took any part in the developments of the last five years. Also for each organization which did take any part, whether it was acting in the direction of reducing the restrictions on Negroes, or in the direction of retaining these restrictions.

PLEASE CHECK TO BE SURE THAT FOR EACH GROUP FOR WHICH THERE IS A CHECK IN THE FIRST COLUMN, THERE IS ALSO ONE CHECK IN EITHER THE SECOND OR THIRD COLUMNS.

	Took Some Part in Developments	Active to Retain Restrictions	Active to Reduce Restrictions
City government	☐	☐	☐
State government	☐	☐	☐
Federal courts	☐	☐	☐
Librarians	☐	☐	☐
Library boards	☐	☐	☐
Organizations (civic, minority groups, other) PLEASE SPECIFY)			
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐

22a. What were the results of the steps that were taken?

Nothing changed ..... ☐

Partial desegregation..... ☐

Complete desegregation..... ☐

22b. Please describe _____

_____

_____

23. Which of the various facilities listed below have been segregated in your community at some time during the past ten or fifteen years? Which of those that were segregated are no longer segregated? What was the date of desegregation?

	Has been segregated	No longer segragated	Year desegregated
Schools.....	☐	☐	_____
Buses.....	☐	☐	_____
Public parks.....	☐	☐	_____
Public swimming pools.....	☐	☐	_____
Public libraries.....	☐	☐	_____
None of the above.....	☐	☐	_____

24. Now would you please supply us with some background information on your library. Please give total figures for the answers, including data for the main library plus all branches and bookmobiles.

24a. Population served (1960 census)_____

24b. Area served (please specify the county or counties, town, or city which is served)_____

24c. Operating expenditures (not including capital outlays) for last fiscal year

_____

24d. Number of members of the staff (please include both professionals and non-professionals, such as clerical and pages, but exclude all maintenance personnel)_____

24e. Number of volumes (at the end of the last fiscal year)_____

24f. Number of new titles added during the last fiscal year_____

24g. Circulation during the last fiscal year_____ _____ _____
Adult Juvenile Total

Date_____ Signed by_____

Title_____

INRA

MICHAEL J. ROSENBAUM

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.
1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 20, N. Y. LT 1-2010

$B-

pls carry through on this asap, with Anthony's help

To: Southern Regional Council April 1, 1963

From: Alabama Council

Annistan: Rev. R.E. Peters

Atmore: Mr. Arthur M. Carlton, 203 East Homer Street

A ttalla: Mr Ronald M. Mason, 616 5th Street N.W.

Auburn: Rev Powers McLeod, P.O. Box 1290

Bessemer: Mr G.L. Terrell, Jr., 836 Hillman Drive

Birmingham, Rev Joseph W. Ellwanger, 128 6th Avenue S. (5)
Rev Harold Long, 1208 Finley Avenue

Florence: Mrs Charles Bystrom, 1849 Maple Avenue
Miss Bertha Klenova, 743 Prospect Street

Gadsden Mrs M.P. Hughes, 1016 Forrest Avenue

Homewood: Dr. Joe Jackson, 1104 Drexel Drive (90

Huntsville: Mrs Peggy Demorest, 408 Harold's Drive, N.W.

Lanett: Mrs Gladys Stringer 1301 Cherry Drive

Mobile: Mr. Abe Flanagan 2517 St. Stephens Road
Fr. Albert S. Foley Ph.D., S.J., Springville College
Dr. E.B. Goode 20 S. Hallett Street

Montgomery: Rev. S.S. Seay, Route 3, Box 400D
Mrs Moreland Smith, 3236 Bankhead Avenue

Northport: Rev H.T. Carstarphen, 1219 10th Street

Opelika: Dr. and Mrs F.E. Steele, P.O. Box 307

Prichard: Mr John H. Milton, 2713 St. Stephans Road
Mr Walter D. Rainey, 115 Edison Street N.

Selma: Rev Walter H. Ellwanger, P.O. Box 683

Sheffield: Fr. Brice Joyce, 220 E. 19th Street
Mr. T.L. Gaston, 1004 E. 20th Street

Russellville: Mr W.M. Seargent, Route 3

Sylacauga: Mr Gordon De Coudres, 2 05 Old Rockford Road

Talledega: Dr. E.W. MacNair, Talledega College

Tuscaloosa: Mr A.T. Hansen, 16 Windsor Drive
Miss Louise R. McKinney, Stillman College

Tuscumbia: Mr Samuel C. Watkins, 503 S. Washington Street

Decatur: Mr F. G. Hinkins Box 303

April 26, 1963

Mr. Michael Rosenbaum
International Research Associates, Inc.
1270 - 6th Avenue
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenbaum:

We received the questionnaires to be used in your ALA survey some time ago, and have prepared mailing labels addressed to various individuals in communities throughout the South. But we have been waiting, as requested in your letter of March 26, for a call from you. Are you ready for us to go ahead on this project? Time is getting short, and I hope you will give us the go-ahead signal soonest.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

April_____,1963

Dear _____:

The American Library Association is sponsoring a study of access to public libraries in the United States. The research for this study is being conducted by International Research Associates, an independent organization located in New York city.

A vital part of the information needed can be provided by informed observers in local communities throughout the nation. The INRA is particularly interested in learning about the current status of access to public libraries in the South. For this reason, we here at the Southern Regional Council have agreed to send out an INRA local observer questionnaire to citizens of southern communities with whom we are acquainted.

We hope that you will assist in the completion of this project by filling out the enclosed questionnaire and returning it directly to the INRA as soon as possible. We are also enclosing stamped return envelopes provided by the INRA for this purpose.

The facts you provide by answering this questionnaire will be assembled with those provided by librarians and local observers throughout the nation. The overall findings will be presented to the American Library Association. But no individual responses will be released to the ALA; all replies will be kept strictly confidential.

Your help and cooperation in helping to insure the success of this research effort will be greatly appreciated.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 1, 1963

Dear Mr. Broad:

The American Library Association is sponsoring a study of access to public libraries in the United States. The research for this study is being conducted by International Research Associates, an independent organization located in New York City.

A vital part of the information needed can be provided by informed observers in local communities throughout the nation. The INRA is particularly interested in learning about the current status of access to public libraries in the South. For this reason, we here at the Southern Regional Council have agreed to send out an INRA local observer questionnaire to citizens of southern communities with whom we are acquainted.

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Sincerely yours,
Staige D. Blackford
Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj
Enclosures

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 1, 1963

Dear Mr. Robbins:

The American Library Association is sponsoring a study of access to public libraries in the United States. The research for this study is being conducted by International Research Associates, an independent organization located in New York City.

A vital part of the information needed can be provided by informed observers in local communities throughout the nation. The INRA is particularly interested in learning about the current status of access to public libraries in the South. For this reason, we here at the Southern Regional Council have agreed to send out an INRA local observer questionnaire to citizens of southern communities with whom we are acquainted.

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Your help and cooperation in helping to insure the success of this research effort will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
Staige D. Blackford
Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj
Enclosures

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 1, 1963

Dear Miss Fraser:

The American Library Association is sponsoring a study of access to public libraries in the United States. The research for this study is being conducted by International Research Associates, an independent organization located in New York City.

A vital part of the information needed can be provided by informed observers in local communities throughout the nation. The INRA is particularly interested in learning about the current status of access to public libraries in the South. For this reason, we here at the Southern Regional Council have agreed to send out an INRA local observer questionnaire to citizens of southern communities with whom we are acquainted.

We hope that you will assist in the completion of this project by filling in the enclosed questionnaire and returning it directly to the INRA as soon as possible. We are also enclosing a stamped return envelope provided by the INRA for this purpose.

The facts you provide by answering this questionnaire will be assembled with those provided by librarians and local observers throughout the nation. The overall findings will be presented to the American Library Association. But no individual responses will be released to the ALA; all replies will be kept strictly confidential.

Your help and cooperation in helping to insure the success of this research effort will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
Staige D. Blackford
Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj
Enclosures

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 1, 1963

Dear Miss Montague:

The American Library Association is sponsoring a study of access to public libraries in the United States. The research for this study is being conducted by International Research Associates, an independent organization located in New York City.

A vital part of the information needed can be provided by informed observers in local communities throughout the nation. The INRA is particularly interested in learning about the current status of access to public libraries in the South. For this reason, we here at the Southern Regional Council have agreed to send out an INRA local observer questionnaire to citizens of southern communities with whom we are acquainted.

No enclosed envelope. No I.N.R.A. address. ∴ am sending questionnaire to S.R.C. Jan Montague

We hope that you will assist in the completion of this project by filling in the enclosed questionnaire and returning it directly to the INRA as soon as possible. We are also enclosing a stamped return envelope provided by the INRA for this purpose.

The facts you provide by answering this questionnaire will be assembled with those provided by librarians and local observers throughout the nation. The overall findings will be presented to the American Library Association. But no individual responses will be released to the ALA; all replies will be kept strictly confidential.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 1, 1963

Dear Mrs. Harvey:

The American Library Association is sponsoring a study of access to public libraries in the United States. The research for this study is being conducted by International Research Associates, an independent organization located in New York City.

A vital part of the information needed can be provided by informed observers in local communities throughout the nation. The INRA is particularly interested in learning about the current status of access to public libraries in the South. For this reason, we here at the Southern Regional Council have agreed to send out an INRA local observer questionnaire to citizens of southern communities with whom we are acquainted.

Mailed 5/14/'63

We hope that you will assist in the completion of this project by filling in the enclosed questionnaire and returning it directly to the INRA as soon as possible. We are also enclosing a stamped return envelope provided by the INRA for this purpose.

The facts you provide by answering this questionnaire will be assembled with those provided by librarians and local observers throughout the nation. The overall findings will be presented to the American Library Association. But no individual responses will be released to the ALA; all replies will be kept strictly confidential.

Your help and cooperation in helping to insure the success of this research effort will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
Staige D. Blackford
Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj
Enclosures

INRA-390

PUBLIC LIBRARY SURVEY

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

1. Name of public library in your community: _____

2. Address of main public library: _____
(Street) (City) (State)

3. In the area which the main library serves, is there a significant proportion of the population that reads more easily in a foreign language than in English?

Yes.....☐ 1
No.....☐ 2

(IF "YES")

a. What foreign language do most of these people read? _____ 10-

b. Check below each box which applies to the staff in the main library:

Staff tries to encourage usage of the library by this group.....☐ 1

Staff tries to discourage usage of the library by this group.....☐ 2

I have observed nothing in this connection.....☐ 3

4. Are Negroes currently permitted to enter the main public library?

No.....☐ 1 (PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 3)
Yes.....☐ 2

(IF "YES")

a. Are there any restrictions on the use of the main library facilities or services that apply to Negroes?

I do not believe that there are restrictions now or that there were any within the last ten years.....☐ 1 (PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 5)

I do not believe that there are restrictions now. I believe that there were some within the last ten years.....☐ 2 (PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 3)

I believe that there are one or more restrictions now.....☐ 3 (PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 2)

5. CHECK BELOW ALL THE RESTRICTIONS WHICH APPLY TO NEGROES:

a. Restrictions apply to borrowing books from the main library
Yes.....☐ 1
No.....☐ 2
Don't know.....☐ 3

b. Restrictions apply to the use of reference materials in the main library
Yes.....☐ 1
No.....☐ 2
Don't know.....☐ 3

c. Restrictions apply to the use of periodical collection in the main library
Yes.....☐ 1
No.....☐ 2
Don't know.....☐ 3

d. Restrictions apply to where they may sit in the main reading room
Yes.....☐ 1
No.....☐ 2
Don't know.....☐ 3

e. Restrictions apply to the borrowing of paintings or recordings
Yes.....☐ 1
No.....☐ 2
Don't know.....☐ 3

(CHECK HERE IF THE LIBRARY HAS NO BORROWING OF PAINTINGS OR RECORDINGS.....☐.....X)

f. Restrictions on opportunities to watch films, participate in discussion groups or lectures
Yes.....☐ 1
No.....☐ 2
Don't know.....☐ 3

(CHECK HERE IF LIBRARY HAS NO FILMS, DISCUSSION GROUPS OR LECTURES.....☐.....X)

CHECK EACH BOX BELOW WHICH APPLIES IN YOUR LIBRARY:

g. Negroes are provided with separate entrance.....☐ 1

h. Negroes are provided different hours for using library.....☐ 2

i. Negroes are provided with separate check-out desks.....☐ 3

j. Negroes are provided with separate washroom facilities.....☐ 4

k. I have never heard of anything in this connection.....☐ 5

6. Are there any state or local laws, library regulations, or community traditions which limit the services the library may provide to Negroes? (PLEASE CHECK ALL BOXES WHICH APPLY.)

State laws.....☐ 1
Local laws.....☐ 2
Library regulations.....☐ 3
Community traditions.....☐ 4
None of the above.....☐ 5

7. Which of the groups listed below have been chiefly responsible for attempts to reduce restrictions on Negro usage of public libraries? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY TO YOUR COMMUNITY.)

City government.....☐ 1
State government.....☐ 2
Local courts.....☐ 3
Federal courts.....☐ 4
Library board.....☐ 5
Voluntary organizations (civic, minority groups, etc.) SPECIFY: _____

_____ ☐ 6 24-

8. Check below all forces trying to keep restrictions on Negro usage of the public libraries. (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY TO YOUR COMMUNITY.)

City government.....☐ 1
State government.....☐ 2
Local courts.....☐ 3
Federal courts.....☐ 4
Library board.....☐ 5
Voluntary organizations (civic, minority groups, etc.) SPECIFY: _____

_____ ☐ 6 26-

9. Will you tell us in the space below what has happened in your community relating to Negro access to the main public library in recent years -- say the last ten years?

FIRST: CHECK AS MANY BOXES AS APPLY:

Negroes gained entrance to the main public library.....☐ 1

Restrictions on Negro participation in activities in the main public library were reduced.....☐ 2

No changes were made in this connection.....☐ 3

Don't know.....☐ 4

SECOND: DESCRIBE IN DETAIL, CHANGES OR ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE NEGRO ACCESS TO THE MAIN PUBLIC LIBRARY. (INCLUDE COURT ACTIONS, IF ANY HAVE BEEN TAKEN.)

_____

_____

_____

_____ 28-

_____ 29-

THIRD: IF NEGROES GAINED ADMISSION TO THE MAIN PUBLIC LIBRARY, DID THIS CHANGE IN POLICY HAVE ANY UNDESIRABLE CONSEQUENCES?

Yes.....☐ 1
No.....☐ 2
Don't know.☐ 3

Please describe: _____

_____

_____

_____ 31-

_____ 32-

10. Check below each box which applies to the staff in the main library:

Staff tries to encourage Negro usage of the library.....☐ 1
Staff tries to discourage Negro usage of the library.....☐ 2
I have observed nothing in this connection.....☐ 3

11. Please check for each facility below, the situation with respect to:

a. Schools:
Now segregated.....☐ 1
Not now segregated, but within the past ten years was segregated.....☐ 2
Not segregated at any time in the last ten years.....☐ 3

b. Buses:
Now segregated.....☐ 1
Not now segregated, but within the past ten years was segregated.....☐ 2
Not segregated at any time in the last ten years.....☐ 3

c. Public Swimming Pools:
Now segregated.....☐ 1
Not now segregated, but within the past ten years was segregated.....☐ 2
Not segregated at any time in the last ten years.....☐ 3

12. Which of these facilities was (or in your opinion would be) the hardest to desegregate?

Schools.....☐ 1
Buses.....☐ 2
Public swimming pools.....☐ 3
Public libraries.....☐ 4
None.....☐ 5
Don't know.....☐ 6

13. Which was (or in your opinion would be) the easiest to desegregate?

Schools.....☐ 1
Buses.....☐ 2
Public swimming pools.....☐ 3
Public libraries.....☐ 4
None.....☐ 5
Don't know.....☐ 6

DATE: _____

ORGANIZATION: _____

NAME: _____

39	40	41	42	43

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NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

I N R A

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK LT 1-2010 CABLE: IPORES

March 26, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 27 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am preparing to leave for another trip South the end of this month. I am assuming that in visiting Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas and Tennessee at this time of the year I will find the weather more pleasant even if the climate - of opinion - may be somewhat harsher than what I encountered on my previous trips.

We are sending you under separate cover 225 copies of the local questionnaire and a corresponding number of postage-paid return envelopes.

As you know our plan was to send out two types of questionnaires: a librarian questionnaire and a local observer questionnaire. The librarian questionnaire would be mailed out first from New York and then a short time later the local questionnaire would be sent out by the Southern Regional Council to its different chapters.

HEW promised to send us a set of labels for all the library systems in the country. We hoped that the labels would have arrived by this time for as soon as the labels arrive, the librarian questionnaire can be sent out. Unfortunately, the labels are not due to arrive until the end of this week or the beginning of next week.

We would like you to prepare your mailing (local questionnaire, our return envelope, your covering letter and your outgoing envelope) so that it is ready to be sent out. However, we want you to delay sending it until we call you. By following this procedure there will be the necessary but minimum interval between the two sets of questionnaires.

I have enclosed a copy of both the librarian and local questionnaire as well as two recent memoranda.

Sincerely,

Michael Rosenbaum

Michael Rosenbaum

MR:rs
Encs.

March 22, 1963

MEMORANDUM

TO: Advisory Committee for Access to Libraries Study

FROM: Michael Rosenbaum, International Research Associates, Inc.

SUBJECT: Minutes of Meeting, March 14, 1963

A meeting of the members of the Advisory Committee for the Access to Libraries Project and representatives of International Research Associates was held on March 14, 1963 at the INRA offices in New York City. Present were: Augusta Baker, Jeanne Crabtree, Helen Dinerman, John Hall Jacobs, Richard Logsdon, Michael Rosenbaum, Alphonse Trezza. (Absent: Bernard Berelson, Robert Brown, Archibald McNeal, Harold Tucker.)

The business of the meeting was (1). to discuss the format for presenting the report at the ALA meeting in July, and (2). to review the progress of the study to date.

1. Presentation of the Report

There will be two separate presentations during the ALA conference. The first will be Monday afternoon July 15th at the Division Meeting. This will be an in-depth report taking about forty-five minutes given by an INRA staff person (probably Mr. Brown). This presentation can be the basis for a journal article. There will be approximately an hour for questions and discussion following the INRA presentation.

The second presentation will take place Thursday morning July 18th at the Council Meeting. This will be a brief summary presentation (approximately fifteen minutes in length). This summary presentation should be made by the Chairman of the Advisory Committee, if possible, with an INRA staff member serving as a resource person.

For both presentations a brief summary (two or three pages was suggested) will be available for distribution.

The importance of objectivity in the INRA report, with favorable findings given their share of space and attention, was stressed by several Committee Members.

2. Progress of the Study

The various phases of the study were reviewed. The Committee Members made several suggestions which have been adopted in the conduct of the research.

a. The Mail Questionnaire to Librarians:

Each librarian will receive two copies of the mail questionnaire so that he can keep one of the copies for the file. The questionnaire was revised to cover changes in the patterns of restrictions during a ten-year period (rather than a five-year period).

b. The Mail Questionnaire to Local Observers:

The survey will be expanded in several ways:

1. to include Northern observers as well as Southern ones;
2. to include organizations over a wider political spectrum.

To achieve this, INRA is seeking the cooperation of national organizations such as the PTA and Kiwanis. (Addition of a "rightist" group like the John Birch Society was considered and rejected.)

c. Personal Interviews in Selected Communities:

The importance of giving librarians advance notice of the INRA interview was stressed by several members of the Advisory Committee. Letters have, therefore, gone to individuals selected by the Advisory Committee in the following states: Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana; these individuals have been asked to inform librarians within the state that they may be visited by a member of INRA in the course of the next month.

Those librarians already interviewed will be sent a letter by INRA thanking them for their cooperation and assuring them that their replies will be kept confidential.

The wisdom of including in the report a list of communities in which the library has been desegregated in recent years was discussed. It was agreed that only the number and general location of such communities would be reported. Mr. Jacobs kindly offered to contact the Southern Observer to see if they will bring their list of desegregated communities up to date so that this list can be reproduced for the report.

d. The Library Building Pattern in Selected Cities:

Coverage will be expanded to these ten cities: Atlanta, Birmingham, Detroit, Jacksonville, Memphis, Philadelphia, New Orleans, New York, San Francisco and Washington.

The analysis will examine the relationship, if any, between location of branch libraries and the distribution of population by race, income and education.

A tentative list of hypotheses was considered with special reference to the data available so far from the personal interviews in selected communities (see 2c above) and from the analysis of library building patterns in selected cities (see 2d above). This list will be expanded to include data from all phases of the study.

Next Meeting of the ALA Advisory Committee

The next meeting of the Committee will be held on June 28th at the INRA office. The day before the meeting, copies of the report will be hand-delivered to all members of the Committee. (Out-of-town Committee Members will tell INRA where in New York City they want the reports delivered.)

Following the June 28th meeting, INRA will make final revisions and will plan to have the final report ready for mailing by July 3rd.

It was agreed that both previous plans considered, namely, (1). holding a conference of lay persons and library personnel, or alternatively (2). a system of "readers" whose comments and suggestions could be taken into account in the INRA report, will be abandoned.

INRA

MA

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK LT 1-2010 CABLE: IPORES

March 12, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are in the process of completing the final version of the questionnaire which we should complete by the end of this week. Two hundred questionnaires will be sent to you as soon as they are finished.

I would like to thank you for supplying me with the names of so many fine people. The ones I met seem to be firm yet calm and have avoided the position of the super silent liberals on the one hand and the short lived martyrs on the other.

I have enclosed a copy of the latest memorandum on the study. Under separate cover I am returning the 50 STATES REPORT to Mr. Blackford who was kind enough to lend me his copy.

Sincerely,

Michael Rosenbaum

Michael Rosenbaum

MR:rs
Enc.

March 8, 1963

MEMORANDUM

TO: Advisory Committee for Access to Libraries Study

FROM: Robert W. C. Brown

SUBJECT: Access to Libraries Study

The following memorandum lists the scope and method of each of the various phases of the access to libraries study.

I. Restrictions on Access to Libraries

A) School children

Scope: The geographical distribution of restrictions on access to public libraries that affect school children, indicating the types of restrictions imposed, and the level of school children affected.

Method: Mail questionnaire to all public library systems.

B) Foreign languages

Scope: The geographic distribution of those needing foreign language books, and the degree to which their needs are met by the various library systems.

Method: The same questionnaire as above.

C) Racial problems

1) Main Phase

Scope: The geographical distribution of restrictions based on race, the types of restrictions in effect, changes in the pattern of restrictions over the past five years, and the attitudes of librarians towards these restrictions.

Methods: First, the librarian questionnaire. Secondly, similar questionnaires filled out by local informants other than librarians. Third, regional reviews of area-wide situations by regional analysts.

2) Local Studies Phase

Scope: Exploration of the pattern of restrictions, and causes of change, in a wide variety of large and small communities in the South.

Methods: Personal interviews of librarians, both white and Negro, members of library boards, both past and present, city officials, and members of interested civic and minority organizations.

3) The Library Building Pattern in Selected Cities

Scope: The distribution of library facilities within a selected group of major cities in the South, as it relates to the distribution of the major components of the population of those cities.

Methods: A special map survey accomplished by local librarians, as related to census data on population distribution. The initial group of cities selected for this phase of the project were the nine cities with the highest proportion of Negro residents. A supplementary group of cities, those with low proportions of Negro residents, will be added for comparative purposes.

4) Legal Aspects of Access

Scope: A study of information on the legal aspects of the problem of access, with special attention to the role of state legislation, local ordinances, and court rulings affecting the degree of access in various communities.

Methods: Study of available reports and analyses on this topic, supplemented by information on the geographic distribution of such legal factors, as indicated by the mail questionnaires to librarians and other local informants.

II. Inventory of Library Resources, as They Relate to Racial Composition, Income Level, and Age Groups

Scope: The current series of HEW library studies show the overall picture of library resources for the United States as a whole. The special purpose of this phase of the access study is to compare the extent of these resources in various parts of the country, according to existing census data on racial composition, income levels, and age groups.

The basic indicators of library resources chosen for this study include the number of volumes on hand, the number of new titles bought in the past year, expenditures during the year, and the number of members of the library staff. These indicators will be compared from one area to the next in terms of "minimum adequacy" -- that is, in terms of the degree to which the local resources match the minimum standards set by the American Library Association.

Method: The data from the mail questionnaire to libraries will be supplemented by that supplied by local informants. In addition, the current HEW survey of library resources is likely to be available toward the end of the present study. If it is available in time, then data from that study will be also used to supplement the returns from the librarians' questionnaires. The purpose of this step is to fill in the data from areas where the response rate to the present survey may be expected to be somewhat lower (as a result of the inclusion of questions on racial matters) than the response rate of the HEW survey.

The compiled data on the basis indicators will be converted into terms of the minimum standards of the American Library Association. Then these indications of relative adequacy will be related to existing and readily available U.S. census data on racial composition, income levels, and age groups. This procedure will enable one to see, for instance, how library resources vary, in terms of resulting minimum standards of adequacy, according to the differing levels of income of each sector of the country.

Dear Librarian:

The American Library Association has for some years felt it could provide a service for the nation and for the profession by ascertaining the current status of access to public libraries. It has asked International Research Associates, an independent research organization, to conduct a nation-wide study on this subject.

A vital part of the information needed can be provided from your own knowledge and experience. The following questionnaire has been designed as a framework for this information. The facts you provide will be assembled with those provided by other librarians throughout the United States, and the overall findings presented to the American Library Association. No individual responses will be released to the American Library Association; all replies will be kept strictly confidential.

We ask you to cooperate with this research effort by filling out the enclosed questionnaire as completely and accurately as possible and returning it in the stamped envelope provided for your convenience.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Elmo C. Wilson
President

vm

PUBLIC LIBRARY SURVEY

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

1. Name of library: _____

2. Address _____ _____ _____
(Street) (Town or City) (State)

3. Recently, the large increase in the proportion of students using public libraries has resulted in certain restrictions on these students in some libraries. Are there any such restrictions in effect in your library?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2 (IF "NO," PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION 4)

(IF "YES")

a. Do these restrictions apply to elementary, high school, college, and/or graduate students? (PLEASE CHECK ALL BOXES WHICH APPLY.)

Elementary ☐ 1
High School ☐ 2
College ☐ 3
Graduate ☐ 4

b. Which of the following types of restrictions are in effect?

Limitations on the number of books that can be borrowed at any one time.....☐ 1
Restrictions on the use of peridicals in the library.....☐ 2
Restrictions on the use of reference books in the library.....☐ 3
A requirement for a permit to use the library, signed by the parent, teacher, or school librarian.....☐ 4
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY): _____
_____ ☐ 5

4. Do you think that in the next year or two restrictions on students' use of public libraries should be increased, decreased, or that no changes should be made?

Increased ☐ 1
Decreased ☐ 2
No changes ☐ 3

(IF "INCREASED")

a. What types of restrictions should be put into effect?

_____
_____
_____
_____

5. In the entire area which your library system serves, about what proportion of the population would you estimate can read books only in a language other than English?

Less than 5%.....☐ 1
5% - 14%.....☐ 2
15% - 24%.....☐ 3
25% - 34%.....☐ 4
35% or over.....☐ 5

6. What language do most of these people read? _____ 15-

7. To meet the needs of those who can read books only in a language other than English, do you think that in the next year or two the present proportion of foreign language volumes should be increased, decreased, or that there should be no changes made in this connection?

Increased.....☐ 1
Decreased.....☐ 2
No changes made.....☐ 3

a. Please explain: _____

_____ 17-

8. How many of the volumes in your system are in foreign languages?

_____
(Number in foreign languages) 18-

9. Which one foreign language has the greatest number of volumes?

_____ 19-
(Language) _____ (Number of Volumes) 20-

10. Are Negroes currently permitted to enter the main public library?

No (SKIP PAGE 4 AND TURN TO PAGE 5).☐ 1
Yes (TURN TO PAGE 4).....☐ 2

10. Are there any restrictions on the use of the library facilities or services that apply to Negroes?

No restrictions now or at any time within the last five years.....☐ 1 (PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 7)

No restrictions now; there were some within the last five years.....☐ 2 (PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 5)

There are one or more restrictions...☐ 3 (PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS BELOW)

IF THERE ARE ANY RESTRICTIONS, CHECK BELOW ALL THE TYPES WHICH APPLY

a. Restrictions apply to borrowing books from the main library
   Yes.....☐ 1
   No.....☐ 2

b. Restrictions apply to the use of reference materials in the main library
   Yes.....☐ 1
   No.....☐ 2

c. Restrictions apply to the use of periodical collection in the main library
   Yes.....☐ 1
   No.....☐ 2

d. Restrictions apply to where they may sit in the main reading room
   Yes.....☐ 1
   No.....☐ 2

e. Restrictions apply to the borrowing of paintings or recordings
   Yes.....☐ 1 (CHECK HERE IF THE LIBRARY
   No.....☐ 2 HAS NO BORROWING OF PAINTINGS OR RECORDINGS...☐..X

f. Restrictions on opportunities to watch films, participate in discussion groups, or lectures
   Yes.....☐ 1 CHECK HERE IF LIBRARY HAS
   No.....☐ 2 NO FILMS, DISCUSSION GROUPS OR LECTURES...☐..X

g. Check each box below which applies in your library:
   Negroes are provided with separate entrance.....☐ 1
   Negroes are provided different hours for using library.....☐ 2
   Negroes are provided with separate check-out desks.....☐ 3
   Negroes are provided with separate washroom facilities..☐ 4

12. Are there any state or local laws, library regulations, or community traditions which limit the services the library may provide to Negroes? (PLEASE CHECK ALL BOXES WHICH APPLY.)

State laws.....☐ 1
Local laws.....☐ 2
Library regulations.....☐ 3
Community traditions.....☐ 4
None of the above.....☐ 5

13. What is the current position of the library board on restrictions on Negro usage of the main public library?

Favors restrictions on Negro usage of the main public library.....☐ 1

Favors eliminating or reducing restrictions on Negro usage of the main public library.....☐ 2

Library board has not taken any position.....☐ 3

14. Do you think in the next year or two restrictions on usage of the main public library by Negroes should be increased, decreased or that there should be no changes made in this connection?

Increased.....☐ 1
Decreased.....☐ 2
No changes made.....☐ 3

Please explain: _____

_____

_____

_____

15. Which of the groups listed below have been chiefly responsible for attempts to reduce restrictions on Negro usage of public libraries? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY TO YOUR COMMUNITY.)

City government.....☐ 1
State government.....☐ 2
Federal courts.....☐ 3
Library board.....☐ 4
Voluntary organizations (civic, minority groups, etc.).....☐ 5
Specify: _____

16. Check below all forces trying to keep restrictions on Negro usage of the public libraries. (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY IN YOUR COMMUNITY.)

City government.....☐ 1
State government.....☐ 2
Federal courts.....☐ 3
Library board.....☐ 4
Voluntary organizations (civic, minority groups, etc.).....☐ 5
Specify: _____

17. Will you tell us in the space below what has happened in your community in the last five years pertaining to Negro access to the main public library.

FIRST: CHECK AS MANY BOXES AS APPLY:

Negroes gained entrance to the main public library.....☐ 1
Restrictions on Negro participation in activities in the main public library were reduced.....☐ 2
No changes were made in this connection.....☐ 3

SECOND: DESCRIBE IN DETAIL CHANGES OR ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE NEGRO ACCESS TO THE MAIN PUBLIC LIBRARY: _____

_____ 38-
_____ 39-
_____

THIRD: IF NEGROES GAINED ADMISSION TO THE MAIN PUBLIC LIBRARY, DID THIS CHANGE IN POLICY HAVE ANY UNDESIRABLE CONSEQUENCES?

Yes.....☐ 1
No.....☐ 2

Please describe: _____

_____
_____
_____ 41-

18. Please check for each facility below, the situation with respect to segregation:

a. Schools:
- Now segregated.....☐ 1
- Not now segregated, but within the past five years was segregated.....☐ 2
- Not segregated at any time in the last five years.....☐ 3

b. Buses:
- Now segregated.....☐ 1
- Not now segregated, but within the past five years was segregated.....☐ 2
- Not segregated at any time in the last five years.....☐ 3

c. Public Swimming Pools:
- Now segregated.....☐ 1
- Not now segregated, but within the past five years was segregated.....☐ 2
- Not segregated at any time in the last five years.....☐ 3

19. Which of these facilities was (or in your opinion would be) the <u>hardest</u> to desegregate?

- Schools.....☐ 1
- Buses.....☐ 2
- Public swimming pools.....☐ 3
- Public libraries.....☐ 4
- None.....☐ 5
- Don't know.....☐ 6

20. Which was (or in your opinion would be) the <u>easiest</u> to desegregate?

- Schools.....☐ 1
- Buses.....☐ 2
- Public swimming pools.....☐ 3
- Public libraries.....☐ 4
- None.....☐ 5
- Don't know.....☐ 6

21. Now would you please supply us with some background information on your library. Please give total figures for the answers, including data for the main library plus all branches and bookmobiles.

a. Population served (1960 Census): _____

b. Area served (please specify the county or counties, town or city which is served): _____

c. Operating expenditures (not including capital outlays) for last fiscal year: _____

d. Number of members of the staff in terms of full-time equivalents (please include both professionals and non-professionals such as clerical and pages, but exclude all maintenance personnel): _____

e. Does the library system have any branches?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

(IF "YES")

e1. How many of these branches give the following kinds of service:

	Number
For Whites and Negroes equally.....	____
For Whites only.....	____
For Negroes only.....	____
For Whites, with partial service to Negroes.....	____

f. Does the library system have any bookmobiles?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

(IF "YES")

f1. How many of these bookmobiles give the following kinds of service:

	Number
For Whites and Negroes equally.....	____
For Whites only.....	____
For Negroes only.....	____
For Whites, with partial service to Negroes.....	____

g. Number of volumes (at the end of the last fiscal year): _____

h. Number of new titles added during the last fiscal year): _____

i. Circulation during the last fiscal year: Adult _____
Juvenile _____
Total _____

DATE: _____

SIGNED BY: _____ TITLE: _____

48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62

Memo

SB
PA

I suggest that after PA comes up with basic list of addresses, this job be turned over to Research

PA - SB wants to chat with you about this Monday.

tc
Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.
226 Luckie Street, N.W. • JAckson 5-8654

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

The questionnaires have arrived from the American Library Association. We are to get envelopes addressed and stuffed and hold for their call.

Staige has written a letter, approved by Anthony to go with the questionnaires.

The names have been received from six states, but there are gaps; Anthony suggested you might have some names to add. Also, we may be able to fill in some blank spots with board members.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Mr. Sideny Berman
1912 Euclid Avenue
Bristol, Virginia

Postmaster: This parcel may be opened for postal inspection if necessary.
Return Postage Guaranteed.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Dr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Too busy writing I think. Get into this w/ us

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Mr. E. R. McIver
Consay, South Carolina

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
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ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Dr. Joe Jackson
1104 Drexel Dr.
Homewood 9, Alabama

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
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Miss Mary Hyman
Florence, South Carolina

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Judge Lee Ward
Paragould, Arkansas

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Mr. Arthur L. King, Attorney
Georgetown, South Carolina

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Rabbi J. Marshall Tanny
20 S. Betty Lane
Cocoa, Florida

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Mrs. Mary K. Baskerville
Darlington, South Carolina

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Mrs. Arthur Ivey
112 S. W. 23rd Terrace
Gainesville, Florida

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Dr. Prentiss McLeod Kinney
Bennettsville, South Carolina

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

The Rev. Neil Truesdale
Aveleigh Presbyterian Church
Newberry, South Carolina

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Mrs. C. B. Busbee
900 N. Avenue
Coyce, South Carolina

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Mr. S. W. Tucker
111 E. Atlantic St.
Emplria, Virginia

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

The Rev. Lucius DuBose
Presbyterian Church
Mullins, South Carolina

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Mr. Harper Johnson
Cook High School
Athens, Tenn.

Postmaster: This parcel may be opened for postal inspection if necessary.
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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Mrs. Muriel J. Evans
636 Lipscomb St.
Melbourne, Florida

Postmaster: This parcel may be opened for postal inspection if necessary.
Return Postage Guaranteed.

Memo from MILDRED JOHNSON

May 2, 1963

Montez:

As of today the INRA questionnaires were mailed. You'll notice a small stack of labels (of what appears to be addressed to relatively small towns). These were pulled [redacted] to make room for names of persons in North Carolina* and Georgia* when they are received. Up to this point &&&&& only 135 questionnaires have been mailed out leaving a total of 65 of the 200 which we have. It may be that other names from Louisiana, Texas and Virginia will arrive, and these too can be sent the questionnaire along with the names we get for North Carolina and Georgia; this, then will probably absorb the remaining 65. If this does not prove to be so, we can then send the questionnaire to the persons whose names appear on the labels in the folder.

remaining 24 nc

Mississippi appears to be fairly well taken care of, but other names could very well be had.

* P.A. says he's expecting these lists pretty soon now.

"To strive through education, research, information and consultation to improve the educational, economic, and civic conditions of the people of North Carolina without regard to ethnic or national origins; to combat the cause of intergroup friction and misunderstanding, and to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to interpret to the public the needs and aspirations of minority groups; to strive to attain the goal of equal opportunity for all the people of the state."

—from article II of the bylaws.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Room 301
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

MA

Officers

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T. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
CHAPEL HILL

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SALISBURY

2nd Vice-Chairman:
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EMERY L. RANN
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THOMAS R. THRASHER
CHAPEL HILL

VERNON C. TYSON
SANFORD

JOHN H. WHEELER
DURHAM

May 7, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I'm sorry to be so late in responding to your request of March 21st. It came when I was down with the "flu" and I've been behind schedule ever since. This is no excuse, however. You should have written me again about the matter.

I am sending you a list of contact people in only 24 of the 66 cities you listed. This is the best I can do if you insist that we vouch for their good judgment, and that they should be people who know what SRC is.

We have members in most of the other places, but they are not personally known to me.

Sincerely,

Harry

Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary

HSJ/b

Enclosure

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville	Mr. Ruben J. Dailey 13½ Eagle Street
Chapel Hill	Dr. T. Franklin Williams 405 Whitehead Circle
Charlotte	Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler 1900 Brunswick Avenue
Concord	Dr. L. S. Cozart Barber-Scotia College
Durham	Dr. C. E. Boulware 405 Lawson Street
Elizabeth City	Dr. Walter N. Ridley Elizabeth State Teachers College
Fayetteville	Dr. J. W. Seabrook State Teachers College
Gastonia	Mr. Barry Craig, Jr. Box 687 Stanley, N. C.
Goldsboro	Miss Gertrude Weil 200 W. Chestnut Street
Greensboro	Mrs. Chase H. Benson 505 Woodvale Drive
Greenville	Rev. Richard N. Ottoway St. Paul's Episcopal Church
High Point	Mr. William Bagwell American Friends Service Committee 1818 S. Main Street
Kinston	Mr. William S. Page P. O. Box 871

Laurinburg	Rev. Albert N. Wells Laurinburg Presbyterian Church
Monroe	Dr. H. H. Creft, Jr. P. O. Box 467
Oxford	Rev. T. H. Brooks The Colored Orphanage of North Carolina
Raleigh	Dr. Howard Miller 3421 Churchill Road
Roanoke Rapids	Rev. Robert Eason 800 Jackson Street
Rockingham	Mr. C. B. Deane Box 631
Rocky Mount	Rev. Henry G. Ruark First Methodist Church
Salisbury	Dr. S. E. Duncan Livingstone College
Shelby	Mr. Carl Dockery 605 Buffalo Street
Wilson	Dr. C. H. Hamlin Atlantic Christian College
Winston-Salem	Mr. Curtiss Todd P. O. Box 2242

NORTH CAROLINA

Albemarle

Asheboro

Asheville — Mr. Ruben J. Dailey
13½ Eagle St.

Belmont

Burlington

Canton

Chapel Hill — Dr. T. Franklin Williams
405 Whitehead Circle

Charlotte — Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue

Clinton

Concord — Dr. L. S. Cozart
Barber-Scotia College

Dunn

Durham — Dr. C. E. Boulware
405 Lasson St.

East Wilmington

Elizabeth City	Dr. Walter N. Ridley Elizabeth State Teachers College
Fayetteville	Dr. J. W. Seabrook State Teachers College
Forest City	
Gastonia	Mr. Barry Craig, Jr. Box 687 Stanley, N.C.
Goldsboro	Miss Gertrude Weil 200 West Chestnut St.
Graham	
Greensboro	Mrs. Chase H. Benson 505 Woodvale Dr.
Greenville	Rev. Richard N. Ottoway St. Paul's Episcopal Church
Henderson	
Hendersonville	
Hickory	
High Point	Mr. William Bagwell American Friends Service Committee 1818 S. Main St.
Jacksonville	
Kannapolis	

Kannapolis	
Kings Mountain	
Kinston	Mr. William S. Page P. O. Box 871
Laurinburg	Rev. Albert N. Wells Laurinburg Presbyterian Church
Leaksville	
Lenoir	
Lexington	
Lincolnton	
Lumberton	
Monroe	Dr. H. H. Creft, Jr. P. O. Box 467
Mooresville	
Morehead	
Morganton	

Mount Airy	
New Bern	
Newton	
North Belmont	
Owens	
Oxford	Rev. ~~Rm~~ T. H. Brooks The Colored Orphanage of N. C.
Raleigh	Dr. Howard Miller 3421 Churchill Road
Reidsville	
Roanoke Rapids	Rev. Robert Eason 800 Jackson Street
Rockingham	Mr. C. B. Deane Box 631
Rocky Mount	Rev. Henry G. Ruark First Methodist Church
Roxboro	
Salisbury	Dr. S. E. Duncan Livingstone College

North Carolina - continued

Sanford	
Shelby	Mr. Carl Dockery 605 Buffalo Street
Smithfield	
Southern Pines	
Statesville	
Tarboro	
Thomasville	
Washington	
Waynesville	
West Concord	
Williamston	
Wilmington	
Wilson	Dr. C. H. Hamlin Atlantic Christian College
Winston-Salem	Mr. Curtiss Todd P. O. Box 2242

J S B May 8, 1963

Dear Mr. Blackford:

An addressed envelope was not enclosed with the SNP a questionaire and since I do not have the New York address I must return it to you with my apologies.

I have gladly responded to the questionaire. Our library is the only truly integrated institution we have in Greenville.

Cordially yours,

Jessie S. Burnett
(Mrs. H. M.)
216 East Park Ave.,
Greenville, S. C.

May 24, 1963

International Research Associates, Inc.
1270 Avenue of Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Sirs:

Of the library questionnaires sent out by us recently, five have been returned to us. We are enclosing them, and hope that you have been receiving all the others.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

A L A B A M A

ALBERTVILLE The Rev. R. E. Peters

ALEXANDER CITY

ANDALUSIA

ANNISTON

ATHENS

ATMORE Mr. Arthur M. Carlton ✓
203 E. Homer St.

ATTALLA Mr. Ronald M. Mason ✓
616 5th St. N.W.

AUBURN The Rev. Powers McLeod ✓
P. O. Box 1290

BAY MINETTE

BESSEMER Mr. G. L. Terrell, Jr. ✓
836 Hillman Dr.

BIRMINGHAM The Rev. Joseph W. Ellwanger X The Rev. Harold Long
128 6th Ave. S. (5) 1208 Finley Avenue

Lon Mitchell substituted

BREWTON

CHICKASAW

CLANTON

CULLMAN

A L A B A M A

DECATUR	Mr. F. G. Hinkins Box 303	
DEMOPOLIS		
DOTHAN		
ENTERPRISE		
EUFAULA		
FAIRFIELD		
FLORENCE	Mrs. Charles Bystrom 1849 Maple Avenue	Mrs. Bertha Klenova 743 Prospect St.
FORT PAYNE		
GADSDEN	Mrs. M. P. Hughes 1016 Forrest Avenue	
GREENVILLE		
GUNTERSVILLE		
HARTSELLE		
HOMEWOOD	Dr. Joe Jackson 1104 Drexel Dr. (9)	
HUEYTOWN		

A L A B A M A

HUNTSVILLE Mrs. Peggy Demorest
408 Harold's Drive N.W.

JACKSONVILLE

JASPER

LANETT Mrs. Gladys Stringer
1301 Cherry Drive

LEEDS

MOBILE Mr. Abe Flanagan
2517 St. Stephens Rd.

Fr. Albert S. Foley
Springfield College

Dr. E. B. Goode
20 S. Hallett St.

MONTGOMERY The Rev. S. S. Seay
Route 3, Box 400-D

Mrs. Morland Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue

MOUNTAIN BROOK

NORTHPORT The Rev. H. T. Carstarphen
1219 10th St.

OPELIKA Dr. & Mrs. F. E. Steele
P. O. Box 307

OPP

OZARK

PHENIX CITY

PRATTVILLE

PRICHARD Mr. John H. Milton
2713 St. Stephens Rd.

Mr. Walter D. Rainey
115 Edison St. N.

A L A B A M A

ROANOKE		
RUSSELLVILLE	Mr. W. M. Seargent Route 3	
SCOTTSBORO		
SELMA	The Rev. Walter H. Ellwanger P. O. Box 683	
SHEFFIELD	Fr. Brice Joyce 220 E. 19th St.	Mr. T. L. Gaston 1004 E. 20th St.
SYLACAUGA	Mr. Gordon De Coudres 205 Old Rockford Rd.	
TALLADEGA	Dr. E. W. MacNair Talledega College	
TARRANT CITY		
TROY		
TUSCALOOSA	Mr. A. T. Hansen 16 Windsor Dr.	Miss Louise R. McKinney Stillman College
TUSCUMBIA	Mr. Samuel C. Watkins 503 S. Washington St.	
WEST END-ANNISTON		

A R K A N S A S

Library Survey

ARKADELPHIA	*Mrs. David Driver 1410 Evans	Miss Mildred Sherrod Henderson St. Teachers College
BATESVILLE		
BENTON		*Rev. John O. Alston 1101 Mason
BLYTHEVILLE	Mr. & Mrs. Tommy Watts Watts Department Store	Mr. & Mrs. Ira Young 215 E. Patterson
CAMDEN	Mr. and Mrs. Tommy Watts Watts Department Store	Mr. George Ivory 783 Lincoln
CONWAY	*Dr. Mary K. Sands 314 Western Ave., #2	Dr. Farris Baker Hendrix College
CROSSET	Mr. Robert Fisher Crossett Observer	
EL DORADO	The RevCarlos E. Martin St. Paul's Methodist Church	
FAYETTEVILLE	*Dr. Keith Petersen Route 4	*Mrs. Gordon McNeil 629 Gray, Route 4
FORREST CITY	Mr. C. T. Cobb 1118 Purifoy	*Mr. U. S. Bond Box 192, Madison, Ark.
FORT SMITH	Miss Jean Montague YWCA	
HARRISON		
HELENA		
HOT SPRINGS	*Col. George B. Rogers Route 5, Box 425	The Rev. James Rice Roanoke Baptist Church

A R K A N S A S

JACKSONVILLE		
JONESBORO	*Prof. J. E. Griner Box 806, State College	Mr. & Mrs. Bill Penix P. O. Box 354
LITTLE ROCK		
MAGNOLIA	Mr. George Tanner Wesley Foundation Southern State College	
MALVERN		
MARIANNA		
NEWPORT	Attorney Fred Pickens	
NORTH LITTLE ROCK	*Mrs. W. Floyd Bates 202 E. "B"	*Dr. H. Solomon Hill Shorter College
OSCEOLA		
PARAGOULD	Judge Lee Ward	
PINE BLUFF	*John A. Thompson 4009 Fir	*Dr. J. F. McClellan Box 42, A.M.&N. College
ROGERS		
RUSSELLVILLE	Dr. Rankins 1306 Boston Pl.	
SEARCY		

A R K A N S A S

SPRINGDALE	
STUTTGART	
TEXARKANA	The Rev. Robert Scott Fairview Methodist Church
VAN BUREN	
WARREN	
WEST HELENA	
WEST MEMPHIS	Mr. John Gammon Marion, Ark.

FLORIDA
Library Contacts

	Possible FCHR Contact*
ARCADIA	
AUBURNDALE	
AVON PARK	Mrs. Henry Heilig, Route 1 Box 362 * The Rev. Robbins Ralph, P. O. Box 1056
BARTOW	
BELLE GLADE	Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Taylor 900 S. W. Ave. E.
BOCA RATON	
BOYNTON BEACH	
BRADENTON	* Mrs. Mary F. Bogue 1219 16th St., W.
BROWNSVILLE	
CAROL CITY	
CHATTAHOOCHEE	

* Names thus marked are persons not known personally by present FCHR Acting Director, but are FCHR members.

F L O R I D A

Library Contacts	Possible FCHR Contacts
CLEARWATER	Rabbi J. Marshall Taxay, 20 S. Betty Lane Mrs. J. Dilworth Lupton, 1606 Fruitwood Dr.
COCOA	The Rev. Robert J. McCloskey, St. Marks Episcopal Church, Cocoa Mrs. Marvin Olsen, 526 Orange Ave., Merritt Island, Fla.
CORAL GABLES	Mrs. H. F. Williams, 223 San Sebastian
CRESTVIEW	
CUTLER RIDGE	
DANIA	
DAYTONA BEACH	Mrs. Lilburn B. Moseley P. O. Box 5066
DEERFIELD BEACH	
DEFUNIAK SPRINGS	
DELAND	* Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Ambrose, Box 2054 (on FCHR mailing list but not 1963 members)
DELRAY BEACH	The Rev. and Mrs. Stewart Austin, 417 N. W. 7th St.

F L O R I D A

Library Contacts

	Possible FCHR Contacts
DUNEDIN	(Ask Mrs. Lupton-Clearwater)
EAU GALLIE	(Ask Miss Owers, Melbourne)
EUSTIS	
FERNANDINA BEACH	
FORT LAUDERDALE	Mr. Lee J. Price, 920 S. E. 5th Court
FORT MYERS	Mrs. Olive W. Anderson, Page Mobile Village
FORT PIERCE	Dr. James M. Howard, 2606 Sunrise Blvd.
FORT WALTON BEACH	
GAINESVILLE	Mr. L. V. Davis, 2212 N. E. 8th Ave. Mrs. Arthur Ivey, 112 S. W. 23rd Terrace
GOULDS	
GULFPORT	
HAINES CITY	

FLORIDA

Library Contacts

	Possible FCHR CONTACTS
HALLANDALE	
HAYDEN	
HIALEAH	* Mrs. Dena T. Pickett 765 W. 23rd St.
HOLLYWOOD	Mr. and Mrs. E. D. Swafford, 3021 S. W. 37th Ave., West Hollywood, Fla.
HOMESTEAD	
JACKSONVILLE	Mrs. Gretchen Conduitte 4303 Goldie St.
JACKSONVILLE BEACH	
KEY WEST	
KISSIMMEE	* Dr. and Mrs. G. E. Beauchamp, 1620 Orange Blvd.
LAKE CITY	
LAKELAND	Miss Eulalie Ginn, Box 78
LAKE WALES	

F L O R I D A

Library Contacts

	Possible FCHR CONTACTS
LAKE WORTH	Miss Ruth Linn Fraser 1412 Douglas Ave.
LANTANA	(Ask Mrs. Wilson - West Palm Beach)
LARGO	Mr. Willis T. Spivey 150 Harbor Bluff Dr.
LEESBURG	
LIVE OAK	
MARIANNA	
MELBOURNE	Mrs. Muriel J. Evans, 636 Lipscomb St. Miss Anna Owers, 6831 Norman Drive
MIAMI	Dr. Baker Hindman, 8385 S. W. 103rd St. (56)
MIAMI BEACH	* Mrs. Anna Brenner Meyers, Attorney, 420 Lincoln Rd.
MIAMI SHORES	(Ask Mrs. Williams, Coral Gables)
MIAMI SPRINGS	* Mr. and Mrs. Don Michelson, 140 Whitethorn Drive

F L O R I D A
Library Contacts

	Possible FCHR CONTACTS
MIRAMAR	
NEW SMYRNA BEACH	* Mr. Troy J. Butler Route 2
NORTH MIAMI	(Ask Mrs. Williams, Coral Gables)
NORTH MIAMI BEACH	(Ask Mrs. Williams, Coral Gables)
OAKLAND PARK	
OCALA	
OPALOCKA	* Mrs. Zilpha Sawyer, 2400 N. W. 167th St.
ORLANDO	Mrs. I. S. Hankins, 219 Lime St.
ORMOND BEACH	Mrs. Pierre Miles, 12 Azalea Drive
PALATKA	
PALM BEACH	(Ask Mrs. H. F. Wilson- See West Palm Beach)
PALMETTO	

FLORIDA
Library Contacts

	Possible FCHR CONTACTS
PANAMA CITY	
PENSACOLA	* Mrs. Leland L. Fricke 705 N. 48th Ave.
PERRINE	
PERRY	
PINELLAS	(Ask Mrs. Lupton - Clearwater)
PLANT CITY	
POMPANO BEACH	* Mr. Maurice Dufficy, 3205 Dow Street
QUINCY	Mrs. C. D. Johnson, 331 N. 14th St. (on FCHR mailing list, but not a member)
RIVIERA BEACH	* Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Levin, 189 W. 17th St.
St. Augustine	Dr. Jen-Chi Chang, Fla. N. and I. M. College
St. Petersburg	Mr. Thomas Dreier 701 Brightwaters Blvd.
ST. PETERSBURG BEACH	

F L O R I D A
Library Contacts

	Possible FCHR CONTACTS
SANFORD	
SARASOTA	* Mrs. Elizabeth Moore, 3211 N. Tamiami Trail
SEBRING	
SOUTH MIAMI	* Mrs. L. N. Felts, 7733 S. W. 62nd Ave., South Miami 43, Fla.
TALLAHASSEE	Dr. Paul M. Minus, Office of the University Chaplain, Florida State University
TAMPA	Mrs. Harold E. Carmony 1216 E. Sligh St.
TARPON SPRINGS	
TITUSVILLE	
VALPARAISO	
VERO BEACH	
WARRINGTON	
WEST MIAMI	(Ask Mrs. Williams-Coral Gables)

F L O R I D A
Library Contacts

	Possible FCHR CONTACTS
WEST PALM BEACH	Mrs. Harold F. Wilson 604 14th St.
WEST WINTER HAVEN	
WESTWOOD LAKES	
WILTON MAONR	(Ask Mr. Lee J. Price, Ft. Lauderdale)
WINTER GARDEN	
WINTER HAVEN	Mrs. D. L. Lawson, 234 8th St., S. E.
WINTER PARK	Mrs. G. F. Roess, 1201 Harding St. The Rev. Caxton Doggett, P. O. Box 825

G E O R G I A

Albany

Americus

Athens

Atlanta

Augusta

Bainbridge

Brunswick

Cairo

Carrollton

Cartersville

Cedartown

Chamblee

College Park

Columbus

Cordele

Covington

Dalton

Dawson

Decatur

Dock-Junction

Douglas

Dublin

East Point

Eastman

Elberton

Fair Oaks

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Fort Valley

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S O U T H C A R O L I N A

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ANDERSON	* Mrs. Edwin Clippard (W) 711 S. McDuffie St.	Mrs. Morris Young (N) Box 992
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BELTON		
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CHESTER	* Mrs. Angus H. Macauley West End Ave.	Rev.T.B. Browser 118 Graham St.
CLINTON	* Miss Barnett Spratt 107 E. Calhoun St.	Mr. J.T.W. Mims 232 S. Livingston St.
COLUMBIA	Mrs. T.B. Stackhouse 1513 Laurel St.	Mrs. M.B. Paul 2324 Washington St.
CONWAY	* Mr. E.R. McIver no street address needed	Dr. Peter C. Kelly, MD no street address needed

Note: First person named is white. Where one name only is given, (W) will designate and (N) Negro.

* Non-members but sympathetic and intelligent.

S O U T H C A R O L I N A

CAYCE	* Mrs. C.B. Busbee (W) 900 N Ave.	
DARLINGTON	* Mrs. Mary K. Baskervill	Mrs. S.C. Disher 114 Reid St.
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EASLEY	Mrs. Maude Massey Rogers 109 McDaniel Ave.	
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GEORGETOWN	Mr. Arthur L. King, Attorney (W)	
GREENVILLE	Mrs. W.M. Burnett 216 E. Park Ave.	Mrs. E.L. McPherson 154 Greenacres Rd.
GREENWOOD	Mr. Perrin L. Anderson, Atty. (W) Grier Bldg.	
GREER		
HARTSVILLE	Mrs. D.R. Coker (W) Home Ave.	
LAKE CITY	[illegible]	Mr. L.M. Green (N) P.O. Box 11
LANCASTER		
LAURENS		

S O U T H C A R O L I N A

MARION	* Rev.L.P. Lupe, Pastor Central Meth. Church	Mr. G.P. Kelly, Box 245
MOUNT PLEASANT	Col. John Moore (W) 236 Bennett St.	
MULLINS	Rev. Lucius DuBose Presbyterian Church	Mr.James A. Hodge Rt. 2, Box 70
MYRTLE BEACH	* Mrs. Harry W. Wagner (W) 111 Highland Blvd.	
NEWBERRY	* Rev. Neil Truesdale Aveleigh Presby.Church	Mr.Ralph Williams Boundary St.
NORTH AUGUSTA	* Mrs. Harold Timmerman (W) 1002 Fairfield St.	
ORANGEBURG	* Mrs. Ruth Bell RFD 1	Mr. J.E. Blanton Rt. 1,Box 99, Cordova, S.C.
ROCK HILL	Rev. Hawley Lynn 811 Cherry Rd.	Dr. D.M. Duckett 168½ Black St.
SENECA	Mrs. H.H. Macaulay 107 S. Second Ave.	Mrs. H.E. Hill Piedmont Pharmacy
SHANNONTOWN		
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SUMTER	Miss Julia Reynolds 302 W. Calhoun St.	Mrs. Sarah Daniels 201 Stark St.
UNION		Dr. & Mrs. L.W. Long (N) Community Hospital 215 W. Main St.

* Non-members but sympathetic and intelligent

S O U T H C A R O L I N A

WALTERBORO — Dr. David L. Chisolm (N)
Lee Mack St.

WEST COLUMBIA — Miss Florence Olvey (W)
Opportunity School

T E N N E S S E E

Alcoa	- Two miles from Maryville - see Maryville		
Athens	- Mr. Harper Johnson* Cook High School	or	Mr. William Garrett City Manager
Bristol	- Mr. Sidney Berman 1912 Euclid Avenue Bristol, Virginia	or	Rev. Dogen Williams John Wesley Meth. Church Bristol, Virginia
Brownsville			
Chattanooga	- Seamour Shavin 334 North Crest Road	or	Elizabeth Edwards 102 Island Avenue
Clarksville	- Mr. G. W. Brooks, Prin.* Burt High School		
Cleveland	- Miss Juliet Smith 223 Bates Street, N. E.		
Columbia			
Cookeville	- Mr. & Mrs. ~~Arthur~~ H. W. Raper 596 Hillwood Circle		
Covington			
Dickson			
Donelson	- Suburb of Nashville - Now part of the city. Rev. Will D. Campbell lives in Donelson.		
Dyersburg			
Eagleton Village	- ? Not listed. Where is it?		
East Ridge	- Suburb of Chattanooga - Get mail through Chatt. P. O.		
Elizabethton			
Fayetteville			
Fountain City	- Part of Knoxville	or	Mr. & Mrs. Lowell Griffen 2303 Highland Drive
Franklin	- Rev. William F. Scruggs P. O. Box 423		
Gallatin			
Greenville	- Mrs. Ben Russell 824 Tusculum Blvd.	or	Miss Georgia Farnsworth 326 Davis Street

Harriman			
Humboldt			
Inglewood	- Residential area within city of Nashville		
Jackson	- Mr. Albert Porter 400 Laconte	or	Mr. Ray Allen 6 Sunset Place
Johnson City	- Mrs. Lois H. Crum 3501 McKinley Road	or	Mr. Richter H. Moore, Jr. 607 Woodhaven Drive
Kingsport	- Rev. John Rustin Broad Street Meth. Church		
Knoxville	- Mrs. W. B. Hembree 1417 Clinch Avenue, S. W.	or	Mr. Merrill Proudfoot Knoxville College
LaFollette			
Lawrenceburg			
Lebanon			
Lewisburg	- Mrs. J. K. Tillman Route 1		
Lynn-Gardens	- ?Not listed. Where is it?		
Madison	- Suburb of Nashville		
Maryville	- Rev. David Maier 105 Mesa Road		
McMinnville			
Memphis	- Mr. Carl Carson 788 South Main Street	or	Mr. Hunter Lane, Jr. 727 Commerce Title Building
Milan			
Millington			
Morristown	- Mrs. Olin Troy 1803 Morningside		
Murfreesboro	- Mr. Ernest Hooper 202 Second Avenue South		
Nashville	- Mrs. Stephen J. Wright 1604 Jackson Street	or	Dr. Dwight Freshley 4135 Outer Drive
Oak Ridge	Mrs. Ernest Silver 107 Lehigh Lane	or	Mr. William Ramsay 142 Manhattan Avenue
Newport	- Mr. & Mrs. James Stokely 405 Clifton Heights		

Tennessee - continued

Paris

Pulaski

Red Bank-White Oak - Part of Chattanooga

Rockwood

Shelbyville

Springfield

Tullahoma

Union City

White Haven - - Suburbs of Memphis

Woodbine-Radnor-Glencliff - Suburbs of Nashville - All Nashville P. O.

Woodmont-Green Hills-Glendale - Suburbs of Nashville - All Nashville P. O.

11

V I R G I N I A

Library Survey

Alexandria	Mrs. George A. Eddy 5151 Polk Avenue	Lt. Col. Marion Johnson 1027 Quaker Lane
Arlington County	Mr. Stuart Broad 1608 Osage market. no such St.	The Rev. Sidney Lovett 5000 Little Falls Rd.
Bedford		
Blacksburg	Dr. Guy Hammond Box 406	Mrs. George Mattus 1502 S. Main
Bristol		
Buena Vista		
Charlottesville	Dr. Calvin Kunin 124 Mimosa Drive	Dr. Paul Gaston 138 Mimosa Drive
Clifton Forge		
Colonial Heights		
Covington		
Danville	The Rev. Robert McCan 201 Afton Rd.	Mr. M. C. Martin 1145 Piney Forest Rd.
Emporia	Mr. S. W. Tucker 111 E. Atlantic St.	
Fairfax	Dr. E. B. Henderson 307 W. Fairfax, Falls Church	
Falls Church	Dr. Jacob Seidenberg 1511 Cavalier Corridor	Mr. Carl Auvil 1113 Nicholson Rd.

Falls Church		
Franklin		
Fredericksburg	Dr. Alan Pierce 121 Hillcrest Drive	Mrs. Susie P. Foster 1213 Dandridge St.
Front Royal		
Galax		
Hampton	Dr. Ed. Kollman Hampton Institute	
Harrisonburg		
Hopewell	The Rev. Eugene Ensley 500 Delton Ave.	The Rev. Curtis Harris 209 Terminal St.
Lexington		
Lynchburg	Dr. J. Kenneth Morland 1619 Dogwood Lane	Dr. Lawson Crowe Box 39, Sweet Briar
Manassas Park	Dr. Benjamin Muse Box 312, Manassas	
Marion		
Martinsville		
Newport News	Dr. C. Waldo Scott 1003 28th St.	Mr. W. R. Walker 72 Shoe Lane, Warwick

Norfolk	Dr. G.W.C. Brown 1519 Virginia Beach Blvd.	The Rev. James Curtis 503 Massachusetts Ave.
Petersburg	Dr. James Nicholas Virginia State College	Dr. Harry Roberts Virginia State College
Portsmouth	Dr. Daniel Bowers P. O. Box 667	
Pulaski		
Radford		
Richmond	Dr. Aubrey Brown 512 Main St. E.	Dr. J. Rupert Picott 316 E. Clay St.
Roanoke	Dr. W. Marmion Box 2068 Southwestern Episcopal Diocese	Mr. George Lawrence 101 Gilmer Ave. N.W.
Salem		
South Boston		
South Norfolk		
Springfield	Mrs. Carolyn Schrimer 5903 Backlick Rd.	Dr. George McMullin Grace Presbyterian Church Grace & Bath Sts.
Staunton		
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Virginia Beach

Waynesboro

Williamsburg

Winchester

Wytheville

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

17 EAST CARY STREET RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA MIlton 9-0872

Heslip Lee, Executive Director
Ocie Lee Smith, Associate Executive Director

A council that seeks through fact-finding, discussion and action — to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia.

REPRESENTATIVES FROM VIRGINIA CITIES

Alexandria	Mrs. George A. Eddy	5151 Polk Avenue
	Lt. Col. Marion Johnson	1027 Quaker Lane
Arlington County	Mr. Stuart Broad	1608 Osage
	Rev. Sidney Lovett	5000 Little Falls Rd.
Blacksburg	Dr. Guy Hammond	Box 406
	Mrs. George Mattus	1502 S. Main
Charlottesville	Dr. Calvin Kunin	124 Mimosa Drive
	Dr. Paul Gaston	138 Mimosa Drive
Danville	Rev. Robert McCan	201 Afton Road
	Mr. M. C. Martin	1145 Piney Forest Rd.
Emporia	Mr. S. W. Tucker	111 E. Atlantic St.
Fairfax	Dr. E. B. Henderson	307 W. Fairfax, Falls Church
Falls Church	Mr. Jacob Seidenberg	1511 Cavalier Corridor
	Mr. Carl Auvil	1113 Nicholson Rd.
Fredericksburg	Dr. Alan Pierce	121 Hillcrest Drive
	Miss Susie P. Foster	1213 Dandridge St.
Hampton	Dr. Ed. Kollman	H ampton Institute
Hopewell	Rev. Eugene Ensley	500 Delton Ave.
	Rev. Curtis Harris	209 Terminal St.
Lynchburg	Dr. J. Kenneth Morland	1619 Dogwood Lane
	Dr. Lawson Crowe	Box 39, Sweet Briar
Manassas Park	Mr. Benjamin Muse	Box 312
Newport News	Dr. C. Waldo Scott	1003 28th St.
	Mr. W. R. Walker	72 Shoe Lane, Warwick
Norfolk	Dr. G.W.C. Brown	1519 Virginia Beach Blvd.
	Rev. James Curtis	503 Massachusetts Ave.
Petersburg	Dr. James Nicholas	Virginia State College
	Dr. Harry Roberts	Virginia State College
Portsmouth	Dr. Daniel Bowers	P.O. Box 667

OFFICERS Dr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr., *President* Mr. W. R. Walker, *First Vice-President* Dr. C. G. Gordon Moss, Dr. E. B. Henderson, The Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion, *Vice-Presidents*

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Heslip Lee, Executive Director
Ocie Lee Smith, Associate Executive Director

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Richmond	Dr. Aubrey Brown	512 E. Main St.
	Dr. J. Rupert Picott	316 E. Clay St.
Roanoke	Dr. W. Marmion	Box 2068, Southwestern Episcopal Diocese
	Mr. George Lawrence	101 Gilmer Ave. N.W.
Springfield	Mrs. Carolyn Schrimer	5903 Backlick Rd.
	Dr. Robert McMullin	Grace Presbyterian Church Grace & Bath Sts.

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1963
1879
84

Alabama

~~Huntsville~~

Mountain Brook - Fox
Mitchell ✓
& Lukes Espeyche
Birm. Co

Arkansas

Little Rock - Nat Gunn ✓

Florida

Lorit, South, & West Miami - ?

Tennessee

Lebanon - Core girl, cut Wiley
Miss Mary ~~Smith~~ Hamilton ✓
618 ~~Ale~~ Cleveland Ave

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V. Jordan

18

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte - Fred Alexander

~~Winston Salem - Irving Carlyle~~

~~Chapel Hill - Paul Green~~

Greensboro - McNeill Smith

~~Durham - John Wheeler~~

~~Wake Forest - Dr. E. A. McDowell~~

TEXAS

Houston - Mrs. Charles White

Dallas - Dr. Douglas Jackson

GEORGIA

~~Atlanta - Dr. B. R. Brazeal~~

~~Rome - Dr. Crawford Brock~~

LOUISIANA

New Orleans - Mrs. Moise Cahn

Baton Rouge - William Havard
Dept. of Govt, LSU

LaFayette - Fr. Alexander O. Sigur

MISSISSIPPI

Tougaloo - Dr. A. D. Beittel

Greenville - Hodding Carter, III

Pascagoula - Ira Harkey

Oxford - James Silver

Jackson - Mrs. Martin Harvey

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
Division of University Extension
ROGERS CENTER, BUILDING D
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

23 October 1962

Audio-Visual Center
Studies in Adult Education
Bureau of Public Discussion
Industrial and Labor Services

University Centers
Bureau of Lectures
Conference Bureau
Correspondence Study

SOUTHERN REGINAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Gentlemen:

We should like to have the materials listed at the end of this letter. Wherever we know the price of the publications we are requesting, we have included check or stamps to cover the cost. Please do not send them, though, if there is any question of indebtedness on our part. We cannot pay for materials after we have received them.

When your materials can be sent us without cost, we shall of course be grateful to you and can assure you that wide and effective use will be made of them. We wish them for use in Package Libraries that are loaned by this Bureau as a public service to the people of Indiana. (A Package Library is a collection of current pamphlets, bulletins, and newspaper and magazine articles, designed to provide the most reliable available facts and the widest possible range of opinion on a subject of current public concern.)

Package Libraries are widely used by labor unions, church organizations, PTA's, women's clubs, official and semiofficial individuals and groups of many types, as well as teachers and students. Your materials are accordingly likely to reach a widely varied public. If this fact is of interest to you, we hope you may weigh it in your consideration of charges to be made for them.

Please use this address:

Indiana University
BUREAU OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION
Owen Hall -S
Bloomington, Indiana

Sincerely yours, 10/30/62

(Mrs.) Katherine Rae
BUREAU OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION

RACIAL WORK AND NEGRO WASTE IN SOUTHERN EMPLOYMENT.

20¢ in stamps enclosed

RHA 10/30/62

kl

Assembly Rules Committee
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, Chairman

TOM BANE
CHARLES J. CONRAD
JOHN T. KNOX
EUGENE G. NISBET
JACK SCHRADE
HAROLD T. SEDGWICK

California Legislature

Assembly Legislative Reference Service

ROOM 3194, STATE CAPITOL
HI 5-4711, Ext. 3551

Subcommittee on Reference Services

JOHN T. KNOX, Chairman
JACK SCHRADE
HAROLD T. SEDGWICK
E. LESTER LEVINE
Director

BP

October 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please

I would appreciate a copy of the recent Council Report reviewing Civil Rights, referred to by Senator Keating in the March 27 issue of Congressional Record (p. 4696).

It would also be most helpful to have a list of your publications and their cost.

May I thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

E. Lester Levine

E. Lester Levine
Director

ELL:mt

11/1/62

November 2, 1962

Miss Jewelene Parker
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Miss Parker:

A member of our research staff has just located an article about which you inquired in your letter of October 19 and which I was unable to unearth in my reply to you. WHITE SUBURBIA - TOKEN INTEGRATION NORTHERN STYLE by Richard Hepburn appeared in the July, 1962, issue of Interracial Review. We have made a copy and are enclosing it.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

October 25, 1962

Miss Jeselene Parker
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Miss Parker:

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of both RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS THE WAY IN RACE RELATIONS and A HUNDRED YEARS LATER. In quantity, we can provide copies of the former @ $ .03 per copy, and the latter @ $ .10 per copy, both quotations being at cost or a little below. The title, WHITE SUBURBIA - TOKEN INTEGRATION NORTHERN STYLE, is not an SRC publication, nor can I find any record of it, although it has struck several of us here as being a recent magazine article. If you do pursue it, it is also not an Urban League publication.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Chairman: CLAUDE C. SHOTTS Executive Secretary: B. TARTT BELL Treasurer: JAMES MATTOCKS

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 88-2-0109

October 19. 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Would you please send us a copy of the following publications:

.02 "RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS WAY IN RACE RELATIONS"
By Robert E. Baker

10 "A HUNDRED YEARS LATER"
By James McBride Dabbs

"WHITE SUBURBIA-TOKEN INTEGRATION NORTHERN STYLE"
By Richard Hepburn

We would appreciate your quoting for us the price of copies of each in quantity.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Jewelene Parker

Jewelene Parker
Secretary to:
WILLIAM BAGWELL

JP:p

November 2, 1962

Mr. B. I. Boyett, Supervisor
Division of Instructional Services
Brazosport Independent School District
Drawer Z
Freeport, Texas

Dear Mr. Boyett:

The Council's L-Report No. 13 which you request is unfortunately out of print. I am, however, enclosing a recent publications list and trust you will let us know if any other materials would be useful to you.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc.

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BRAZOSPORT
Independent School District

Drawer Z Freeport, Texas

October 19, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would like to obtain a copy of the full text of Report No. L-13, December 15, 1959, "DID YOU FIND THAT THERE WAS MUCH DIFFERENCE IN THE ABILITY OF NEGRO CHILDREN TO RECEIVE AND PROFIT BY INSTRUCTION?".

If there is any cost involved, please bill me. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

B. I. Boyett by (I.F.F)

B. I. Boyett, Supervisor
Division of Instructional Services

/iff

November 2, 1962

Mr. Todd Pavela
Community Services Department
The Chicago Urban League
2410 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Mr. Pavela:

In response to your inquiry of October 23, we do have additional copies available of "A Hundred Years Later." We could provide these in quantity at a cost of $.10 per copy.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

The Chicago
URBAN LEAGUE...

FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF RACE RELATIONS
THROUGH RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

2410 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE • CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

CAlumet 5-0600

October 23, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would like to order 15 copies of the article entitled "A Hundred Years Later" , September 1962, (Toward Regional Realism, No. 2).

Kindly advise us if this is available and if there is a charge involved. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Todd Pavela

Todd Pavela
Acting Director
Community Services Department

TP/atg

CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THE
CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE
ARE DEDUCTIBLE FOR
INCOME TAX PURPOSES

ENDORSED BY THE CHICAGO ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY
FOR THE PERIOD ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1962
AN AFFILIATE, NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

11/2/62

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed is $1.00. Please send the following pamphlets:

(1) The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South (20¢)

(2) A Virginia view of "Race and Reason" (5¢)

(3) Racial Crisis and the Press (25¢)

(4) The Truth about Desegregation in Washington Schools (10¢)

(5) This is what we found (25¢)

(6) The Student Protest

Movement (154)

Also send the following (free) pamphlets
(1) Three views of the segregation decisions
(2) Action Patterns in School Desegregation
(3) Leadership report L-1

Thank you,

Mrs H E Nelson
521 E Kenedy
Kingsville, Tex

Gentlemen:

Kindly send ONE COPY of each of the following L-Reports: L-31, L-32, L-33, L-34, L-35, and L-36 as indicated in the recent issue of The New South to the following address:

Mr. H. S. Torres, S. J.
Jesuit House of Studies
3959 Loyola Lane
Mobile, Alabama.

11/5/62

Thank you very much for the information.

Sincerely yours,

H. S. Torres, S.J.

H. S. Torres, S. J.

November 5, 1962

Mrs. Frank B. Swartwout,
Librarian & Secretary
Archbishop's Committee for
Human Relations
31730 Arlington
Birmingham, Michigan

Dear Mrs. Swartwout:

I am enclosing one copy each of all the materials we have available in refutation of Race and Reason. After you have looked at them and decided whether you wish to have more copies, let us know and we could perhaps provide 100 of each, and more, if necessary, of Benjamin Muse's comments.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosures (4)

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

ARCHBISHOP'S COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RELATIONS

OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF DETROIT

Research and Information Subcommittee

CHAIRMAN

Rev. Wm. E. Hoerauf
2701 Chicago Blvd.
Detroit 6, Michigan

LIBRARIAN AND SECRETARY

Mrs. Frank B. Swartwout
31730 Arlington
Birmingham, Michigan

November 1, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The Southern Field Office of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice suggested that I write to you for copies of Benjamin Muse's comments on Race and Reason by Carleton Putnam.

Any information you can give us to help refute the book would be of great help, as it circulates freely and widely, unfortunately, in the Detroit area. At the risk of being premature in my request, as I don't know what this information will consist of, would it be possible tonobtain this literature in quantity?

Sincerely,

Mrs Frank B Swartwout

Mrs. Frank B. Swartwout
Secretary

Dear Sirs:

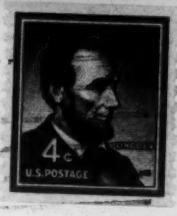
I would appreciate your sending me information about your organization and a list of your publications. Thank you so much.

(Mrs) Sue Edelman
7756 Sarzelee Lane
Wyncote, Pa.

11/5/62

Galvin - apt 3D
219 W. 16th St.
New York, New York

NEW YORK, N.Y.
29 OCT
1962



The Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

apt. 3D
219 W. 16th St.
New York, N.Y.
October 29, 1962

The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I would appreciate any information you have on the cases in court that have dealt with segregation and desegregation of the southern schools. This would help me tremendously with a paper I am doing for a course I am taking at N.Y.U.

Thank you.

11/5/62

Sincerely,

Jane Galvin

materials 10-5-62 .60 cash
L.K.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Rm. 201, 5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date Nov 5 1962

TO: M M Grimes
Atlanta

We acknowledge with thanks your payment of $.60

Subscription to NEW SOUTH for

L H Kugel
~~Secretary-Treasurer~~

325 Finley Avenue West, Apt. #2
Birmingham 4, Alabama
November 2, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Com RHA 11/5/62

Enclosed is twenty (25¢) five cents to cover the cost of several copies of the map contained in the July-August 1961 copy of "New South." The map showed the percentage of nonwhite population in counties of the Southern states.

11/5/62

I should like as many copies of the map as you can send.

Very truly yours,

Arthur Spears

Arthur Spears

November 2, 1962

Dear Sirs:

Please send a copy of the following handbook to our library -

11/5/62

"Racial work and Negro waste in Southern employment"

Enclosed is 20 cents

Thank you -

Mrs. Helen M. Hausdied
N. C. N. S. Library.
New Canaan, Conn.

.20 coin
11/5/62
LK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 26, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Southern Field Service
National Catholica Conference
for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
Suite 2
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Mr. Cabirac:

Paul Rilling has asked me to let you know that the amount due from each member of the social committee for the last Southern Interagency Conference is $9.00. Please make your check payable to the Southern Regional Council.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

11/2/62

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Eva M. Clayton
Kittrell College
Kittrell, North Carolina

****

Purchase Order # VEP

Date Shipped
10/9/62

30	NEGRO AND THE BALLOTT	@ $.15	$4.50
30	SCHOOL DESEGREGATION	@ .15	4.50
30	Map	@ .15	4.50
30	Racial Violence & Law Enforcement	@ .20	6.00
30	Unequal Badge	@ .05	1.50
			$21.00

Thank You.

US.M.O $21.00
11/5/62
LK

Mrs. Eva M. Clayton
Kittrell College
Kittrell, North Carolina

VEP

10/9/62

30	NEGRO AND THE BALLOTT	@ $.15	$4.50
30	SCHOOL DESEGREGATION	@ .15	4.50
30	Map	@ .15	4.50
30	Racial Violence & Law Enforcement	@ .20	6.00
30	Unequal Badge	@ .05	1.50
			$21.00

Thank You.

Mrs. W.R. Banks did not see the invoice in the brochures, but she had your letter and so with thanks she encloses a check for two (2) dollars to pay for the seven brochures.

Box 2607
Prairie View, Texas
31 Oct, 1962

ck $2.00
11/5/62
LK

October 30, 1962

Mrs. Elsie E. Smith
Route 1, Box 275
Thermal, California

Dear Mrs. Smith:

Thank you for your letter of October 23 and your most generous overpayment for Howard Zinn's Reports. Under separate cover we are mailing you two copies of Albany, the report of January 1962. The second report is presently at the printers and when it becomes available within the next two weeks we will send you two copies of it also.

Please do not hesitate to call on us if we can be of help again.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

ck $10.00
11/5/62
LK

Rt. 1 Box 275
Thermal Calif.
Oct. 23, 1962

To Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:
The Southern Patriot reports two reports by Howard Zinn. Would you please send me two of each and keep the remainder of the ten dollars for your work.

Sincerely,
Elaine E. Smith

PURCHASE ORDER

.20 Enclosed 11/7/62 RHA

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF CHARLOTTE AND MECKLENBURG COUNTY
CHARLOTTE 2, NORTH CAROLINA

AUTHOR

TITLE Racial Work And Negro Waste In Southern Employment.

PUBLISHER Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Ga.

PUB. DATE 1962

PRICE .20

ORDERED 11/2/62

FROM Direct

DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS

M	MR	MJ	Bst.	NB	X	E	N	S	W	D	Co.	H	MS	P	CS	TOTAL
1																1

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF CHARLOTTE AND MECKLENBURG COUNTY

310 North Tryon Street
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

PURCHASE ORDER FOR BOOKS

To: Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth Street

Atlanta 3, Georgia

11/7/62

From: Hoyt R. Galvin, Director of Libraries

Enclosed is our purchase order for books that we wish to secure from your company. Supply the total number of copies indicated in the lower right hand corner of each slip. Please send invoice in duplicate.

November 8, 1962

Mr. Jonathan Mabry
Development Manager
Route 2, Box 17
Inman, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Mabry:

Please accept our apologies for the delay in answering your letter, but several people at the Council took the time to read it in order to ascertain just exactly what help we can be to you. We are still somewhat unclear about your needs. We are, however, sending under separate cover some materials related to community development, and a listing of other Council publications. If any of these would also be pertinent, please let us know.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP

Alice Sorrell

Route 2 Box 17
Inman S.C.
10-15-62

Dear Sir:

The National Commissioners & Committees "On Community Development and Activities" The National Commission which shall be called The National Commission Action System

At the first meeting, we told our Committee that we requires hard work and planning and that we will have one big affair that will attract the whole Community.

The members on Committee must know where they stand and can make reasonably plans, and keep the Commission work "in the public eye"

The National Commissioners will serve several purposes: first of all it will give Junior Citizens some practical experience and it will whet their interest in the Community;

Each officer will be given Complete responsibility for assignment, and responsibilities will include keeping accurate figures of expenditure

"What Say Folks Let's Help Each others"

The National Commissioner Committee four will served one year team Education Service Department: 2 years term personnel Service Department Planning Commission and Greater Development Committee: National Legislature Committee.

The Commissioner is to make the Community State, Nation a better place to live and welcome as a good sound principle of democracy in which it was formed."

Work with group as team work and get as much done in groups than as individuals, and let each one know that they do have a part to play and must become a responsible citizens

Education Committee

youth and Adults will be given Classes in the Community and we will give Community Industrial Training and after completing the Classes they will be given job according to what they know and High school diplomia If they are just out of high school since January 1, 1959 and hereafter

The Commission is a fact-finding - Coordination, Analysis service and understanding organization on Grass-roots information and services"

we will like to receive materials information and support on the Community Development work and the Commission

Sincerely yours

Jonathan Maley

"Development Manager"

Route 2 Box 17
Inman S.C.
Jonathan Maby

SPARTANBURG
OCT 15
3:30 PM
1962
S. C.

UNITED STATES POSTAGE FOUR CENTS 4

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta Georgia,

120

Will you kindly send us the following publication(s)? November 6, 1962

Racial Work and Negro Waste In The Southern Employment (New South v 17 no 5)

RHA 11/9/62

We are enclosing $.20 cents in ☒ stamps ☐ coupons.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Send to
Sarah E. Preston
~~GERTRUDE STOLPER~~
UNDERGRADUATE LIBRARY
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

Please return with order.

Form 8039 3-59 1M 59367

Will you kindly send us the following publication(s)? November 6, 1962

Racial Work and Negro Waste In The Southern Employment (New South v 17 no 5)

We are enclosing .....$.20..... cents in ☒ stamps ☐ coupons.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Send to
Sarah E. Preston
~~GERTRUDE STOLPER~~
UNDERGRADUATE LIBRARY
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

Form 8039 3-59 1M 59367

THE LIBRARY
CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
PITTSBURGH 13, PENNSYLVANIA

Date 11/7/62

Please send us the following:

Racial work and negro waste in southern employment

.20

C. Bell.
RKA
11/9/62

Code No. and Name

VF

Order No.

Date

Agent

Received

Cost

Req. No.

Not in Library

10-62-20M

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Newark, N.J.

Author

Title Racial Work and Negro Waste in Southern employment

Series New South V. 17 No. 5

Edition

Destination

Publisher Southern Regional Council

Address 5 Forsyth St.

Pubn. Date

Offer of Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Price 20¢

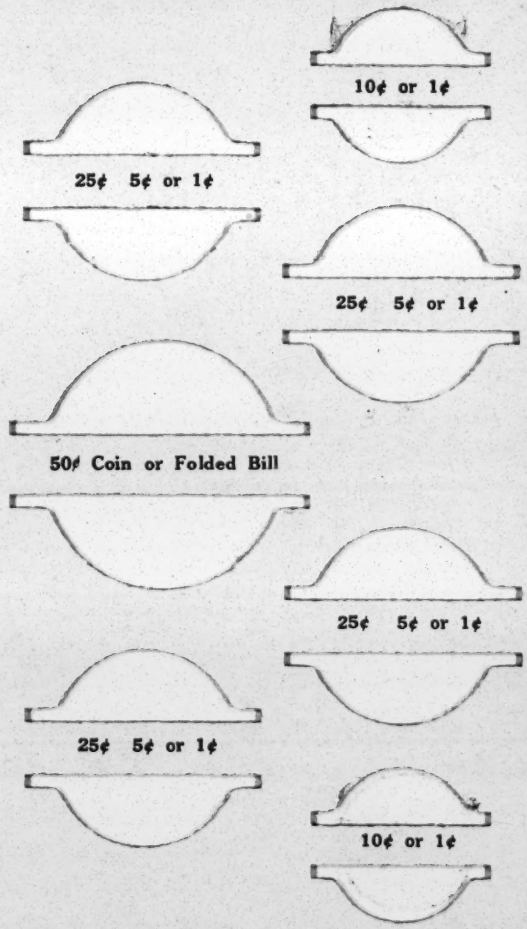
Cata.

Item No.

Recommended by JM VF 9/62 11/9/62 Comms RHM

We would like to order one copy of the publication which we have noted on the reverse side. Payment is enclosed. Please address it to:

Mrs. Virginia M. Ellis
Newark Colleges Library
Rutgers - The State University
40 Rector Street
Newark, 2, New Jersey



PATENTED - STYLE AX - J. N. SPIES MFG. CO. INC. WATERTOWN, N. Y. (PRINTED IN U. S. A.)

Fordson High School Library
13800 Ford Road
Dearborn, Michigan

11/9/62

Comp RHA

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing 20¢. Please send the following pamphlet:

Racial Work and Negro Waste in Southern Employment 20¢

Sincerely,
Mrs. Ann Canaday

11/2/1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear sir:

I am a student at the University of California and am doing a research paper on:
The Extend of Negro Voting in the South

Mr. James T. Mc Cain, organization Director of CORE, advised me to write to your office for pamphlets, circulars, and other information on this topic. He mentioned that you have definite statistics, etc. available.

I would like to request that you send me as much of this material as possible, within a reasonably short time since my paper will be due in the second week of December.

11/9/62

I will be thankful for any and all assistance that you can give me and will, of course, be happy to pay the cost of any pamphlets and postage.

Sincerely yours

Berty Goslins
Richards-Oldenberg 303
2939 Dwight way
Berkely 4, Calif.

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

November 5, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send me a copy of, "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement." Send the bill to Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, Louisville 8, Kentucky.

Thanking you, I am

11/9/62

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless
Director

DAMcC:e

WAYNE E. THOMPSON
CITY MANAGER

ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO
EDWARD M. TOOTHMAN
CHIEF OF POLICE

CITY OF OAKLAND

POLICE DEPARTMENT
CITY HALL, 14TH AND WASHINGTON STREETS
OAKLAND 12, CALIFORNIA
TEMPLEBAR 2-3600

1 November, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

May I please have a copy of the 1962 study regarding the employment of Negro policemen in Southern towns and cities?

Also, I should appreciate a list of other publications available from the Council.

Thank you.

11/9/62

Very truly yours,

C. R. Gain
Captain of Police
Criminal Investigation
Division

CRG:mmh

November 9, 1962

Miss Diane Smith
7610OS. Maryland
Chicago 19, Illinois

Dear Miss Smith:

For assistance in your report on the American race probèem, under separate cover we are sending some SRC materials which I hope will be useful. Included in the package is a listing of other publications and if anything of these would appear particularly useful please let us know and we will be happy to send them also.

The pamphlet you specifically request, "Understanding Our Neighbors," is not ours. It is of interest to us that it was mentioned in your history book as being published by the Council. Although I am not familiar with it, it sounds very likely to be a product of the Anti Defamamtion League of B'nai B'rith or the National Conference of Christians and Jews, both of which no doubt have field offices you could telephone in the Chicago area. We would be very interested in knowing the name and publisher of your history textbook. If you could take the time to send these to us on a postcard, we would be most grateful because we could inform the publisher that for a future edition the material was not ours, and let him know what we did have available which might be of interest to students.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

7610 S. Maryland
Chicago 19, Ill.
Nov. 5, 1962

To who it may Concern,

My name is Diane Smith and I am a senior at Hirsch High School. I have to make a report on American race problem. In my history book there is information about writing to you and getting a copy of your pamphlet, Understanding Our Neighbors. Would send me a copy please. My address is 7610 South Maryland, Chicago 19, Illinois. If you have any more information about the American race problem would you send it to me please.

Your truly
Diane

Route 2 Box 17
Inman, S.C
11-10-62

Dear Sir:

The "National Commission Assembly"
I wish to welcome the National Commission Assembly to South Carolina for the reason to provide: (1) get the public opinion about the situation, (2) provide Grass Root Information (To provide the people with (1) fact-Finding (2) provide Coordination (3 provide Quality of Service (4) provide Common Service (5), provide Common service (6) Develop Public Understanding (7) public View points, and Action

The National Commission will offer Correspondence Course; produce more leadership qualities, assume more leadership in the Community, State which is lost when we thoughly Know the State, Southern Regional and the Organization

We Cannot Know this organization in Community, wide or State by simple picking up what people who don't Know anything about it say about it on the street Corners.

These Course is apt to be a stepping

stone to pushing into a little more leadership, and when we have had some leadership the experience tends to qualify us for more the results of experience in knowledgeable, our state is full of people who have grown in private and public affairs and in the extent of the responsibilities entrusted to them, who started because their organization gave them opportunity to show their stuff when no other avenue for a first step in leadership were open to them. our major purposes of this Commission the promotion of the general welfare of the system in all matters of mutual concern and public interest "To disseminate information to general public regarding the benefit system." to render service in general and to lend assistance. problems peculiar to procedures and the system in general were be discussed and solution sought. Various officers bring their ideas for the betterment of the individual and the system as a whole

Responsibility

Negroes in South Carolina. The Community development is absoutely necessary, if we ever to see an end to the cycle of population Change producing all negro ~~families~~ ghetto Neighborhoods - or if we are to defend the right of negro families to move into our suburban area, generally we assume it is the layman resoponsibility which must meet the challenge of civic racial problems, but the writers of the Community is weak indeed and Civic effort are severely hampered, when we do not accept responsibility to teach principles of interracial justice. When a Community meets its first negro family the absence of responsible leadership can often spell Confusion, growth of hatred and open Violence. I ask that we use our leadership with widsom and Courage there are few places, North or South, where people will not get right in and do the job they really Know they should do

For our Urban Areas of our Country, it is the individual Citizens which must act with good sense and Vigor before our

PAGINATION INCORRECT

problem can be solved.

"Citizenship and democracy" is importance in the Commission, Education is everybody's business the time has ~~con~~ unquestionably come for the people to make it clear to educationist that they are not the owners but only the trustees of our education system.

we must learn how to treat one another we must learn to work as a team and work toward all concern.

we will like to know will our National Headquarter be with your office or where since your program and aims are the same?

on this organization one man are to be appointed by the Governor of South Carolina one seat filled by the Southern Regional Council other by local Committees

you are to let the Governor of S. C. know that the Negro have such and he is to appoint a man for the job. and that we have reach agreement.

Jonathan Mabry

Jonathan Maby
Route 2 Box 17
Inman, S.C.

Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 201. 5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Wilton Senior High School
Wilton, Conn.

Nov. 5, 1962

Gentlemen:

Please send the following pamphlet(s) listed in the Vertical File Index

Very truly yours

(Mrs.) Emily Chapman, Librarian

Racial Work and Negro Work in Southern Employment
(New South v17 no. 5)

$ .20

11/12/62

Stamps
RHA

November 14, 1962

Mr. George Guernsey
AFL-CIO Department of Education
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Mr. Guernsey:

In the absence of Leslie Dunbar, who is out of the office this week, your telegram to him was routed to the research department in order that you request might be attended to promptly. Under separate cover we are mailing you today 250 copies of Report L-388 "What Price Violence?" We are happy to make these available without cost for your distribution to your education staff around the country.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

338P EST NOV 13 62 AF348

RA370 A R WB163 PD

FAX WASHINGTON DC 13 310P EST

L DUNBAR, DIR OF RESEARCH SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC

RM 201 5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

REQUEST 250 COPIES OF REPORT L-38, WHAT PRICE VIOLENCE?, FREE OF CHARGE FOR MAILING TO EDUCATION STAFF AROUND THE COUNTRY.

REGARDS

GEORGE GUERNSEY AFL-CIO DEPT OF EDUCATION 815 16TH ST NW WASHINGTON 6 DC

250 L-38 815 16 6.

November 14, 1962

Laurie Pritchett
Chief of Police
City of Albany
Georgia

Dear Chief Pritchett:

In answer to your request of November 13 we are glad to send you, under separate cover, 15 copies of ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, and two copies of ALBANY. We are agreeable to providing these without cost and trust that if we can be of further usefulness to you, you will not hesitate to call upon us.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

LAURIE PRITCHETT
CHIEF OF POLICE

DEPARTMENT OF POLICE
CITY OF ALBANY
GEORGIA

HE. 2-2344
HE. 6-2037

November 13, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Sir:

Would appreciate very much you forwarding fifteen (15) copies of Howard Zinn's report "Albany a Study in National Responsibilities".

Thanking you in advance for all courtesies. Assuring you full cooperation of this department in all matters of mutual interest.

Respectfully

Laurie Pritchett
Chief of Police

P:a

Note: Any cost will be forwarded to you. Also send two copies of "Albany Report" by Howard Zinn.

November 14, 1962

Mr. P. B. Raiford
Executive Vice President
Tuscaloosa Chamber of Commerce
Post OfficeBBox 377
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Mr. Raiford:

Since Leslie Dunbar, the Council's Executive Director, is out of the office this week your letter was routed to the research department that we might attend to your requests promptly.

We are glad to send to you under separate cover what materials we have in print which are descriptive of the Council. I am certain that if, after reading these, you have additional questions, Mr. Dunbar would be glad to reply to you.

Elsewhere in the South there are State Councils on Human Relations which are in essence cooperating agencies of the Southern Regional Council. These state groups in 11 states (Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., Ky., Miss., N.C., S.C., Tenn., Va., Tex.) function independently of the Council but do look to us for guidance and support. In Alabama, it may be of interest to you, the director is Rev. Norman Jimerson andhhis address is, Room 1224, Comer Building, Birmingham 3. In most of the states there are several councils within the state in various cities, notably, Atlanta, Houston, and several others in Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia. There is also in Louisiana a New Orleans Community Relations Council with which we have been cooperating.

We trust that if we can be of further usefulness, you will not hesitate to call uponuus.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

Tuscaloosa Chamber of Commerce

TELEPHONE 754-7588 TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA • POST OFFICE BOX 377

November 13, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are happy to be on your mailing list and I have read your reports, that you have been sending us, with interest.

As a means of becoming better acquainted with your organization and its leadership, it would be very helpful to us if you could send a brief history of the Southern Regional Council including its present officers and directors. Any other information that you may have available that would enlighten us on your organization would be helpful.

It will be of particular interest to know if there are organizations elsewhere in the South similar to Southern Regional Council and are organized to serve a local community as an expanded effort of your office.

Cordially yours,

P. B. Raiford
Executive Vice President

PBR/jb

Memo

LWD:

letters replied to
materials requested sent
copies made for commendation
file

please return to research

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

226 Luckie Street, N.W. • JAckson 5-8654

AURORA PUBLIC LIBRARY
AURORA, ILLINOIS

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

November 10, 1962

Dear Sir:

RHA 11/15/62

Enclosed please find $.20 in stamps to cover the cost of your pamphlet entitled:

11/15/62

"Racial Work and Negro waste in southern employment"

Very truly yours,

Frances Seaholm

Frances Seaholm
Reference Librarian

FS:cam

HUNTINGTON WOODS LIBRARY
26415 SCOTIA ROAD
HUNTINGTON WOODS, MICHIGAN

Gentlemen:

Please send us the following:

Racial work and Negro waste in southern employment

11/14/62

11/14/62

Enclosed is $.20 Com RHA

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

HUNTINGTON WOODS LIBRARY

answer

1100 Myrtlewood Drive
Tuscaloosa, Ala.
12 November 62

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Will you please send me the following recent publications of the Council:

Employment Studies: Atlanta
L Reports, Nos. 34, 35 and 36 11/14/62 RHA

You will find enclosed $0.20 in stamps to cover the indicated price.

Is there any way in which I can arrange to receive automatically all publications of the Council?

Very truly yours,

John Payne 11/13/62

John C. Payne

HERBERT W. KITTREDGE MEMORIAL LIBRARY
Westfield High School
Westfield, Massachusetts

November 8, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us a copy of the publication, Racial Work and Negro Waste in Southern Employment.

We are enclosing twenty cents in coin. RHA 11/14/62

Yours sincerely,

Elaine Van Nostrand

Elaine Van Nostrand
Librarian

11/13/62

BRAZOSPORT
Independent School District

Drawer Z **Freeport, Texas**

November 9, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed is $.45 for the following material:

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: HOUSTON	20¢
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS	25¢

Sincerely yours,

B. I. Boyett (933)
B. I. Boyett, Supervisor
Division of Instructional Services

/iff

Encl.

cc: Mrs. Dorothy Hannaford
Business Office

454 11/13/62
RHA
11/14/62

Pacific University

FOREST GROVE, OREGON

LIBRARY

November 5, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are enclosing 20¢ in cash to cover the cost of one copy of the following materials as listed in Vertical File Index.

RACIAL WORK AND NEGRO WASTE IN SOUTHERN EMPLOYMENT, @ 20¢. Comm
RHA
11/12/62

Sincerely,

Elsie M. Lundborg

Elsie M. Lundborg
Librarian

November 20, 1962

Miss Carol Bryant
Box 64
Trevecca College
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Miss Bryant:

Your letter to former Mayor William B. Hartsfield was referred to us by him for reply. And we apologize for the delay, but we have lately been deluged with similar information requests.

Under separate cover we are sending you several pamphlets and mimeographed materials on the desegregation of education in Georgia. Some of these are not quite up to date and it might be of interest to add the following facts. In the Atlanta public school system, school desegregation is in its second year, working from the senior high school year down. At present there are 41 Negro students in 10 different high schools which were formerely segregated. The Atlanta Archdiocese of the Catholic church has also desegregated parochial schools in the area, St. Joseph's High School in Marietta now being the only example of integration below the higher education level outside of Atlanta area in Georgia. It would seem, also, that forces which deserve much credit for the quiet, albeit slow, progress in Georgia are former Mayor Hartsfield, publisher (Atlanta Constitution) Ralph McGill, and Chief of Police Herbert C. Jenkins. The latter recently wrote an article for our monthly magazine New South, a copy of which is enclosed.

I trust that although this is late it is useful and the delay has not been too inconvenient.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Sou Reg Counsel
Please answer
WBH

Carol Bryant
Box 64, Trevecca College
Nashville, Tennessee

His Honor, Mayor Emeritus William B. Hartsfield
Atlanta,
Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a student at Trevecca Nazarene College in Nashville, Tennessee. In my Introduction to Education class, I have been assigned the topic, "Integration in the state of Georgia" for my term paper. Atlanta is my home town, and I understand that the city was very successful in their plan of integration.

Would it be possible for you to send me some information on this? I would be interested in any information on integration in Atlanta and other cities in the state of Georgia.

I would appreciate very much any information you might be able to give me.

Sincerely,

Carol Bryant

Carol Bryant

St. Joseph's High School Marietta

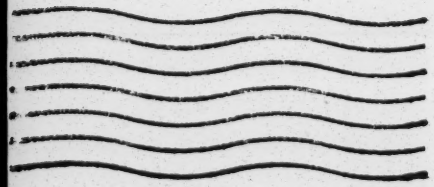
Ft Gps
Ga. Desegrated Schs.
Prel list
~~Prompt~~

WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD
ATTORNEY AT LAW
GRANT BUILDING
ATLANTA, GA.

Southern Region 1 Council

5 Forsyth St

Atlanta Ga



November 20, 1962

Mr. Gary Don McGee

Box 8742

Guilford College, North Carolina

Dear Mr. McGee:

Please accept our apologies for the length of time taken to respond to the many questions you raised in your letter of October 27 regarding religion and desegregation. We wanted to gather information for you which would be as complete as possible, and the press of other requests has been heavy, too.

Under separate cover we are mailing several of our own publications as well as those of other organizations. Included in the packet are many copies of news clippings related to various positions taken by church bodies. In summary, it might be said that all the religious groups have a general anti-discrimination policy, but in recent months various conventions have tried to make more forceful statements to try to carry out the philosophies.

The bibliography and workshop outline which are included are from the 4th Interracial Consultation on Southern Churches and Race Relations held at the College of the Bible in July, 1962, at Lexington, Ky. You might wish to get in touch with them for further details, likewise; the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 W. 57th St., New York City 19, and, the Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions, the Methodist Church, literature headquarters at 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati 37.

Trusting this will be useful although delayed.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Christianity & Crisis
537 W. 121st St. NYC 27

Meth. Woman's Div. of Christian Serv., Bd. of Missions, Meth. Church (L.F. hdqtrs. 7820 Reading Rd. Cincinnati 37

Box 8742
Guilford College, North Carolina
October 27, 1962

Wall Corp. C & I NYC 19
43 W. 57

all seem to have had a general anti-discrim. policy - but recently were conventions calling resolutions to more forcefully carry out these philosophies

old issue C & C

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

4th Interracial Consultation on Southern Churches & Race Relations held at Lexington College of Bible, Lexington, Ky. in July 1962

Dear Sir:

I am in the process of gathering information and material for a thesis. My topic is concerned with the question of segregation and desegregation in our southern churches. I believe this issue to be a very important one for Christians to concern themselves; therefore, I ask for your help and kind consideration regarding this important matter. As a student of religion, I am extremely interested in learning what stand our southern churches are taking in this area of human relations. Please send me as much information as you possibly can in regard to this matter of segregation and intergration in our southern churches. Following, are a list of questions which I feel will most help me in preparing this important undertaking.

(a) What stand does the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Catholics take in regard to desegregation in the South?

N.C. Baptist Conv.

(b) Reasons why the said denominations take the stand they take – be it for or against segregation.

(c) How much progress are they making toward desegregating?

(d) What are the opposing barriers toward intergration.

(e) What can be done to improve and facilitate integration in these churches?

(f) What area of Church work is making the most progress in solving the problem of segregation of Christian people?

I assure you that your assistance will be greatly appreciated. Thank you.

Yours truly,
Gary Don McGee

November 20, 1962

Miss Judy Solomon
414 Riverside Drive
New York 25, New York

Dear Miss Solomon:

Please accept our apologies for taking so long to answer your letter to Ralph McDill which Miss Lundy forwarded to us. I think you thesis subject is very interesting, although a little vast. Some of the other organizations you may wish to consider before you narrow your subject further would be the Urban League, now over 40 years old, and various church groups, notably the Catholic Interracial Council, National Council of Churches of Christ in America, and Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. Also, some labor groups, particularly the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO (publish the WUD DIGEST) and the Jewish Labor Committee are active in the field of your interest.

Under separate cover, too, I am sending some materials which are descriptive of the Council and illustrative of the kind of thing we publish. I hope that these, and others on the publication list which you might wish to write for, will be helpful. And again, please accept our apologies for taking so long.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

November 8, 1962

Miss Judy Solomon
414 Riverside Drive
New York 25, New York

Dear Miss Solomon:

Mr. McGill is out of town and it will be later in the month before he would be able to answer your letter. Since you, no doubt, need the material for your paper, we are referring your letter to the Southern Regional Council, which carries on rather extensive research in the field of race relations and will be able to send you some information.

Sincerely yours,

Grace Lundy
Secretary to
Mr. McGill

Judy Solomon

414 Riverside Drive, New York 25, New York

Ind. Union Dept AFL-CIO — Digest

Jewish Labor Committee

November 6, 1962

Exec Sec. NS = Urban League (were than 40 yrs old) Various church groups

L-1 publist

Daar Mr. McGill,

I am in my senior year at Barnard College and in the process of doing research for my senior thesis. I had originally thought that I would write about the NAACP as an example of a growing civil rights organization but after doing some preliminary research I find that this subject has been investigated a great deal. So I have slightly changed my topic. I intend to keep the NAACP to use as an historical perspective, for I am a history major, but thought that I would put the main emphasis on the postwar Negro leadership in the United States.

I was wondering if you might be able to make some suggestions to me. I know that at the moment I am terrible naive on the subject and hardly know where to begin. I also think that because of the time I have to give to research I will have to narrow my topic further.

I have been doing a lot of reading about some of the more well-known organizations such as CORE, SCLC, SNCC, etc. At the moment I am trying to see if the philosophies of these various groups are compatible or clash with that of the NAACP.

Could you possibly send me a list of other organizations currently operating in the United States? Also, I was wondering if you have the time if you would give me some of you opinions about the current movements and their effectiveness?

I would appreciate any ideas that you might have and any suggestions for further research you could give me. I realize how very busy you are so would be most appreciative of any help, no matter how little, you can offer.

I must apologize for my typing errors which are more than usual since the heat in this apartment building is broken and consequently my fingers are rather stiff.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Judy Solomon

THE UNIVERSITY OF AKRON LIBRARY
302 E. Buchtel Avenue, Akron 4, Ohio

Attention: Mrs. M. Hagerman

Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth Street

Atlanta 3, Georgia

LP No.204

Date 11/14/62

PAMPHLET ORDER

	AUTHOR	TITLE	COST
1		RACIAL WORK AND NEGRO WASTE IN SOUTHERN EMPLOYMENT	.20
		ENCLOSED PLEASE FIND CASH IN THE AMOUNT OF...	.20

Com
RHA
11/21/62

11/20/62

MISS JANET SHAPIRO
39 HAMPSHIRE ROAD
ROCKVILLE CENTRE, L. I., N. Y.

November 7, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am currently involved in a term paper on "The Surrender of the Powers of the Federal Government with Respect to Negro Education." I thought perhaps you might have some pamphlets or other data available which you could send to me on this specific top or pertaining to Negro education in general (i.e. history esp. post-Civil War, development, integration etc.)

I would appreciate any help you can give me at the earliest possible date.

Very truly yours,
Janet Shapiro

2 Exec Studies
Sent
11/20/62

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY
DEPT. OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

11/21/62

11-9-62

The following issue of

NEW SOUTH

Date 1962 July August Vol. 17 No. 7 & 8

has not yet arrived. Please forward at once or advise.

Copies ordered_____

Copies received_____

Copies short_____

P.11

DALLAS PUBLIC LIBRARY
COMMERCE AND HARWOOD
DALLAS 1, TEXAS

11/21/62

Dear Sir:

On March 16, 1962 we ordered and paid for in advance (petty cash) for the following pamphlet:
Southern Regional Council: FEDERAL EXECTIVE AND CIVIL FIGHTS

Would you please send this pamphlet as soon as possible.

Thank you.

Order Dept.
Dallas Public Library

11-8-62

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
University, Mississippi

11/21/62

We failed to receive: NEW SOUTH, Volume 17, number 8, August 1962.

Will you please supply the missing item(s)?

Very truly yours,

Lelia Ross

(Miss) Lelia Ross
Serials Section

CLAIM NOTICE

Date 11/9/62

To: New South
(Name of magazine.)

On a subscription placed

through F. W. FAXON COMPANY, INC.

83 FRANCIS STREET
BOSTON 15, MASS.

we have failed to receive: Vol. 17 nos. 6, 7, 8

Please supply to complete our file for binding. reference.

We paid FAXON for All issues through Dec. 1962
(Inclusive dates or volume numbers.)

Periodicals Dept. Mary Couts Burnett Library
Name of Library

URGENT - PLEASE!

Texas Christian University
Address.

Fort Worth 29, Texas

(Be sure to list as per publishers mailing stencil.)

November 21, 1962

Mr. James O. Martin
1702 4th Avenue North
Grand Forks, North Dakota

Dear Mr. Martin:

I regret very much that we do not have any materials relating to either Negro or American Indian problems in North Dakota. Our concerns must of necessity be largely restricted to the South although we are naturally interested in interracial relations everywhere. As the enclosed materials indicate, we are glad to invite you to subscribe to our monthly magazine, NEW SOUTH, and will send any of the described publications which you might find of interest.

In Indian matters, I might suggest you get in touch with the American Friends Service Committe, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. , since I have noticed that their publications frequently deal with Indians and they would certainly be better informed than we are.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
enclosures:
(1-May & Sept. New South, publication list)

1702 4th Avenue North
Grand Forks, North Dakota
November 6, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

L-1

May & Sept
NS
pub

Dear Sirs:

I understand you are an organization that collects data on minority groups and their problems, and that you publish a topical newsletter. Would you please put me on your subscription list. I shall pay the costs when you inform me of the amount.

Would you also send me any statistics you might have of Negro or American Indian problems in North Dakota or the city of Grand Forks. If not, do you know where I might obtain them?

Thank you very much.

Yours truly,
James O. Martin

Rec'd 1/5/63
Pub'd 1/30/63

Try
AF-SC

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

Copy

November 21, 1962

Mr. Jack L. Walker
Department of Political Science
University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

Dear Mr. Walker:

Leslie Dunbar passed your letter of November 4 on to me and I have tried to pull together some information describing sit-ins, bus boycotts, and other aspects of the Negro protest action. Please let me know if you would like additional data and I will be glad to see what we can find. I am also enclosing some of the figures we have taken from the Atlanta papers on the precinct voting returns from the 1961 primary elections. I regret to say we do not have a complete tabulation of the precinct returns from the 1953 election and the 1957 run-off, but are sending what figures we do have. As a matter of policy we do not ask the Atlanta newspapers for the use of their files. I would therefore suggest that you communicate with them directly.

Please let us know if there is anything else we can do in helping you in concluding this thesis.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp
enclosures

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SB can you help?

STATE
UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA

Department of Political Science

November 4, 1962

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I wonder if you remember an aspiring young scholar from Iowa (of all places) who sort of wandered through Atlanta last spring gathering information about the Negro community? I was the rather confused one who seemed to be constantly looking for help. Well, I haven't changed any. I need your help again.

I have two requests. First of all, do you have any literature describing, in some detail, the course of controversies over sit-ins, bus-boycotts or other such racial disputes involving organized protest action by Negroes in Southern cities? I already have S.R.C. reports on Albany by Howard Zinn, and Corpus Christi, Galveston and San Antonio by Kenneth Morland. I also have a pamphlet called "Settling a Sit-in" by William Westfeldt, and another on Winston-Salem by Clarence H. Patrick. Do you have any other reports or pamphlets of this type describing the course of disputes over Negro protests in a particular Southern city? If you do would you please send me copies of them?

we might have on file

My second request is more difficult, but I hope it isn't impossible. The focus of my thesis has changed since I was in Atlanta last Spring and I find now that I need the precinct voting returns from Dr. Rufus Clement's election in 1953, the run-off election in 1957 between T. M. Alexander and Jack Summers for alderman, and the first primary in 1961 in which Q. V. Williamson was defeated for alderman.

These figures can be easily obtained from the clip files of the Atlanta Newspapers right across the street from you. I think the clippings from each of these elections are in seperate envelopes in the files. Could you have one of your staff members look up the official returns, duplicate the clippings, and send them along to me?

I realize that my second request is a big order, but I'm trying to save myself the expense of another trip to Atlanta. I certainly hope you can obtain this information for me. My thesis is about half finished now and I plan to graduate in June. I am working at the same time on a text-book on the American Presidency which I am co-authoring with Donald Johnson, my major professor, and I'm also looking for a job, so I'm plenty busy. Lane Davis sends you his warm regards.

Yours sincerely,

Jack L. Walker

Jack L. Walker

OFFICIAL ORDER I L.C. CARD

No. Copies 1

Order Date 13N62

Firm Direct

Order letter

Rec'd

Spearman, Walter & Meyer, Sylvan

Racial crisis and the press

Publisher Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Edition Vols. Date 1960 Price .30 stamps

Catalog

NOTE: THIS ORDER FOR THIS TITLE EXPIRES AT THE END OF NINETY (90) DAYS FROM DATE. OVER

CURRICULUM LAB.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
Eugene, Oregon

The Library

November13, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are enclosing Thirty cents (.30) in stamps which we trust will prove satisfactory payment for a copy of the following publication:

Stamps RHA 11/21/62

Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer:

Sent 11/20/62

Racial Crisis and the Press

Very truly yours,

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON LIBRARY

E. B. Barnes, Head
Acquisitions Librarian

enc.
EBB:ba

November 21, 1962

Rev. N. Quinton Reynolds
1702 Cooper Street
Anniston, Alabama

Dear Reverend Reynolds:

At the request of Mr. Murray of the Interdenominational Theological Center we have mailed to you today under separate cover several Council publications which he thought would be of interest to you and helpful in the Anniston situation. After talking with him, I suggested that I take the liberty of including some others which came to mind. I am also enclosing in this letter a list of our materials and hope you will draw upon us if additional ones strike you as pertinent.

I apologise, also, for the delay in getting these materials mailed. We have been unusuallly pushed the last few days and fighting off the onslaughts flu has made on the staff. Please be in touch with us if we can be of any more help.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosure (1)

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

N. Quinton

Rev. Reynolds
1702 Cooper St.
Cuniston ?

write

from E. T. Carter
Thursday
Nov.
522-1742

Mrs. Brantley -
522-1772

Call
1 - Report on Human R. Commissions.
3 Employment Studies
Richmond - Price Violence?

Calhoun City, Miss.
Nov. 15, 1962

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

11/21/62
RHA

Gentlemen:

Enclosed find 20 cents in coin please send me the Sept 1962 issue of New South Magazine.

What cities, if any, in this State Miss. have desegrated their city transit systems? I really don't know about this but I do know this State's Jim Crow laws for public transportation have been voided by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Thanks for this favor.

Yours truly,
David Oliver

November 20, 1962

Mr. David Oliver
Calhoun City
Mississippi

Dear Mr. Oliver:

In reply to your query of November 15, we are enclosing a copy of the September New South.

Also, to the best of our knowledge, no city transit systems in Mississippi have desegregated in actual practice.

Yours truly,

BP:s
enclosure

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

39 Wadsworth Street
Geneseo, New York
October 22, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

11/22/62

I am working on a paper for my Government course concerning the Negro vote in the South. I am trying to locate information on how they have been prevented from voting since the Court outlawed "Jim Crow" laws, white primary and the like.

I would appreciate any information you have which would pertain to my theme.

Sincerely,
Bernadette Weider

ck $2.00
11/26/62
LK

WRITE
Box 2607
State College
Prairie View, Texas
23 November 1962

Gentlemen + Ladies:

Please send me brochures as listed below:

(4) #1 The South + the Nation – Collins, LeRoy

(4) #2 A Hundred Years Later

11/26/62

Both of these in Series titled

Toward Regional Realism

and please place my name on your roster to receive subsequent pamphlets in the series. I enclose two (2) dollars to pay for above.

Gratefully yours,

Mrs. W. R. Banks.

PENSACOLA PUBLIC LIBRARY

PENSACOLA, FLORIDA
November 21, 1962

LIBRARY BOARD
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J. L. LARKIN

LIBRARIAN
LUCIA M. TYRON

Please send us the following pamphlet (s):

1. "Racial work and Negro waste in southern employment. 15 p. '62." ----- .20

Postage
R A

11/26/62

Stamps enclosed.

Thank you.

Dorothy Anson

Dorothy Anson

George B.
~~FRITZ G.~~ BEACH
R. F. D. NO. 2
GREENWOOD, S. C.

November 26, 1962

Gentlemen:

Please send one copy of A Hundred Years Later (Toward Regional Realism No. 2) Vol. 17, July – August 1962, Number 7 to

Mrs. J. C. Asbill
Box 153,
Ridge Spring, S.C.

11/27/62

Thank you. Enclosed is 25¢ in coin in payment.

Yours very truly,
George B. Beach

November 27, 1962

Mr. Allan F. Cremin
340 Elm Street
New Haven 11, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Cremin:

We are mailing you today under separate cover a collection of materials which are both descriptive of the Council and representative of our publications. Wherever possible I have tried to include materials we have available which apply to the many topics you listed in your letter of November 9. Answers to many of your questions would have to be inferred from these materials where they cannot be answered directly, and on some of your subjects, such as stammering, we simply have no information. Neither have we produced anything per se on the Citizens Councils. They, however, proliferate publications and would no doubt respond to you directly. Their address is 315-25 Plaza Building, Jackson 1, Mississippi. Insofar as the workings and structure of the Council is concerned, it might be of interest to you that in eight southern states we cooperate with state councils on human relations. These are in Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., N.C., S.C., Tenn., and Va., with the beginnings of councils functioning in Mississippi and Louisiana. Also, this year the Council began its Voter Education Project to deal specifically with southern suffrage.

I am sorry we cannot answer all of your queries in detail, but trust that the materials being sent will prove useful and that you will not hesitate to get in touch with us if we can be of more specific help.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

call write to -
Citizens Council
"The Citizen" 315-25 Plaza Bldg.
Jackson!

write - what materials we have which are pertinent to your interests

mention VEP
psychological symptoms etc. - no materials

November 9, 1962

mention state councils

To Whom It May Concern:

I am a research sociologist who has recently become very much interested in the many and varied problems of racial prejudice and discrimination in the South. However, I know very little concerning these highly complex matters. Therefore, I have decided to write to your organization for information.

Please send me all of the free literature available which pertains in any way to the Southern Regional Council and the psychological and sociological problems associated with the denial of civil rights to Negroes in the South. I would also greatly appreciate it if you would place my name and address on your regular mailing list to receive all such kinds of materials as they are published in the future. If you have any leaflets, article reprints, or pamphlets on any of the following topics, please mail them to me along with the other requested materials as soon as possible:

recent L-reports

L-1

1. Brief history of the Southern Regional Council from its origin to the present period
2. Its current organizational structure, individual sponsors, sources of financial and moral support, relationships to other organizations in the United States or elsewhere, functions, services performed for the public and professional researchers in the psychological and social sciences, successes and failures, obstacles and problems, etc.
3. The civil rightsposition of the Negro in the South and elsewhere in the United States

A 100 yrs later

4. The social structure and culture of the South and their implications for the subject of civil rights of Negroes

1st 6 yrs.

5. The relationships between prejudice, discrimination, and Negro family life

2 voter studies

6. Negro rights under the law, voting, and education

Emp. Studies

7. The occupational world of the Negro in the South
8. The unionization of Negroes in the South
9. The extent of residential and educational segregation
10. Progress made towards integration of the Negro into the general life of the community
11. The resistance movement of the Southern White Councils and other similar organizations

Fed. Exec.

12. The state and federal courts and the civil rights of the Negro
13. Higher education and religion and their roles played in the integration of the Negro in the South
14. Stuttering and stammering, as well as other tensional symptoms, found in Negroes in the South and elsewhere in the United States and throughout the world
15. Background of prejudice and discrimination towards the Negro in the South and the current situation
16. Practical action taken to combat this prejudice and discrimination
17. Special problems for study, research, and practical action
18. Reports of this study, research, and practical action

pub list

19. Publications of the Southern Regional Council (Latest price list)
20. Etc.

Thank you very much,

Allan F. Cremin

Allan F. Cremin
340 Elm Street
New Haven 11, Conn.

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

George H. Robinson
3001 S. E. Hawthorne Rd.
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Sir:

I am a student at the University of Florida and am writing a research paper on voting rights of Negroes. Would you please send me any information you have that would help me on this subject?

11/27/62

Yours very truly,

George H. Robinson

George H. Robinson

JOINT UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
NASHVILLE 4, TENNESSEE

Nov. 2, 1962

Sirs:

We have not yet received Vol. 17, Nos. 7-8, No. July-Aug. 1962, current series, of New South which we get from you by subscsiption through Faxon

Kindly supply this number.

11/27/62

Very truly yours,

Ethel Birdsong
Periodicals Librarian.

FORM NO. 4

707 Pickett Street
Durham, North Carolina

CHAPEL HILL
NOV 13
4 30PM
1962
N. C.

PLAY FOR PEACE

UNITED STATES POSTAGE FOUR CENTS 4

Mr. James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

707 Pickett Street
Durham, North Carolina
November 13, 1962

Mr. James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

3 Hawaii policies

Dear Mr. Moss:

11/27/62

I am a graduate student at the University of North Carolina and am writing a Master's thesis on "Negro Perceptions of Employment Opportunities." There have been three studies made by your Council, of which I have knowledge, that will be of great service to me. These studies are the first three in a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities.

Have there been additional studies made? If so, I would appreciate it if you would send me copies of the results. Also, I would like copies of the first three studies as the ones that I have do not belong to me.

Thank you for your cooperation and consideration. I shall be grateful to you for any other materials that you think might help me.

Sincerely yours,
Carl E. High

Chairman: CLAUDE C. SHOTTS Executive Secretary: B. TARTT BELL Treasurer: JAMES MATTOCKS

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 88-2-0109

November 27, 1962

Mr. Staige D. Blackford,
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Thank you for the material you sent me in preparation for the talk I have to give at the NAIRO Conference. I am sure much of it will be helpful.

I'll look forward to seeing you on one of my visits to Atlanta.

Cordially yours,

B Tartt Bell

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/vps

November 21, 1962

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Bell:

Leslie Dunbar passed on to me your request for information on local school desegregation plans to use in your speech for the upcoming NAIRO conference. I am sending by separate attachment some pamphlets, booklets, etc., which should be useful to you in preparing your speech. I would also like to suggest that you check the recent issues of Southern School News for the latest information on these plans. Your local library undoubtedly will have copies of this, if, indeed, you don't receive them yourself anyway. Finally, in case you haven't seen it I think you would find the 1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report #2 dealing with education most helpful in providing factual data of the kind I gather you are seeking. I hope this is a help and I wish you luck on your speech. Let us know if we can be of any help in the future.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina
P. O. Box 1307 88 2-0109

CLAUDE C. SHOTTS
Regional Chairman
JAMES MATTOCKS
Treasurer
B. TARTT BELL
Executive Secretary

SB

November 15, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have been asked to do a report on School Desegregation Developments for the NAIRO Conference. It is suggested that this should be a rather detailed study of some local plans and their relevance to the general regional wide problems. How about sending me copies of any fairly recent SRC reports or studies that would be useful for this purpose. I would appreciate also your suggestions about other sources or references to specific articles which might be available.

I trust you'll be in Washington for this affair, and shall look forward to seeing you.

Warm personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/vps

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
HAROLD EVANS, *Chairman* • HENRY J. CADBURY, *Honorary Chairman* • CLARENCE E. PICKETT, *Executive Secretary Emeritus* • COLIN W. BELL, *Executive Secretary*

YWCA
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.
600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

November 12, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

On our subscription to NEW SOUTH which is sent to our Library at the above address, we have not received issues 7 and 8.

11/27/62

Issue 9 for September was received on November 6th.

We would appreciate your sending us issues 7 and 8 at your earliest convenience.

Yours truly,

Thelma M. Spangler

Thelma M. Spangler, for
Carol Snyder, Purchaser

November 10, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georga

Gentlemen:

I am writing in request for any possible information concerning discrimination in Negro employment.

I am a senior at Warren G. Harding High School in Warren, Ohio. I have selected the topic "Discrimination in Negro Employment" for a Case Study which is required of each student studying Senior Civics. Mr. Latcham, my Civics teacher, suggested that I write you for information in connection with this report.

11/27/62

Any facts that you could provide would be very helpful, for research on this subject has proved difficult.

Your council, I understand, was organized to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. Since employment is a vital factor to all men, I felt you might be in a possition to send me a small amount of information on the problem of Negro employment.

Thank you again for any help and cooperation you may be able to extend to me.

Cordially yours,

Carol Snyder

Carol Snyder

Miss Carol Ann Snyder
1736 Bellecrest Ave., S.W.
Warren, Ohio

November 27, 1962

Dr. Joseph T. Howard
President
Central Philippine University
Iloilo City
Philippines

Dear Dr. Howard:

We are happy to mail you under separate cover the L-Reports you request, and have taken the liberty of adding Reports published subsequent to your request.

The Council itself is not a membership organization in the usual sense. Some 85 leading Southerners comprise its Board of Membership, and these are elected. Affiliated with the Council, however, are state Councils on Human Relations in eight southern states. This membership is paid and does usually include a subscription to New South.

If you do not already subscribe to New South we would like to invite you to do so, and to add that we hope you will not hesitate to call on us at any time you think we can be of help.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

CENTRAL PHILIPPINE UNIVERSITY
ILOILO CITY PHILIPPINES

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
JOSEPH T. HOWARD, PH. D.

VIA AIR MAIL

RP

November 6, 1962

The Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
U. S. A.

Dear Sir:

I am requesting that you send free copies of the following SRC publications : L 29, L 30, L 31, L 32 and L 33 as announced in the New South of March, 1962.

I am also inquiring as to membership in your organization. I notice that the subscription cost of the New South is $ 2 a year. I wonder if there is a membership in the organization with regular membership fee that includes subscription to your publication or is a subscription to the publication entirely separate from membership to the organization.

I shall look forward to receiving the publications as requested above and a reply to my inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph T. Howard

JOSEPH T. HOWARD
President

JTH:sj

11-27.62

R 5. B# 82

Center Sy
Southern Regional Council Co
Send me a Copy of the Book
you advistin I am inclosin
my Check for $1.00 and iff
there is any more
Charges Rite me at once
are Send it C.O.D.
I Remain yours
truly
Alvis White

Albany
Houston 11/26/62

ck $1.00
11/27/62
LK

Dear Sirs:

Please send me the following items from your list of publications, and place my name on your mailing-list for any new material.

"What the Supreme Court Said"	.10
"Georgia's Divided Education"	.35
"The Church In Areas Of Racial Tension"	.05
"The SRC Reports the Changing South"	—
"New Business Ways In The South"	—
L17 "Desegregation & Academic Achievement"	—
L26 "Address By General Lucius Clay"	—
L28 "Organizations Supporting the Student Protest Movement"	—
L34 "Desegregation In Southern Parochial Schools"	—
Correct	
	$.50

Thank you so much.

11/13/62

ck .50
11/27/62
KK

(Mrs) Sue Edelman
7756 Lazelere Lane
Wyncote, Penna.

BP

Letter sent
per list

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
LEARNING · VIRTUE · PIETY

16 November 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Would you please send me a copy of Albany Report I and the recently published Albany Report II. In 1960 Harold Flemming placed my name on the SRC mailing list, however it has since been removed. I would appreciate receiving the documents written by the Council and would be glad to pay whatever service charge necessary. Secondly, would you send me the

forms for a subscription to "The New South", I intend to share this information with my fellow students at the Human Relations Center.

Thank you for your courtesy. My best wishes to you in your work.

Faithfully yours,
Bonnie Kilstein

Human Relations Center
Boston University
270 Bay State Road
Boston, Mass.

11/27/62

Sirs:

Can you spare a few copies of last March issue of "New South"?

Will be glad to pay if you'll bill us.

(Mrs) Dan R. Sley
3140 Orange View
Clearwater Fla

Apartment 3D
219 W. 16th St.
New York, N.Y.
Nov. 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

11/27/62

Dear Sirs:

Thank you so very much for sending to my School Desegregation: the first six years.

I would now like: What the Supreme Court Said. Please find the 10 cents for it. I would also like: Desegregation in Higher Education. (fact sheet, 1935-1961) and Action Patterns in School Desegregation.

I have enclosed 25 cents for the first pamphlet that I received from you.

35¢

Sincerely,
Jane Galvin

11/27/62
RHA

Paine College
ESTABLISHED 1882
AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
E. CLAYTON CALHOUN, PRESIDENT
Augusta, Georgia

November 13, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

11/27/62

Gentlemen:

Please accept our order for the following item and find enclosed seven (7) 4¢ stamps to cover same:

Quantity	Article
1	Eleazer, Robert B., comp. Singers in the Dawn.

Very truly yours,

W. C. Ervin

W. C. Ervin
Business Manager

WCE/jec
encl.

28¢ postage
11/27/62
RHA

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

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OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

STORE ADDRESS . 2115 North Akard
. Dallas 1, Texas

. Southern Regional Council
. 5 Forsythe Avenue, N. W.
. Atlanta 3, Georgia
.

GENTLEMEN: PLEASE CANCEL OUR ORDER FOR THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

DATE	PURCHASE ORDER NO.	DATE OF PURCHASE ORDER
11/28/62	71-36902	8/3/62

QUANTITY	PAGE NO.	ITEM NO.	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE
2	1	1	New South We are cancelling because have been unable to hear from you	

MANAGER

PURCHASE ORDER CANCELLATION
FORM 192

VENDOR COPY

November 30, 1962

Mr. Arnold A. Durbin
Baptist Book Store
2115 North Akard at McKinney
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Durbin:

Fortunately, we do not have to write letters like this very often. I regret to say that your original order for copies of NEW SOUTH must have gone astray. If you will advise me what issues you desire to obtain, we will be glad to send them by return mail without cost. The press of information requests recently has been very heavy and we have experienced some personnel shifts in attending to matters such as yours. Please accept our apologies and let as know how we can be of immediate assistance.

Your sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BAPTIST BOOK STORE

2115 NORTH AKARD AT McKINNEY
~~P. O. BOX 2908~~
DALLAS 21, TEXAS

ARNOLD A. DURBIN
Manager

November 12, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

You will find that under date of August 3 we sent our order 71-36902 for two copies of NEW SOUTH. We have not received the books nor have we heard from you.

Please let us know why this order has not been sent, and also let us know your selling price. We hope to hear from you by return mail.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold A. Durbin

Arnold A. Durbin
MANAGER

AAD w

THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY
CHICAGO UNDERGRADUATE DIVISION
NAVY PIER
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

November 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

11/28/62

Dear Sirs:

We would appreciate the following publication noted in Vertical File Index, September 1962

_____:

Racial work and Negro waste in southern employment. (New South v.17 #5)

R/DA
11/28/62

Enclosed you will find .20 **in stamps to cover the costs of this publication. Please address to REFERENCE DEPARTMENT.**

Sincerely yours,

Giles B. Robertson

Giles B. Robertson,
Reference Librarian

GBR:gg
enc.

November 28, 1962

Mr. Howard Livingston
23 Rockledge Road
Hartsdale, New York

Dear Mr. Livingston:

I apologieze for the delay in answering your letter but what with our annual meeting, out-of-town trips, etc., we have been rather snowed under in recent days.

Now, regarding your request for literary studies that present a positive image of the American Negro or deal with a predominant theme of tolerance and understanding, we ourselves have not conducted such studies. I would like, however, to recommend the works of the following southern authors as relevant to the theme of your dissertation:

William Faulkner, of course, particularly his short story, "The Bear," and his novels, Intruder in the Dust and The Sound and the Fury;

Elizabeth Spencer's novel, The Voice at the Back Door, is a beautifully written account of the relationship between a white man and a Negro in Mississippi;

Carson McCuller's latest novel, Clock Without Hands, is by no means her best work, but it is most concerned with tolerance and understanding of the Negro;

The short stories of Shirley Ann Grau and Flannery O'Connor deal, to some extent, with the subject of your thesis; I would also recommend a perusal of Peter Feibleman's A Place without Twilight and William Styron's Lie Down in Darkness.

Finally, I would like to make the suggestion that you write directly to Professor Louis Rubin, chairman of the English Department, at Hollins College, Hollings, Va.

Rubin is, for my money, the best critic on modern Southern writers in this country today. I would further suggest that you pick up a copy of an anthology he edited for an Anchor paperback published late in 1961. The title is: South: Modern Southern Literature in Its Cultural Setting. See also Rubin's essay, "The Faraway Country" in the Summer 1962 issue of the Virginia Quarterly Review.

One last thought occurs to me: for the kind of thesis I gather you have in mind, you will certainly want to read the works of James Baldwin who is, I think, not only the best Negro writer in this country today but also one of the best living American writers, period.

I hope these recommendations will be of use to you, and I would be most interested in seeing a copy of your thesis when it is completed.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

UNC-CH MADRIA

Howard Livingston
23 Rockledge Road
Hartsdale, New York

October 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia

ATT: Mr. Paul Trilling

Dear Sir:

I am a doctoral candidate at New York University's School of Education. I am working on a dissertation that is concerned with literary works of fiction that present a positive image of the American Negro or deal with a predominant theme of tolerance and understanding involving a Negro protagonist.

It has been brought to my attention that your organization has conducted studies in which the compilation of such literary works has been effected. I am most desirous of obtaining any such list of books that you have available. I would also appreciate any studies, whether they are directly relevant or peripherally relevant.

Needless to say, I will be most grateful for any assistance that you could provide.

Very truly yours,

Howard Livingston

1015 Henderson Street
Columbia, South Carolina
November 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council
41 Forsyth Street
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Sir:

The South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations will hold its annual conference at Frogmore, South Carolina, December 7-9. I have seen several of your publications which I think would be valuable for use in the preparation of the various discussion groups of this conference. For this reason I would appreciate it very much if you would send me the following publications:

Racial Violence and Law Enforcement by George McMillan.

Integration North and South by David Loth and Harold Fleming.

The Negro and the Ballot in the South by Margaret Price.

Racial Crisis and the Press by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer.

The Annealing of the South by Leslie W. Dunbar.

Fed. Exec. Pub. list

The High Cost of Conflict: A Roundup of Opinion from the Southern Business Community on the Economic Consequences of School Closings and Violence, published by ADL.

11/29/62

In addition to these publications I would also like to have any others which might be useful to us in our discussions on academic freedom, preparation for desegregation, and politics and citizenship.

I would also like to have a list of your publications in print.

Finally, I would appreciate it very much if you would put me on your select mailing list to receive these publications as they appear.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and courtesy in this matter.

Sincerely,

M. Hayes Mizell

M. Hayes Mizell
SCSCHR Projects Committee
Chairman

November 29, 1962

Mr. James D. Clark
204 Echols House
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Clark:

In response to your request for materials about the gubernatorial campaign of Alabama's "Kissing Jim Folsom" I am enclosing copies of a collection of news clips from our files. I hope this information will be of help to you in writing your research paper on the rise and fall of one of the South's most colorful politicians.

Please give my regards to Professors Gaston, Tom Hammond, and Bernie Mayo, as well as to my alma mater, Mr. Jefferson's University.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:bp
enclosures (19)

204 Echols House
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia
November 21, 1962

MR. Staige Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am writing a research paper on the 1946, 1954, and 1962 gubernatorial campaigns of James E. Folsom in Alabama. A major part of my project is to ascertain the reasons why Folsom lost in 1962 after two landslide victories in his other campaigns for governor. Mr. Paul Gaston, my adviser, suggested that the Southern Regional Council might have an election analysis of the gubernatorial election in Alabama this year. If you have any such material--or any other material concerning James Folsom's activities as candidate for Governor of Alabama--I would appreciate it very much if you would either send it to me or refer me to the proper source.

Very truly yours,

James D Clark

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

November 29, 1962

Miss JoAnn Adams
1219 42nd Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Adams:

We do not have any prepared materials relating to ethnic groups in New York City. The Council's concerns are primarily with the South. We are happy, however, to send you the enclosed descriptive fact sheet and to make ourselves available to you for more specific information requests where we can be helpful.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
enclosure

returned twice
by Post office

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. The Commission was founded in that year by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Through the ensuing years it built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset. It worked to encourage an interchange of ideas and mutual trust between the South's two peoples. The notion of cooperative action by persons of good will, both white and Negro, took firmer root and has continued to grow.

In time the Commission sought ways of expanding its activities to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. This led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, which was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council.

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners, drawn from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principles, and with the best interests of the country and this region. The Council has, therefore, an announced point of view. It has, furthermore, a single-minded devotion to the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. The Council's program is planned and its publications are prepared to serve that end.

Financial support for the Council has come from many different individuals and organizations. The latter include national foundations, many church denominations, and various trade unions and business firms.

The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: 1) it provides consultative services to private and official agencies; 2) it carries on research and publishes frequent reports of findings; 3) it publishes a monthly magazine, New South, and works with the press, radio, and television; 4) it is a clearinghouse and coordinator for other agencies concerned with Southern problems.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. It is an educational organization. It believes that each community in the South must find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. It offers no blueprint, no panacea for the South's human problems. It does offer a method--that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

* * *

Present officers of the Southern Regional Council:

President

James M. Dabbs
Planter and Author
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Vice-Presidents

Josephine Wilkins
Athens, Georgia

Dr. Albert W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Marion A. Wright
Attorney and Past President, SRC
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Chairman, Executive Committee

John H. Wheeler, President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Executive Director

Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

6/24/61

[redacted]

CABLE ADDRESS DAIWORK NEW YORK • ORegon 9-9450
23 WEST 26 ST. • NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

109

Nov 26, 1962

Dear Sir;

Enclosed please find 60¢ for special delivery copy of Albany; A National Responsibility sent to T.R. Bassett. Kindly send us 3 more copies regular mail. Thank you for your service.

11/29/62

Yours truly,

T.R. B[illegible]

60¢ Coins
RHA 11/29/62

[redacted]

LIBRARY
ST. PETERSBURG JUNIOR COLLEGE
6605 FIFTH AVENUE NORTH
ST. PETERSBURG 10, FLORIDA

November 20, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

11/29/62

Dear Sirs:

Please send us the following material:

Racial Work and Negro Waste in Southern Employment $.20

Comm
RHA
11/29/62

We are enclosing ~~coupons~~ cash in this letter in the amount of $.20, payment for the material as noted in the Vertical File Index, September, 1962.

Yours very truly,

Alicia K. Martin

(Mrs.) Alicia K. Martin
Acquisitions Librarian

1 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York
November 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

Stamps RHA 11/29/62

Dear Sirs:-

Herewith 5 $ worth of postage stamps.
Kindly send me one copy each of:

a Virginia View of Race and Reason
by Benjamin Muse

11/29/62

L-32 Refutation of Race and Reason
by Dr. William P. Sullivan

Yours sincerely,
John Kepke
John Kepke

United Christian Fellowship
Student Union, K.S.T.C.
Emporia, Kansas
November 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We would like to be placed on your mailing list and to receive immediately some interpretive literature concerning the work of your agency.

11/29/62

I am certain that the students and faculty at Emporia State College will be interested in knowing about your concern.

Sincerely,

Darrell Yeaney

Darrell W. Yeaney

hvj

November 29, 1962

Miss Judith A. Schenk
235 Lincoln Avenue
Amherst, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Schenk:

We have not overlooked your query of over a week ago but the press of information requests recently has put us a bit behind schedule.

Under separate cover we are sending you some copies of news clippings relating to the part of the Negro vote in recent southern elections. These results are spotty and inconclusive and reflect, generally, the findings to date of our Voter Education Project: i.e., that it is still too early to assemble and make any very meaningful interpretation of voter registration. We are at work correlating this information locally wherever we can and hope in six months or more to make public some findings. At present, about all we can offer is the modest estimate of 40,000 new Negro registered voters attributable to programs we have supported since May, 1962.

As for your question about Negro leadership politically, this, too, we must beg pending further facts. It would seem only candid to say that in some areas where there is sophisticated leadership coupled with longterm political ambition, significant new power structures are emerging. As background, we would recommend Louis Lomax' The Negro Revolt and the Council's study, "The Negro and the Ballot," which we have included in the packet. It might be of some comfort to you to learn that to my own personal knowledge two very able political scientists are struggling with your subject in doctoral dissertations.

I trust that if we can be of further assistance to you in specific areas you will not hesitate to be in touch with us.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Any preliminary studies - registered prior to 1962 some data

235 Lincoln Avenue
Amherst, Massachusetts
November 12, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a student at the University of Massachusetts doing graduate work in Government. As I am currently working on a paper concerning Negro leadership in the South, Mr. John H. Fenton of the Government Department recommended that I write to you for assistance.

In addition to examining the changing character of Southern Negro leadership, I am particularly interested in the progress of and the results from the Negro voter registration drive in the South. Have the initial results come up to the expected results? Given the vote, what is hopefully the significance of the Negro vote as far as the politicians are concerned?

Any statistics or additional information which you might have in this area would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you for your time and consideration in this matter.

too early to say for whole South - ~~Stride toward Freedom~~

Howat "Negro Revolt" clips

Harper

2 voter studies

Sincerely yours,

Judith A. Schenk

Judith A. Schenk

November 29, 1962

Miss Rhoda Plummer
2709 Fayetteville Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Miss Plummer:

I have your letter of November 19 on behalf of your class inquiring about the number of Negro children in integrated schools in six states. I am enclosing the figures which the Council was able to accumulate as of school openings in September, 1962. These are estimates, it must be stressed, but their accuracy has borne up well during cross-checking and they are the most complete that we are able to provide... I regret that weddo not have figures for the state of West Birginia.

Good luck with your other topics and do let us know if we can help you again.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosure

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secfetary, Research

Nov. 19, 1962
2709 Fayetteville St.
Durham N.C.

Dear Sir:—

We are studying the South-eastern States and we want to know the number of Negro Children attending intergrated schools in the following states; West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

May we thank you in advance for any consideration that you might give this letter.

We know all the answers to the other question on this unit and it would make us very happy to find the answer to this one.

Please help us.

yours truly
Rhoda Plummer & others

215 Davidson Hall
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
November 12, 1962

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth North West
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am presently in the process of preparing a term paper on the Southern Regional Council for a history class.

11/29/62

I would like information concerning this organization. If there is any available material on the origin, developments, and functions of the league at your disposal please send it to the above address. Thank you very much.

Yours truly.

Dorothy Sylver

(Miss) Dorothy Sylver

November 29, 1962

Miss JoAnn Adams
1219 42nd Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Adams:

We do not have any prepared materials relating th ethnic groups in New York City. The Council's concerns are primarily with the South. We are happy, however, to send you the enclosed descriptive fact sheet and to make ourselves available to you for more specific information requests where we can be helpful.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosure

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
,Secretary, Research

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JoAnn Adams
1219 42nd Avenue
November 14, 1962

Gentlemen:

At the present time I am conducting research on The Accommodation of Ethnic Groups in New York City. I have chosen this topic as the theme for a sociology term paper. As I am eager to learn much concerning ethnic group accommodation, I am writing your organization. It is my hope that you may be able to furnish me with factual data upon your organization's goals, work, and accomplishments. I want to learn the purpose of the formation of your organization and how it benefits individual ethnic groups solely in New York City.

I would appreciate a prompt reply, and I sincerely thank you for any help you may be able to give.

Yours truly,
JoAnn Adams
JoAnn Adams

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WILTON S. DILLON, *Executive Assistant and Director of Research*
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TELEPHONE: GRamercy 3-8015
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York

November 21, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Would you be kind enough to send us 26 copies each of THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH - February 1962 and April 1962. We would like to send copies to the 26 schools who are participating in the IDENTIFICATION AND PLACEMENT OF NEGRO TALENT in our project for the Academic Year 1962-63. 11/29/62

Very truly yours,

R. O'Hara Lanier

R. O'Hara Lanier
PROJECT DIRECTOR

ec

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

JOHNSTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY

November 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

Our records indicate that we have not received issues Nos. 7-8 of the NEW SOUTH, although issue No. 9 has been received. Please supply us with this issue.

11/29/62

Very truly yours,

Sarah W. Wallace
(Mrs.) Sarah W. Wallace
Periodicals Librarian

SWW/c

November 29, 1962

Miss Clarice Olson
Baldwin
Wisconsin

Dear Miss Olson:

In answer to your request, no, we do not have any published materials on industry in the South. The Council's concerns are primarily with race relations. I would, however, suggest that you write Chambers of Commerce in major southern cities and they would be most likely to provide you with the information you require.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Baldwin, Wisconsin
Nov. 8, 1962

Dear Sirs:

Do you have any information on the "Industries of the South"? I stopped at your office but it so happened it was closed during the hours we were in Atlanta.

I am writing a term paper on it so need the material very soon. I plan to work on it during thanksgiving so if you have any material on this please send it at once.

Yours truly,
Clarice Olson

November 29, 1962

Mr. Paul Lubenow
23 Andrew Lane
Orange, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Lubenow:

I believe the enclosed copies of voting registration forms are more self-explanatory than anything we could write to you about voting discrimination in the South. If we can provide further information about specific localities or instances, please let us know what these are and we will be happy to help.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
enclosures: registration forms, 2 Margaret Price pamphlets

November 17,1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street,N.W.
Atlanta,Georgia

Gentlemen,

The Socialist Party has given me your name as a source of information pertaining to voting discrimination in the south. I would appreciate it if you would send me any literature you have on discriminatory voting practices in the south,especially in the state of Mississippi. This topic is of utmost importance for it is the theme of my Political Science term paper in college which is due the second week in December.

Your cooperation in the matter will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Lubenow

Paul Lubenow
23 Andrew Lane
Orange, Connecticut

CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
CENTRAL SERIAL RECORD DEPT.
ITHACA, N. Y.

11/29/62

CLAIM NOTICE:

DATE 11/15/62

We have failed to receive the following publication:

Title NEW SOUTH.

Vol.: 17 No.: 7 & 8 Date: July & August 1962

Requested by:

Regularly Supplied by you as:

Date of Request:

Gift:

Exchange:

Subscription: X

1806 Graywell Rd.
Wilmington 3, Dela.
Nov. 17, 1962

Dear Sir;

I am writing a college paper on Negro voting in the South. Any information you can give me on the subject, I would appreciate very much.

Sincerely,
Mary W Bateman

11/29/62

MARY WASHINGTON COLLEGE
of the UNIVERSITY *of* VIRGINIA
FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA

E. LEE TRINKLE LIBRARY
OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN

November 15, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

11/29/62

Gentlemen:

According to our records we have not received the July 1962 issue of New South.

We will appreciate your sending this back issue as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Joy T. Van Etten

(Mrs.) Joy T. Van Etten
Serials Clerk

ARCHBISHOP'S COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RELATIONS

OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF DETROIT

Research and Information Subcommittee

CHAIRMAN
Rev. Wm. E. Hoerauf
2701 Chicago Blvd.
Detroit 6, Michigan

LIBRARIAN AND SECRETARY
Mrs. Frank B. Swartwout
31730 Arlington
Birmingham, Michigan

November 8, 1962

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

11/29/62

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

The materials so sent me in refutation of Race and Reason are excellent and would answer a big problem for us. We would like very much to have more copies of them. The 100 of each that you thought you could provide would very helpful. Thank you very much for your help and interest.

Sincerely,

Mrs Frank B Swartwout

Mrs. Frank B. Swartwout
Secretary

I am gaveing a special report in Problem's of Democracy on the Southern Regional Council and I would like to have all the free information Concerning this council.

11/29/62

Could you Please send this information as soon as possible

Sincerely yours
Kenneth Waggle

November 26, 1962

Dear Sir:

11/29/62

I would appreciate it very much if you would send me two (2) copies of the reprints of the editorials of Southern college newspapers' reaction to the crisis at the University of Mississippi.

Thank you very much for your courtesy and cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,
Joe Lessene
Joe Lessene
1200 South Beltline Blvd.
Columbia
South Carolina

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION LIBRARY
Room 10, University Library
Minneapolis

November 20, 1962

We shall be very grateful if you can furnish us with a copy of the publication listed below. If there is a charge, will you kindly notify us before sending.

11/29/62

Very truly yours,
MYRTLE EKLUND,
Librarian

Publication desired:

Reviews accomplishments in the field of civil rights during the first 14 months of the Kennedy administration. 1962.

November 29, 1962

Mrs. Olve W. Anderson
Page Mobile Village
Fort Myers, Florida

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

We have your letter of November 20 and apologize for the delay in answering all of your requests. The materials you wished were mailed three days agounder separate cover. I am afraid your letter did not reach us in time for youtto have them for your meeting, but you indicated they would be useful regardless of the timing.

I have been delaying answering your letter in order to get the thoughts of Mrs. Eliza Paschall, who is the executive director of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations. She is, unfortunately, out of town on an extended trip and is not expected back until Monday, December 12. At that time, I will see that she sees your letter and answers you directly. In the meantime, her secretary has given me the enclosed publicationswhich may be of some usefulness.

I am sorry we cannot be more explicitly helpful at the moment. If you feel you would like to call on us in the future, please do not hesitate to do so.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
enclosures (4)

Page Mobile Village
Fort Myers, Florida
Nov-20-62

WRITE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

We are still trying to form a Human Relations Council here, and for some reason some of the group feel that it is of immense importance to know how the HRC in Atlanta,Ga. was formed. Do you have any material on this?

Also, I would like to have the following:

"The City and the Negro:"20¢ ea.		$1.00	
"The Annealing of the South"		.10	
"The Church in Areas of Racial Tension"		.15	
"Georgia's Divided Education"		.25	
"Sanctuaries for Tradition:Virginia's New Private (Schools. . .		.20	
"The Louisville Story"	~~SFC~~SCF	1.70	$1.70
"Action Patterns in School Desegregation" . . .	SCF		
"Desegregation in Baltimore City Schools" . . .	SCF		
"When a City Closes its Schools"	SCF		

L-16	SCF	L-26	SCF
L-17	"	L-27	"
L-19	"	L-28	"
L-20	"	L-31	"
L-21	"	L-32	"
L-22	"		
L-23A	"		
L-24	"		
L-25	"		

11/26/62

We are meeting next monday evening, Nov.26th. If you could have these materials here by then we would be very glad, otherwise, we'll be glad when they do come.

Thanking you

Sincerely

Olive W. Anderson
(Mrs.) Olive W. Anderson

ck $1.70
11/26/62
LK

Boston University

CHARLES RIVER CAMPUS • 725 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE • BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

CHENERY LIBRARY

November 23, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

11/30/62

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find the list of "SRC Publications" which you recently sent us. We have checked those items which we would like to add to our files. We would appreciate your mailing the list back to us with whatever materials are still available.

Thank you for your attention.

Very truly yours,

Joseph H. Dayag
Head, Reference Department

D/z

11/30/62

Kennard Tex
Nov 23 - 1962
To the Southern Regional
Will you please send
me a copy of your
paper. i will thank you
so much. so i can tell
more people about it. i
want to go about it. for
i deal paper for the
Informer in Houston

MRS. JESSIE McCELVEY
P.O. Box 643
Kennard, Texas

Dominican College Library
Racine, Wis.

November 26, 1962

Gentlemen:

We are interested in obtaining a copy of your publication "Executive Support of Civil Rights" if it is still available. Thank you.

Sister M. Helen
Librarian

11/30/62

TEACHERS COLLEGE LIBRARY 525 W. 120 St., N.Y.27,N.Y.

525 WEST 120TH STREET • NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

ATLANTA
NOV 29
5 PM
1962
GA

DEFEAT
MUSCULAR DYSTR
SUPPORT MD

We wish to obtain a copy of each publication listed below. If complimentary copies are not available, kindly notify us of the charges before forwarding. Thank you.

November 19, 1962

Gertrude H. Franklin
Document and Serial Section

REPORT L-16: ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON, RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, BY FRANK H. STALLINGS. 1960.

11/30/62

Department of Sociology
Queens College
Flushing 67, N.Y.

Southern Regional Council
9 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

If a copy of the report, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, by George McMillan is available, can you forward a copy to me. Please bill me.

11/30/62

Should you no longer have a copy, can you suggest an alternative source which might have one.

Very truly yours,

Gladys E. Lang

Gladys E. Lang, Ph.D.
Lecturer in Sociology

November 30, 1962

Order Department
University of Michigan
Library
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a copy of your order for the Council's studies on Negro employment, three volumes dealing respectively with Houston, Chattanooga and Atlanta. This was sent to us by the Southern Regional Education Board and was the first we knew of your order. I note that it appears to have gone unattended to for some time, and also that the price indicated is $5.00, which would seem that you are either misinformed about the price, or desire copies in quantity. Each pamphlet is $.20 the single copy. If you will let us know what we can do to fulfill your needs, we will be happy to attend to it by return mail.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosures

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Also - on 12/10/62 sent
"The Georgia Public Negro College"
from Summer '62 Jour. of Negro
Educ.

November 30, 1962

M. Andre Terrot
c/o Madame Oderio
Chemin de la Poterne
Grenoble
Isere
France

Dear M. Terrot:

You should not apologize for your writing facility in English. It is excellent and I wish we could do as well in French. Our office remembers your group's visit earlier this year and are only too glad to send what follow-up information we can.

First, we do not have any published materials dealing specifically with the desegregation process among Georgia's institutions of higher education. We have, however, records of what desegregation has taken place. This is as follows:

Georgia State College - Atlanta - state -
desegregated in 1962
at present 1 Negro undergraduate;
University of Georgia - Athens - state -
desegregated in 1961
at present 6 Negro undergraduates
gave its first degree to a Negro
at the August 1962 commencement -
Mary Early - M.A. in music education;
Georgia Institute of Technology - Atlanta - state
(popularly called "Georgia Tech")
desegregated in 1961
at present 6 Negro undergraduates;
Columbia Theological Seminary - Decatur - Presbyterian
this seminary is 128 years old and,
according to a recent statement, has
never had a segregated or desegregated
admissions policy - Negroes have been
in continual attendance in recent years
although other Presbyterian seminaries
in the South (Louisville, Ky., Austin,
Tex.) offer more attractive locales -

at present 1 Negro undergraduate and 3 Negro graduate students;

Emory University - Atlanta - Methodist
1 Negro at present enrolled in an evening adult education non-credit course
2 Negro nurses accepted for the graduate school of nursing to enter in January, 1963.

As for the political, judicial, and sociological implications which you raise, neither do we have any published materials on that aspect. I am enclosing a copy of a news item from the Washington Post which appeared September 13. As well as any one report it gives a perspective on Georgia which would indicate that this state is far more painlessly than its Deep South neighbors of Alabama and Mississippi moving into the "moderate" department. The recent elections which the news clipping describe underscore this point. As most enlightened newspaper, the Atlanta Constitution, and publisher, Ralph McGill, have had their effects here. It should be noted, too, that all of the instances of desegregation mentioned, with the exception of the University of Georgia at Athens, have taken place in the Atlanta area, which is cosmopolitan and rather a-typical. On the other hand, the recent electors of Georgia's governor-to-be, were state-wide.

Since we realize you are facing a deadline on your paper and wish to send this air mail, we are not including other of our publications - these deal wholly with education in the secondary schools. They are available to you, if you wish, just let us know. A publication list is enclosed. And just parenthetically, you might be interested to read what student writers and editors throughout the South had to say about the recent University of Mississippi tragedy.

Our research director has further suggested that the United State Information Agency in major European cities maintains a library of current periodicals and books and that Grenoble might be one of these cities. If so, that office would surely share contemporary publications with you.

Let us know if you would like more.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosures (2)

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

P.S. It occurs to me that in mentioning "moderate" states a valid instance of comparison would be North Carolina, which, to the best of our knowledge, has at present 20 institutions of higher education with desegregated admissions policies and of these, six have state or local government legal control.

USIA - Library
for current US periodicals

Grenoble, 19, november

Sir,

Having toured the USA with a group of French Political science students, I have to write a paper on this tour and I have chosen the issue of desegregation in the universities and colleges of Georgia; I have brought some documentations from Atlanta where we stayed a couple of day, but I need more information about this issue: I would like to receive a general survey or study on this subject affording if possible informations on the various sides of the problem (political, juridical, sociological, etc) I would be glad too to receive the various pamphlets and publications that you have issued on this subject or which are now availabled.

As I must hand my paper at the end of december it would be useless to send these informations after the 15th of december.

I can read English pretty well, though my writing knowledge is rather limited, and I hope you will be able to realize the kind of help I am asking you; and

I thank you for the help you will be able to give me,

Sincerely yours,

André TERROT
c/o Madame ODERIO
chemin de la Poterne
GRENOBLE
(ISÈRE)
FRANCE

P.S This TOUR was sponsored by the state DEPARTMENT, and organized by the U.S. national student Association (U.S.N.S.A.)

609 Birmingham Street
Bridgeport 6, Connecticut
December 20, 1962

Dear Sir:

I am doing research on Segregation and Integration in the schools of the Deep South at the present time. I would very much appreciate if you could send me some information on this subject as soon as possible.

Cordially yours,

Barbara Cormier 1/2/63

Barbara Cormier

BC

13002 Laureldale Ave.
Downey, California
December 12, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Harold C. Fleming, Executive director

Dear Sir:

For my university degree in Sociology, I am writing a thesis on the Social, Moral, and Political problems of Integration in the United States. Any information regarding this subject, or information leading to contact with persons or organizations which might be of help would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you for your time and effort.

1/2/63

Sincerely,

Elaine Lacombe

Elaine Lacombe

December 3, 1962

Mrs. Sarah W. Wallace
Periodicals Librarian
Johnston Memorial Library
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Wallace:

In answer to your request, the back issues of New South mentioned in your letter of November 27 are available with one or two exceptions. We have in supply 28 of the issues you request and the cost is the usual single copy price, $.20, making a total of $5.60. Please let us know if you would like these forwarded.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Virginia State College

Petersburg, Virginia

November 27, 1962

JOHNSTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY

March, '46 - Southern Future
June '46 - A Healthy South
Sept '46 - Machines in the Cotton Field only 2

Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

28

Please advise if you can furnish the following magazines:

except

NEW SOUTH

Vol. 1 - All issues 1946
" 2 - " " 1947
" 3 - #1, #2, #3, #4 (1948)
" 4 - All issues (1949)
" 5 - ~~#3~~, ~~#4~~, ~~#9~~ (1950)
" 6 - ~~#3~~, #4 (1951)
" 7 - ~~#2~~, #6, #9 (1952)
" 8 - ~~#6~~, #8, #9, #10 (1953)
Vol. 11 - #11 (1956)

28
20
5.60

If the above issues are available, we should like to know the cost before we place order. This is not an order.

Very truly yours,

Sarah W. Wallace

(Mrs.) Sarah W. Wallace
Periodicals Librarian

SWW/e

all except
June '47 only 2
Dec. 47 - only 1

Jan. '48 combined with Dec. '47, only one
April '48 only two

April '51 - only 1

Aug. '53 - only 2
Sept. '53 - only 2
Oct. '53 - only 2

PURCHASE ORDER

BACON PAMPHLET SERVICE, Inc.

Pamphlet Distributors

NORTHPORT, NEW YORK

ANDREW 1-7714

No. 8804

MUST APPEAR ON LABEL

to assure identification

To

11-27-62

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

No. of Copies

1 copy each:

FREEDOM RIDES. (New South V 17 # 7)	.20
Price- TOWARD A SOLUTION OF THE SIT IN CONTROVERSY.	.10
	.30

12/3/62 - R/dA

We enclose $ .30 in [X] Stamps [ ] Check

12/3/62

LIBRARY
TEXAS TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE
LUBBOCK, TEXAS

Claim is hereby made for the following item(s) not yet received: 12/3/62

NEW SOUTH

VOL.17, NO.7 AND 8, 1962

ck #2.00
12/3/62
LK

1028 Madison Street, Apt. #4
Jackson, Mississippi

November 29, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am interested in the President's Housing Discrimination Order and would like to learn more of the constitutional and/or legal basis for this order. I understand that you have published a pamphlet entitled "The Chief Executive and Civil Rights" written by Professor Daniel Pollett.

12/3/62

I am enclosing a check for $2.00 to cover the cost of having this publication sent to me. I would appreciate prompt action, for this material is needed immediately. If there is any additional charge, let me know; and I will forward it to you immediately.

Yours very truly,

Rex D. Poole

Rex D. Poole

Enclosure

Keep Cottage
Oberlin, Ohio
November 28, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear friends,

I received copies of some of your publications at the leadership training institute of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and I am very pleased to have the chance to read them. They are so useful for giving a picture of what is happeneng all across the South, not just in the few areas with which I am familiar, and of the historical context in which it is happening.

If you publish a newsletter, I would like to subscribe to it. Also, since I am librarian for the Oberlin College NAACP, I would like any kind of catalogue or list of your publications which may be available.

12/3/62

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Linda Coram

Voice of the New West
FRONTIER

1256 Westwood Blvd.
Los Angeles 24, Calif.

Nov. 30

Gentlemen:

I.F. Stone's Weekly devoted considerable space to your recently published report on the Albany Movement.

I am particularily interested in that portion which ~~xxxxx~~ deals with the role of the local police and the FBI -- or perhaps more properly -- the lack of a role played by those two organizations.

The material will be used in a book which I am writing on police malpractice.

Your cooperation would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Ed Cray

Ed Cray

12/3/62

54 Orient Street
Malden, Massachusetts
11/28

Dear Sir:

I would appreciate it very much if you would send me some information concerning the incident which occurred at Oxford, Mississippi.

If you do not have any literature on this subject would you please refer me to some other agencies which might have a report on the Mississippi crisis.

Would you have any information concerning the Albany Movement in Georgia?

I realize that the object of the Southern Regional Council is to report the facts, and not to distort the picture concerning the Negro in the South. It is for this reason that I am asking you for the information concerning the University of Mississippi and the Albany Movement.

Thank you ever so much for your time and patience.

12/3/62

Yours truly,

James W. Harney

James W. Harney

MRS. ANTOINETTE R. NESBITT
1890 SHERWOOD DRIVE
BELOIT, WISCONSIN

Southern Regional Council, Nov. 25. 62
5 Forsyth St N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

12/3/62

Dear Sirs

I would be interested in receiving copies of your publications if you would place my name on your mailing list

Mr Dan Beittel has sent me one copy of "New South" and I would like one or two more of those and one of each of the new ones as they come out.

Please let me know the cost.

Very truly yours
Antoinette Nesbitt

AUBURN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
5110 AUBURN STREET
ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

JOHN W. WYETH, PRINCIPAL

FERN U. AABERG, LIBRARIAN

November 29, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

12/3/62

Gentlemen:

We would like to secure the following free materials as listed in the VERTICAL FILE INDEX for use in our library.

RACIAL WORK AND NEGRO WASTE IN SOUTHERN EMPLOYMENT (New Wouth v17) 15p no 5

20¢ coins 12/3/62
R 18A

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,
(Miss) Fern U. Aaberg, Librarian

encl.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

December 3, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

Please send 100 copies of your recent publication from college newspapers on the Mississippi crisis for use at the S. C. Student Council on Human Relations Conference to be held at Penn Center this week-end, December 7 - 9.

I will appreciate it if you will send these to me, Care Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Penn Center, Frogmore, S. C. This is timely indeed because a part of the conference program is on Preparation for Desegregation. Thank you very much for your prompt attention to this request.

12/5/62

Sincerely,

Elizabeth C. Ledeen

Elizabeth C. Ledeen (Mrs. T. J.)
Program Director

December 5, 1962

Mrs. Bernice L. Bell
Jackson State College Library
Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Bell:

Now let me offer my belated apology for taking so long to answer your query about the counties in Mississippi with integrated bookmobiles. I finally tracked down two former SRC researchers who had worked on that survey and they did not know what the two counties were. The assumption here, however, that it is little significance inasmuch as they, in all practicality do not serve on an integrated basis, but probably offer the same reading materials to different areas, Negro and white, at different times. I'm sorry we cannot help.

I have heard a report that the American Library Association is conducting a study on integration in southern libraries. Do you know anything of this? Perhaps the Association might be helpful to you.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Jackson State College Library
Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi
October 31, 1962

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

May I offer you a belated thanks for the letter I received from you sometime ago. The information has proven most helpful.

I have sent out questionnaires to public librarians in Mississippi in an effort to get enough information about the desegregation situation in Mississippi to form an intelligent conclusion. As of today, the response has not been good. Therefore, I'm wondering if you could please send the names of the two counties in Mississippi which provide bookmobile service on an integrated basis.

Thank you very much for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Bernice L. Bell

(Mrs.) Bernice L. Bell

Encl.

May 21, 1962

Miss Bernice L. Bell
The Library
Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Miss Bell:

We have not produced anything like a definitive study on the desegregation of public libraries in the 13 southern states you inquire about in your letter of May 15. I will, however, try to include here what information the Council had gathered as of mid-April, 1962.

Libraries in the following cities have desegregated fully (i.e., no "stand-ins") and so have their various branches:

Tulsa	Richmond	Charlotte
Raleigh	Nashville	Jacksonville
Chattanooga	Durham	Miami
Memphis	Savannah	Louisville
Little Rock	Atlanta	Houston
Dallas	Charleston (S.C.)	

We also know that Bookmobiles are desegregated in Montgomery (Ala.) and in two counties in Mississippi, and that our surveys showed Tennessee to be the state with the largest number of desegregated public library facilities. We know, too, that the following major southern cities have <u>not</u> desegregated public library facilities:

Columbia (S.C.)	Oklahoma City
Jackson	Birmingham

There are doubtless omission since we have not queried every city, but I trust the above information is of some usefulness.

Sinnerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson

JACKSON STATE COLLEGE

JACKSON. MISSISSIPPI

May 15, 1962

NS - article - survey done in last yr -

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please send to the Jackson State College Library any materials that you have which depict the growth and desegregation of public libraries for the last ten years in the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. If there is a fee, please send the price list so we may send an official requisition through the Jackson State College Business Office.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Bernice L. Bell

Bernice L. Bell
Order Librarian

BLB/d

November 20, 1962

Gentlemen,

12/5/62

In a recent issue of the Journal of Intergroup Relations I noticed reference to the study by Elliott M. Rudwick, "The Unequal Badge." I am a student in Sociology at the University of California, Berkeley, and have considerable interest in the field of race relations.

Would it be possible for you to send a copy of this paper to me? Also, does the Council publish a listing of its publications? If so, could you send a copy of it to?

Thank you,

James O Hazlett 5621 Shafter Ave, Oakland 18, Calif.

40 Bethpage Rd.
Bethel, Conn
Nov 27, 1962

Dear Sirs;

I am doing a project in my Problems of American Democracy class in High School concerning sit in demonstrations by the negro in Georgia.

12/5/62

I would appreciate it deeply if you would send me any literature and information on the problem. Also your views would be appreciated as well as how you think the problem can be solved.

Thank you,

Susan J. Hennessy

Dear Sir:

Would you please send me any available educational material useful in elementary schools?

Yours truly,

Kathryn Nevitt

341 Frels

Huntsville, Texas

12/5/62

December 5, 1962

Miss Connie Kopelov
Assoc. Natl. Education Dir.
Amalgamated Clothing Workers
of America
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Kopelov:

We are mailing today as a separate package the four publications you requested. We would not be able to supply 1000 copies of either THE UNEQUAL BADGE or SEGREGATION VS. THE SPACE AGE. We could, however, provide 1000 copies of both A VIRGINIA VIEW OF RACE AND REASON and SLIPPING SEGREGATION. The cost for the later would be $.02 per copy. Let us know if we can help you further.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

JACOB S. POTOFSKY
General President

FRANK ROSENBLUM
General Sec'y-Treas.

HYMAN BLUMBERG
Executive Vice-Pres.

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SAMUEL SMITH
PETER J. SWOBODA

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS

OF AMERICA — AFL-CIO

15 UNION SQUARE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 5-7800

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

November 27, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us a copy of the following:

The Unequal Badge by Elliot M. Rudwick

A Virginia View of Race and Reason by Benjamin Muse

Segregation Vs. the Space Age by Marion Wright

Slipping Segregation - Reprint from Wall Street Journal

Will you kindly let us know the price for a quantity of 1000 copies of each of the above.

Very truly yours,

Connie Kopelov

Connie Kopelov,
Assoc. National Education Director

CK:dm

1015 Henderson Street
Columbia, South Carolina
December 3, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Dear Sir:

12/4/62

Please send me one copy (except where otherwise indicated) of each SRC publication checked in the enclosed bulletin of your publications. I enclose my check for $3.00 to cover the cost, and I would also like to have several more copies of the SRC publications announcement.

Thank you very much for your courtesy and cooperation.

Sincerely,

M. Hayes Mizell

M. Hayes Mizell

ck $3.00
12/5/62
LK

December 5, 1962

Miss Anne Wheelock
93 Echo Lane
Larchmont, New York

Dear Miss Wheelock:

We are mailing you in a separate package some materials relating to voting discrimination in the South. For the most recent account of actual voter intimidation I refer you to ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, which is included. The two voter studies by Margaret Price are old, but not out of date, and provide a good background. THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS presents details of the areas in which the government can act.

As to what else is being done, much. Early this year, the Southern Regional Council established its Voter Education Project. VEP is coordinating, helping to finance, and study the effects of voter registration drives by five organizations: The National Urban League; The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (Martin Luther King, Jr.); The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; and the Congress of Racial Equality. These drives are taking placesin Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia. They are not, however, state-wide, but rather concentrated in specific locales for the greatest effectiveness. To date, a very modest estimate of new Negro registered voters resulting from drives with which SRC has been associated has been in the neighborhood of 40,000. There are, of course, other local drives going on simultaneously.

I hope the above information is of some use, although it is still too soon for us to be very specific. I would suggest that for the broadest picture you consult the 1961 Civil Rights Commission Report on VOTING.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

93 Echo Lane
Larchmont, N.Y.

November 23, 1962

12/5/62

Dear Sirs,

I am a senior at Mamaroneck High School, Mamaroneck, New York. In my American Life and Problems class we are currently studing civil rights. In relation to this topic I am especially interested in voting discrimination in the South - how much actually exists and what the individual states, the Federal government, and other groups are doing about this problem. I would be very grateful if you could send me any information concerning this matter, for it would be a great help to me. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Anne Ikkelock

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

JAMES MONROE HIGH SCHOOL

BOYNTON AVENUE AT 172nd STREET
NEW YORK 72, N. Y.

LEO WEITZ
Principal

TYrone 3-5800

December 3, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find 20¢ to cover the cost of one copy of your publication:

Racial work and Negro waste in Southern employment.

In mailing, please direct to the Library at the address above.

Very truly yours,

Emma Stolz

Emma Stolz
Librarian

December 5, 1962

Miss Edna T. Anderson
4315 Avenue H
Austin 51, Texas

Dear Miss Anderson:

I regret very much that the March issue of New South containing Lillian Smith's article is in alarmingly short supply and we cannot fill a quantity order. For this reason I am returning your check along with one copy, all we can spare.

L-Report 33, "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive" is available at $.01 a copy in quantity. The series, "The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South," which comprises three pamphlets dealing, respectively, with Houston, Chattanooga, and Atlanta, is available as a package in quantity at $.40 per each unit of three books. Single copies are $.20.

Let us know if we can be of service to you.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)

BP:s
enclosures: 1) check;
2) March 1962 New South

Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

National Student YWCA

600 Lexington Avenue, New York, 22, N. Y. PLaza 3-4700 Cable. Emissarius, N. Y.

Special Project Staff:
MRS. EDNA T. ANDERSON
4315 Avenue H
AUSTIN 5, TEXAS
Phone GLendale 3-1608

Southwest Region
3012 Maple Avenue
Dallas 4, Texas
Phone RIverside 8-5741

December 5, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Are reprints available of the article

"The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive"

Would you please let me know the cost of such reprints.

Thank you very much.

12/6/62

~~Note: NOT A SUBSCRIPTION~~

Sincerely yours,

Edna T. Anderson

Edna T. Anderson
4315 Avenue H
Austin 51, Texas

ETA:val

PS: Would you please send me the same information "The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South", and find a $2.00 check enclosed for ten copies of the March, 1962 issue of the THE NEW SOUTH. Thank you very much.

December 6, 1962

first letter in November 1962 file

Mr. Howard Livingston
23 Rockledge Road
Hartsdale, New York

Dear Mr. Livingston:

Mr. Blackford is out of the city this week, but since you answered his letter, I am certain he would want me to pass on to you two thoughts which occurred to him after his first letter to you was posted. If you have not already considered Lillian Smith's Strange Fruit and Harper Lee's To Kill A Mockingbird, you will probably want to.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Howard Livingston
23 Rockledge Road
Hartsdale, NewYork

Strange Fruit
Lillian Smith -
Harper Lee - To Kill A Mockingbird

D ecember 3, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATT: Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

Dear Sir:

Many thanks for your informative and helpful reply. Much of the information that you have included in your letter will be of invaluable assistance to me in the development of my research project.

Very truly yours,

Howard Livingston

Virginia State College

Petersburg, Virginia

December 6, 1962

JOHNSTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY

Mrs. Barbara Patterson, Secretary Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Thank you for your letter of December 3 in reply to our request concerning the availability and cost of back issues of NEW SOUTH. It is necessary that we know the exact issues you can furnish before we can make purchase and payment. We would appreciate your indicating on the enclosed sheet the issues you can furnish and return to us.

Very truly yours,

Sarah W. Wallace
(Mrs.) Sarah W. Wallace
Periodicals Librarian

SWW/c

111 Maton St.
Tuskegee Inst. Ala.
November 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

I am attempting to write a term paper on "The Functional Evaluation of the new Negro" for a course in 443 Sociology (Minority Groups). 12/6/62

This term paper is to include the movements in the south current issues as the sit-ins, kneel-ins, stand-ins, wade-ins, boycotts and any other issues involving the movement in the south.

If you have any information relative to this that may help me in writing this paper I would appreciate your sending it to me.

Yours truly,
(Mrs) Delois B. Miller

December 6, 1962

Mr. Benson Cohn
Center Grove Road
Dover, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Cohn:

I apologize for holding up an answer to your letter for over a week but I was waiting until we could make available the enclosed voting figures.

We are also sending under separate cover two voting studies which the Council has done in the past, a survey of executive powers, a descriptive fly-sheet, and a publications list. If any of the materials mentioned would be helpful to you, please let us know. In addition, there are copies of registration forms for three southern states.

You should also know about the Voter Education Project which the Council has undertaken. While it is still too early to ascertain results from this program which was begun last April, the project is studying the most effective means of increasing voter participation and in several cases granting funds to other agencies engaging in voter registration.

Finally, if you are not already familiar with the 1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report, VOTING, you would find it very valuable.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosure

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Center Grove Road
Dover, New Jersey
November 23, 1962

Southern Regonal Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir;

I am doing a report on the southern Negro and his right to vote. I would deeply appreciate any information you could send me concerning your organization, its work, and the problems facing it. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,
Benson Cohn
Benson Cohn

L-1
new voting tables
2 Marg. Price

Recommend
CR vol voting
#

Copy
LA &
Miss
Reg
laws

2317 Sabine Apt. E
Austin 5, Texas
December 1, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Coins 12/6/62
RHA

Enclosed you will find 45¢ to cover the cost of your booklets, Next Steps in the South and Changing Patterns in the New South. I would appreciate your efforts to send them as quickly as possible.

I am involved specifically in research in the condition of the Negro in Texas since the Second World War, and I would appreciate any information on other pamphlets you have sponsored on the subject or any other source of material you could suggest. Right now I am involved in the economic aspects of the problem, but I will later be taking up social and cultural aspects.

12/6/62

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Mrs. David M. Stiles

Mrs. David M. Stiles

+1 1st cash 12-3-62
12/6/62
RHA

Dear Sir,

I am mailing you two letters on the same day which will enable you to make a consolidated shipment to me of the booklets requested in each one.

This letter is a request for the following publications:- ONE COPY EACH

(1) SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS 1960 25¢

(2) THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH (1957) & THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT (1959) BOTH 40¢

(3) THE FREEDOM RIDE — MAY 1961 25¢

(4) THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT - A RECAPITULATION 2-1960 — 9-1961 15¢

(5) DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS A 32-PAGE REPORT SCF

LEADERSHIP REPORTS

($1.15 CURRENCY ENCLOSED)

(6) L-14 A REPORT FROM VIRGINIA 1960

(7) SANCTUARIES FOR TRADITION: VIRGINIA'S NEW PRIVATE SCHOOLS 27p. 1961 10¢

I am sure these added selections will be of value to me and I hope you will reply very soon. Thank you most

Sincerely, Melvin A Moore

114 W. 136th St. N.Y.C., 30

Miss Emily McLees
Board of National Missions of
The United Presbyterian Church in The USA
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

letter
12/5/62

12/7/62

5 copies ALBANY @ $ .20	$1.00
6 copies ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY @ $ .20	1.20
	$2.20

Thank you.

BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

December 5, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

I have had a request for five additional copies of the first "Albany Report" by Howard Zinn. I understand that there is a second report available now--or to be available soon--and I would appreciate your sending six copies of that also. If there is a charge, please let me know.

Thank you for your help. Best wishes to you in your fine work.

Sincerely yours,

Emily McLees

Emily McLees
Administrator of Materials
Resource and Promotion

EM:ve

December 4, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send the pamphlet "Hundred Years Later" by J. M. Dabbs to:

Fordson High School Library 12/7/62
13800 Ford Road
Dearborn, Michigan

Enclosed you will find 20 cents.

RHA
12/7/62

Thank you,
Mrs. Ann Canaday
Mrs. Ann Canaday
Librarian

December 7, 1962

Mrs. Patricia Steck
860 Chimalus Drive
Palo Alto, California

Dear Mrs. Steck:

Ralph McGill's secretary telephoned us yesterday and asked if we would answer your letter to him. He was out of town and is not always able to answer such queries as fully as students desire. Moreover, she did not want to delay you in finishing your paper.

Under separate cover I am enclosing clippings and publications of ours which partially describe the process of integration in Atlanta and Georgia public life. In addition, you may want to check in your library three recent magazine articles:

HARPER'S MAGAZINE, Oct. 1962, "Honeychile at the Barricades," Florence B. Robin;
GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, May 1962, "How Women Won the Quiet Battle of Atlanta," Gerald Walker;
FORTUNE, Sept. 1961, "Life in Buckhead," Seymour Freegood.

Also, you might wish to take note of several other facets of the situation. For example, in December 1955, following a federal court ruling, public golf courses in Atlanta peacefully desegregated. A peaceful sit-in at Chastain Park (Atlanta outdoor theatre) in the summer of 1960 desegregated that facility. A student group, Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, began planning movie theatre desegregation in the summer of 1961 and following a year of negotiations with theatre managers - then-mayor William B. Hartsfield acting as mediator - the first-run theatres (eight) opened to all in the summer of 1962. Some of these are in suburban Atlanta.

Outside of the Atlanta area there is much less integration. But in Savannah, for example, where the parks are now integrated, this was accomplished by an enlightened mayor apppointing a Negro to the park board with no public announce-

ment until after it had worked out in practice. The University of Georgia at Athens and St. Joseph's High School (Catholic) in Marietta are at present the only examples of desegregated educational facilities outside the Atlanta area. Lunch counters in five other cities (Savannah, Brunswick, Athens, Macon, and Augusta- here voluntarily after negotiations with merchants) are open. These are in marked contrast to rural areas, where intimidation of Negro voter registration drives continues, and to the smaller city of Albany (report included in separate mailing), for example.

We trust that if we can be of further help you will call on us.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Write

University of South Florida
Beta Hall, 322
Tampa, Florida
November 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

As a Junior at the University of South Florida, I have undertaken an assignment to write a research paper on the affects of Segragation and Intergration on the Southern Nergo in politics. The principle source of material for the paper will come from a survey of local Nergo teachers in the Hillsborough County school system.

Your organization was recommended to me by my Professor as the best source of information on this subject. The material I am seeking is statistics on Nergo voting behavior, particularly that of the educated Nergo. Also, information about Nergo teachers in the South would be very valuable. In addition, I will be grateful for any other material that you might consider useful to the subject.

My thanks for any help that you might be able to give me, I am

Respectfully,

James Breslin

James Breslin

Sent. Registration figures
2 Marq. Price
2 Journal arts

Sent 12/11/62

DATE December 5, 1962

TO: Mr. Rudwick

I WOULD APPRECIATE HAVING A REPRINT OF YOUR ARTICLE

ENTITLED: The Unequal Badge: Negro Policemen in the South

AS PUBLISHED IN

12/10/62

SIGNATURE

ADDRESS

Mental Health Study Center
1000 Lebanon Street
Silver Spring, Maryland

PHS-184-1
3-61

GPO : 1961 OF—588447

Gentlemen: We are enclosing 20¢ for a copy of your pamphlet, "Racial Work and Negro Waste in Southern Employment."

12/10/62

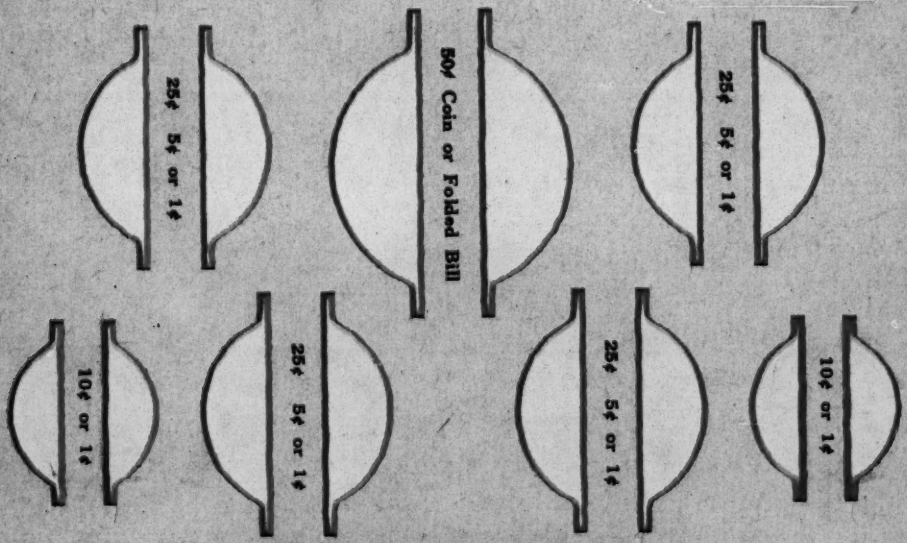
Thank you.

Mrs. J. W. Meyer,
Head Librarian

Maine Township High School East
Library
Park Ridge, Illinois

20¢ Coin

12/10/62 RHA



DEMCO NO. 840 . . . DEMCO LIBRARY SUPPLIES,
NEW HAVEN, CONN. MADISON, WISC. FRESNO, CALIF.

We would appreciate your sending us free material for use in our high school library. We make extensive use of our pamphlet file, and could use several copies of any articles you have.

12/11/62

Hundred Years Later

Thank you,

Lucille Edwards

Librarian
Lyons Township High School
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
South Campus
Western Springs, Ill.

351

NOV 30 1962

19 Spring St.
Tremont, Pa.
November 27, 1962

N.A.A.C.P.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

In doing research for a term paper for my high school problems of democracy class, I would greatly appreciate you assistance. Could you send me any free or inexpensive material concerning the topic "The Negro Problem"?

Thank you for your consideration. 12/11/62

Very sincerely,
Kay Rentschler
Kay Rentschler

REV. SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

MRS. EUNICE COOPER
SECRETARY

A. V. JETT
TREASURER

JAMES O. GIBSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ATLANTA BRANCH

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

859½ HUNTER STREET, N. W. SUITE 105 ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA 524-8054

December 4,1962

Miss Kay Rentschler
19 Spring Street
Tremont, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Rentschler:

Your letter of November 27,1962 requesting information has been referred to the Research Department of Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia. I hope they will be able to assist you.

Unfortunately, our office is not equipped to compile and process data for research except in extraordinary cases, as such a service requires staff and facilities which we do not have.

I wish you every success on your project.

Very truly yours,

James O. Gibson

JOG/rg

December 11, 1962

Mr. Everett T. Moore
Assistant University Librarian
The University Library
University of California
Los Angeles 24, California

Dear Mr. Moore:

In a separate envelope we are mailing you Howard Zinn's ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, as you request in your letter of December 8, and have also included a previous report he did on events in Albany last winter.

The Council would be most interested in receiving a copy of your article on the Albany library when it is published in the American Library Association Bulletin. Could you arrange to send us a tear-sheet or reprint, or let us know when it appears? We would be very grateful.

Also, we have heard, unofficially, that the Association is conducting a study or survey of the status of integration-degeggation in southern libraries generally. Is your article part of this study? Whatever the plan, we should certainly appreciate hearing about and receiving a copy of, both articles.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

WRITE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
LOS ANGELES 24, CALIFORNIA

8 December 1962

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta Georgia

Gentlemen:

I would greatly appreciate having a copy of Howard Zinn's report on Albany, which is referred to in connection with his article in The Nation, December 1 ("Kennedy: The Reluctant Emancipator"). I am preparing an article for the Bulletin of the American Library Association on the situation of the Carnegie Public Library in Albany resulting from the struggle for integration of public facilities, and I am therefore particularly anxious to see Mr. Zinn's report.

12/11/62

214
Stamps
RHA

Many thanks,

Everett T. Moore
(Asst. University Librarian)

6 Forest St.
Cambridge, Mass
Dec. 3, 1962

Dear Mrs. Patterson,

May I thank you for your prompt answer to my last letter. Since you do have clippings on the New Orleans situation, I would appreciate copies of any material covering the period 1956-1962.

As I may have mentioned, I shall be willing to pay for any expenses. Thank you again.

12/12/62

Sincerely,
Natalie E. Wilson

white parents
are bringing
suit against
Percy — cut off
water, elec. supplies
first to Negroes,
then to whites
to intimidate

November 29, 1962

Miss Natalie E. Wilson
6 Forest Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Wilson:

I am enclosing with this letter a report we made last May on the status of southern parochial school desegregation as we were able to learn about it. I have inked in changes and additions which became effective as of this September. I hope this information will be useful to you during work on your graduate paper, and we would be only too glad to know of instances which you discover which we have not.

You mentioned New Orleans specifically. We do have newspaper clippings covering school integration there and in Buras parish. If you would like copies of these, we can provide them. Our latest information, however, on the whole area there is only as late as the latest newspaper reports.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosure (1-34)

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

6 Forest Street
Cambridge, Mass.
Nov. 25, 1962

11/29/62

Dear Sir,

I am a student at the Harvard Graduate School of Education in Cambridge, Mass. For the term paper in one of my courses I have chosen the topic of Integration in parochial schools with a specific emphasis on an analysis of the incident in New Orleans parochial schools last spring.

I am hopeful that you might be able to send me any information which you might have on this subject or to suggest possible sources of information. I am very willing to pay for any expenses involved.

Since I must begin work on my paper soon, I would appreciate it if you could answer just as soon as it is convenient for you. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Natalie E. Wilson

Dec. 1, 1962

Dear Sir:

I am doing a thesis on segregation should be abolished in the United States, and I would appreciate any current information on this subject. Thank you very much for your consideration.

12/12/62

Yours truly,

Miss Kathy Heisenberger
70 Duerr Rd.
Orchard Park 5, New York

December 12, 1962

Miss Delight Mark
2531 Valley Road
Sacramento 21, California

Dear Miss Mark:

As you know, your letter to Ralph McGill was turned over to us by his secretary for answer.

I mentioned your interest in writing to Southern Negro students in integrated school situations to Dr. Robert Coles, who has been in close touch with students in Atlanta. He gave me the following names:

Mr. Mather Holmes
899 Wylie Street, S.E.; and

Mr. Lawrence Jefferson
621 Houston Street, N.E.,

both in Atlanta.

Enclosed is an article by Dr. Coles on students experiencing integration which I also thought might interest you.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosure

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

~~At~~ ? Coles

December 5, 1962

Dear Louesta:

Could you turn this letter over to someone for handling? I don't know if this comes under the duties of the Southern Regional Council or not.

Thanks a lot.

Sincerely,

Grace Lumpkin

Mrs. Louesta Knox
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MATHER HOLMES
899 Wylie St. SE

LAWRENCE JEFFERSON
621 HOUSTON NE

December 5, 1962

Miss Delight Mark
2531 Valley Road
Sacramento 21, California

Dear Miss Mark:

Mr. McGill has not been in the office to answer your letter. He has been traveling constantly and has been unable to handle mail.

In his absence we are asking the Southern Regional Council to help you in response to your request.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mr. McGill

2531 Valley Road
Sacramento 21,
Calif.

Dear Mr. Megill

I'm very interested in finding out how some of the students in your schools think about intergration.

Could you please send me a few names and addresses of colored students that would be willing to write me and tell me their point of view on intergration.

Cordially,
Miss Delight Mark

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HOL-DE-M

Clips off weeds on contact

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L. G. PATTERSON, MANAGER
Phone 939-3485

BOX 5736 • JACKSON 8, MISSISSIPPI

December 13, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:-

Atatched, please find $ 2.00 in Bills, fow which please mail us a quanity of your reprints Editorials from colleges. Don't need too many just a few.

Would appreciate samples of any new material you might have now and from time to time.

Thanking you, I am,

12/19/62

Sincerely yours,

L. G. Patterson

L. G. Patterson.

10 Sumner Road, Apt. 4
Cambridge 38, Mass.
December 17, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In The New York Times of April 17, 1961, I read an article by Claude Sitton on Prince Edward County, Virginia. Mr. Sitton made reference to a special report on Prince Edward written for the Southern Regional Council by Mary Ellen Goodman of Houston, Texas. Would it be possible for me to obtain a copy of the report?

12/19/62

As a student in the Harvard-Radcliffe Master of Arts in Teaching Program, I am writing a paper on the school situation in the county. For this reason it would be very helpful for me to be able to read the report. I would appreciate your sending a copy to me at my home address, since I will be there during the two-week Christmas vacation:

Miss Linda Blackwood
3217 Diane Drive
Oklahoma City 12, Oklahoma

Please let me know if there are any costs involved so I can reimburse you. Thank you very much for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Linda Blackwood

Linda Blackwood

December 19, 1962

Professor Erdwin H. Pfuhl, Jr.
Whitman College
Walla Walla, Washington

Dear Professor Pfuhl:

By way of answer to your questions about the desegregation process I have sent under separate cover several of our materials dealing with employment, entertainment, and education. You will want to note the dates on all of these. New opportunities do open up almost daily and while our research department keeps records of such progress, we do not have everything always available in printed form. If you have specific areas of activity, either geographical or topical (regarding restaurants, for example, there are known to us desegregated eating facilities in 100 southern cities or towns) in which you are interested, we would be glad to send you data from our files.

A publication list is also included in the packet and we would be glad to forward additional materials of interest.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

P.S. The revision of a 1962 list of colleges and universities in both southern and border states having segregated admissions policies is in progress and we will send you a copy shortly after the first of the year.

W[illegible]AN COLLEGE
WALLA WALLA, WASHINGTON

AREA CODE 509 - JA 9-0670

December 6, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Write
higher educ.

Dear Sirs:

This letter is by way of an effort to gather the most up-to-date information regarding the status of the desegregation process in the southern and border states. Any pamphlet materials, etc., you may have dealing with schools, restaurants, occupations, church, and any other locus of desegregation activity would be greatly appreciated.

keep
records
parks, etc.

120 cities + towns

Should there be a cost for these materials, please bill me. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Erdwin H. Pfuhl, Jr.

Erdwin H. Pfuhl, Jr.
Assistant Professor of Sociology

EHP:mc

OHIO UNIVERSITY
ATHENS, OHIO

OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN

December 11, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us a copy of the publication listed below. We are enclosing $ .50 in stamps to cover the cost.

Very truly yours,

June Southworth 12/19/62
June Southworth
Acquisitions Librarian

JS:der
Encl.

Southern Regional Council -- The Federal Executive and Civil Rights - 1961

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Processing Department
Exchange and Gift Division

Refer to: LRS/Libn.
December 12, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The staff of our Legislative Reference Service has asked me to request the following material to be used in replying to inquiries from Members of Congress:

2 copies - Hundred years later, by J. M. Dabbs and others.

12/19/62

This material is in addition to any which you may have already sent the Library. For your convenience, I am enclosing a self-addressed mailing label which will bring the material to the Library without further postage. We are hoping that the material may be received either as a gift or on an exchange basis. In the event that it is not available, or available only by purchase, please notify the Service Librarian, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C.

We shall be most grateful for any assistance you can give us with our request.

Sincerely yours,

Jennings Wood, Chief
Exchange and Gift Division

Enclosure

2317 Sabine, Apt. E
Austin 5, Texas
December 12, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find $.55. Please send me the following publications:

12/19/62

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH:
HOUSTON, Prof. Art Gallaher
MAP, showing percentage of non-white population in counties of southern states as of 1960.
THE SOUTH AND THE NATION by Leroy Collins
A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH by Harold C. Fleming
NEW BUSINESS WAYS IN THE SOUTH, Business Week
L-25 NEW CENSUS LOOK AT CITIES AND RACE

Thank you very much for your aid.

Sincerely,

Jo Ann Stiles

Mrs. David M. Stiles

CONESTOGA VALLEY SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
2110 HORSESHOE ROAD
LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA

J. ELIAS FRITZ
Supervising Principal

ROBERT W. RILL
Principal

December 13, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find twenty cents in coin for the pamphlet entitled "Hundred Years Later", by J. M. Dabbs and others.

We would like this information for use in our High School Library.

12/19/62

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours truly,

Anna Geiger

25¢ coins
12/19/62
RHA

Anna Geiger
Librarian

Enc.
AG/jh

162 Schenck Circle
Hewlett, New York
December 14, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlantic 3, Georgia

12/19/62
Coins
RHA

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find .20 for the purchase of J. M. Dobb's book, Hundred Years Later.

12/19/62

I would appreciate this order as soon as possible.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,
Miss Bonnie Turell

Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

National Student YWCA

600 Lexington Avenue, New York, 22, N. Y. — PLaza 3-4700 — Cable. Emissarius, N. Y.

Special Project Staff:
MRS. EDNA T. ANDERSON
4315 Avenue H
AUSTIN 5, TEXAS
Phone GLendale 3-1608

Southwest Region
3012 Maple Avenue
Dallas 4, Texas
Phone RIverside 8-5741

December 12, 1962

CR 3 31
12/19/62
R/DA

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Thank you for your prompt reply to my request for information concerning materials, and for the copy of the March issue of NEW SOUTH.

Enclosed please find my check for $3.31, in payment for

12/19/62

150 cc of L-Report 33, "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive" @ $.01 $1.50

3 sets of "The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South," @ $.60 $1.80

total $3.30

Please mail these materials to me at the following Illinois address:

Mrs. Edna T. Anderson
MRH - Garner House
National Student Assembly of YMCA & YWCA
Champaign, Illinois

Please mark: HOLD FOR ARRIVAL. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Edna T. Anderson

Edna T. Anderson

ETA:val

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. Renate Wolf
Spelman College
Atlanta 3, Georgia

****

Purchase Order # letter from Howard Zinn

Date Shipped 12/3/62

6 copies ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY @ $.20 $1.20

Thank you.

CR
$1.20
RHA
12/19/62

30 Cushing St
Providence RI
Dec 14, 1962

Gentlemen: Enclose 15¢ in stamps for a copy of Report # 4-36. Date Sept 12-1962

Thank you

Very truly yours,
R W Brooke Anderson

12/19/62

12¢ stamps
RHA
12/19/62

Gentlemen:

Kindly send the following pamphlet.

Employment; Racial work and Negro waste in southern employment

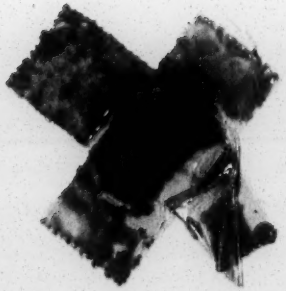
Enclosed you will find ~~$.20¢~~ Coin

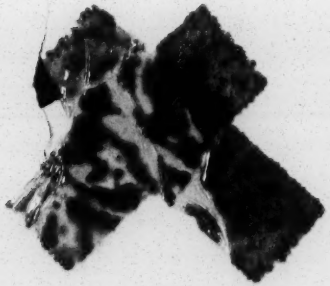
RHA 12/19/62

Sincerely

Ann Arbor High School Library
601 W. Stadium Blvd.
Ann Arbor, Michigan

12/19/62





BOARD OF EDUCATION
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
FORT HAMILTON HIGH SCHOOL
JON B. LEDER, PRINCIPAL
SHORE ROAD AT 83RD STREET
BROOKLYN 9, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: SHORE ROAD 8-1537

The Library
Dec. 10, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me the following pamphlet; Hundred Years Later, as listed in Vertical File Index, November 1962.

Enclosed is 20¢ Coins 12/19/62

Thank you. RHA

12/19/62

Very truly,

M. B. Schaeter

Librarian

INDIANAPOLIS
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

HAROLD J. SANDER, Director

MERIDIAN AT SAINT CLAIR * INDIANAPOLIS 4, INDIANA

MELROSE 8-4552

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

December 7, 1962

12/19/62

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find $ 0.40 in stamps for the following items:

2 copies - RACIAL WORK AND NEGRO WASTE IN SOUTHERN EMPLOYMENT, c1962,
(New South V. 17, No. 5), $ 0.20 each TOTAL: 0.40 Stamps

Please address package to the Order Division.

RHA
12/19/62

Very truly yours,

Marion E. Fay
Marion E. Fay
Head of the Order Division

MEF/dkk
encl: stamps 0.40

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY
Salt Lake City 11, Utah

Dec. 15, 1962

Gentlemen:

Please send us the items on the enclosed list:

Hundred years later, by J. M. Dabbs and others.
(Toward regional realism No. 2), 28 pp., 1962 $0.20 Comm RHA

enclosed 12/19/62

12/19/62

Make invoice in duplicate, giving the usual library discount.

Very truly yours,

S F Baptiste

Librarian., Pamphlet Dept.

MOUNT ST. MARY'S COLLEGE
CHARLES WILLARD COE MEMORIAL LIBRARY
12001 CHALON ROAD
LOS ANGELES 49, CALIFORNIA

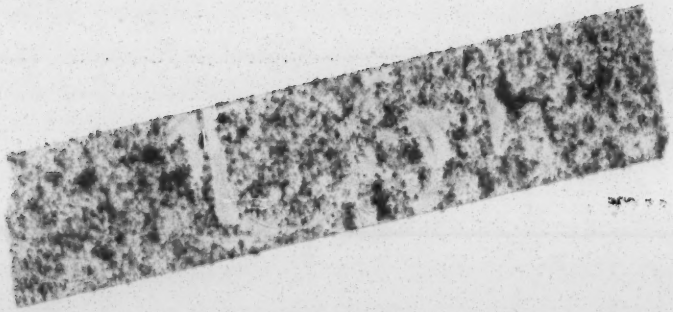
Please send to the above address the item (s) noted below. Enclosed find payment of $.20 Coins.

Thank you.

R/+A
12/19/62

HUNDRED YEARS LATER by J. M. Dabbs

12/19/62



December 11, 1962

Dear Sirs:

I am a student at Baylor University and am making a study on the Negro problem in the South particularly in the area of education. I would appreciate any material you could send me on this subject. I will be glad to pay for the materials.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Jay Allen

12/19/62

Please send material to:

Jay Allen
103 Edwards
Refugio, Texas

Summer 1962 Journal of Negro Educa.
"The Negro Public College"

Ga. Div. of Educ.
Sanc. for Tradition
Desegr. in Higher Educ.

December 19, 1962

Gentlemen,

In a recent issue of the Journal of Intergroup Relations I noticed reference to your recent publication "The Unequal Badge," by Elliott M. Rudwick. I would greatly appreciate it if you could send a copy of this report to me.

12/19/62

Also, if your organization has a listing or catalogue of your publications, could you enclose one?

Thank you very much,

James O. Hahn
5621 Shafter Ave
Oakland 18, Calif.

Box 184
Mason City, Iowa
December 17, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street,n N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you please send a copy of your Report 1-38 of November 1, 1962, entitled WHAT PRICE VIOLENCE, to each of the following:

Miss Alice Riter
c/o High School
Mason City, Iowa

Miss Esther Pagenhart
c/o High School
Mason City, Iowa

Miss Wilma Slaughter
Freeman Apartments
Clear Lake, Iowa

and a copy to me, also, please at the top-of-the-page address.

Yours truly,

Esther A. Schwartz

Esther A. Schwartz

12/20/62

Campbell County High School

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT

GILLETTE, WYOMING

December 11, 1962

Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth Street

Atlantic 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Please send me the following:

"Hundreds Years Later" by J. M. Dabbs and others

(Towards regional realism number 2)

12/20/62

Yours truly

Malinda Root

(Miss) Malinda R oot

librarian

DEC 17 1962

400

Dec. 10,,1962

N.A.A.C.P.
859½ Hunter Street
Atlanta Geo.

Gentlemen:

As a Senior at Pius X High School, I am assigned to do a term paper on "Interracial Justice for the Negro".

Any information you could send me regarding this subject would be greatly appreciated.

I have enclosed my name and address. Thank you.

12/20/62

Very truly yours,

Sue Hoetker
9743 Wiley Burke
Downey, Calif.

REV. SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

MRS. EUNICE COOPER
SECRETARY

A. V. JETT
TREASURER

JAMES O. GIBSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ATLANTA BRANCH

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

859½ HUNTER STREET, N. W. SUITE 105 ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA 524-8054

December 17,1962

Miss Sue Heather
9743 Wiley Burke
Downey, California

Dear Miss Heather:

Your letter of December 10,1962 requesting information has been referred to the Research Department of Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia. I hope they will be able to assist you.

Unfortunately, our office is not equipped to compile and process data for research except in extraordinary cases, as such a service requires staff and facilities which we do not have.

I wish you every success on your project.

Very truly yours,

James O. Gibson
Executive Secretary

JOG/rg

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

TUCSON

BUREAU OF BUSINESS
AND PUBLIC RESEARCH

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS
AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

December 11, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We would appreciate receiving the following publication(s) for use in our library. If not available for free distribution, please quote us a price before sending.

EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS. 52 p. (process)
Atlanta, March 13, 1962.

12/20/62

Very truly yours,

Sarah Gallegos

(Miss) Sarah Gallegos
Librarian

MEMORANDUM southern student human relations project, NSA

To: Paul Anthony

From: Connie Curry

Date: December 19, 1962

Dear Paul: Enclosed please find two checks, each for $20.00. One is to help on the costs of the SRC reprints on Ole Miss, and the other is for the materials for the Tennessee student Seminar in November and the Greensboro College Seminar which will be in January. Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Connie

40.00 (2-$20.00 ck)
12/20/62
RHA

NATIONAL STUDENT COUNCILS OF THE YMCA AND YWCA

291 Broadway
New York 7, New York

600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Friends:

December 11, 1962

Please do not lay aside this letter because it is a form letter. We need your response and we think you will want to respond to it.

The National Student YMCA and YWCA are conducting their quadrennial NATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY of 1000 students at the University of Illinois, December 27-January 2.

We invite you to send us materials that can be placed in the exhibit under the following titles which are the names of the sections of the Assembly in which students will be dealing with these topics.

1. SOCIAL INJUSTICE
2. WORLD IN REVOLUTION
3. HIGHER EDUCATION
4. CHALLENGES TO THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA
5. DILEMMA OF ATOMIC POWER
6. MASS CULTURE
7. CHANGING ROLES OF MEN AND WOMEN

12/20/62

We are not able to buy materials for distribution nor are we able to accept materials for resale.

But we can accept materials that can be given to our students, and we can put on display single copies of materials that you may wish to send.

We hope you will be able to respond to this inquiry and ship materials to us as follows:

Mr. Clarence S. Elliott
National Student Assembly YMCA-YWCA
MRH - Garner House
Champaign, Illinois

Exhibit Materials - Hold For Arrival

We are very appreciative for any consideration you can give to this invitation to send materials in any or all of the above seven categories.

Yours truly,

Jean Whittet
Clarence Elliott

Jean M. Whittet and Clarence S. Elliott
National Student Assembly Section Coordinators

L-1
Sec
Support
Stud newspaper
Albany
Peace & Freedom

NSAY/Ex/D62:200:hw

December 20, 1962

Mr. Albert Vorspan,
Director
Commission on Social Action
of Reform Judaism
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Vorspan:

Thank you for your comments on our Report L-39, "Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations." We are able to make these available to you in quantity for distribution to your membership at the rate of $.02 per copy.

Best wishes of the Season.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

Union of American Hebrew Congregations & Central Conference of American Rabbis

National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods • National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods • National Federation of Temple Youth

838 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • REGENT 7-8200

December 19, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We received a copy of the reprint from the Washington Post, entitled "Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations".

This is a superb article, and I would like to send copies to our members around the country. Please let me know if there is any cost for a bulk mailing, and what the cost is.

Thank you very much.

Best wishes for a happy new year to all.

Sincerely,

Albert Vorspan

Albert Vorspan

AV:rh

UA
Chairma
Judge
President
Rabbi

COMMIS
SOCIAL
Chairma
Irving
Director
Alber
Associate
Rabbi

John Kepke
1 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

December 23
1962

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

40¢ Postage
12/26/62
RHA

Dear Sirs:

Herewith ten 4¢ stamps. Please send to each of the following eight people, one each of: (a) A Virginia View of "Race and Reason"; and (b) Report L-32 (Dr. Sullivan's letter to the Southwest Louisiana Registra).

Mrs. Doris Spier Harman
433 West 21st St.
New York 11, N.Y.

Mrs. Richard J. Rawson
Willowmere
Riverside
Connecticut

12/26/62

Dr. Henry Lee Smith, Jr.
244 Roycroft Boulevard
Snyder 26, New York

Dr. Raven I. McDavid, Jr.
5631 S. Drexel Ave
Chicago 37, Ill.

Dr. Sadi J. Mase
2708 30th St., S.E.
Washington 20, D.C.

Mr. Ralph A. Beebe
205 West 57th St.
New York 19, N.Y.

Mr. Rufus W. Smith
401 8th Ave.
Brooklyn 15
New York

Mr. Richard A. Wolff
250 West 94th St.
New York 25, N.Y.

I also wish you would send a copy of the next issue of the New South to each of the above, billing me, in advance, for them.

Yours sincerely,
John Kepke

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Coins 12/26/62
RBA

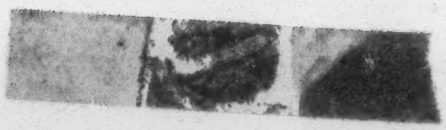
Dear Sir:
Enclosed is 20 cents
Please send the pamphlet
"Hundred Years later by J. M. Dabbs +
others. To

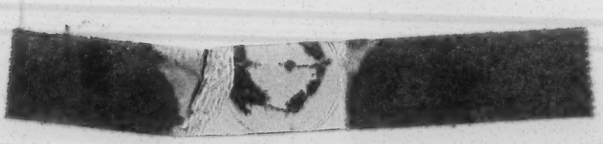
Mountlake Terrace Senior High School Library
21801 44th Ave. West
Mountlake Terrace, Wash

Thank you

Gertrude Butler
Librarian

12/26/62





EVANSTON TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

January 7, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us the following pamphlets for use in our library files:

1 copy of Racial Work and Negro Waste in Southern Employment. (New South v 17 no5) 15 pages 1962 20¢

Coins
12/26/62
RHA

We are enclosing 20¢ in (~~stamps~~), (coins) to cover the cost.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

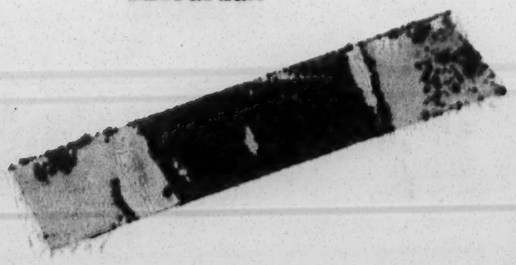
12/26/62

Very truly yours,

Pearl N. Krause

Librarian

Enc.
bi



Pss

December 18, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Coins, 12/26/62
RHA

Enclosed is twenty cents (.20) to cover the cost of the pamphlet, HUNDRED YEARS LATER, no. 2 - which was listed in the November 1962 issue of the VERTICAL FILE INDEX.

This material may be sent to me at the address below.

Sincerely,

Marjorie A. Kirn

Marjorie A. Kirn
Librarian

enc.

12/26/62

Kearsley Community School Library
G-4302 Underhill Drive
Flint 6, Michigan

Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

National Student YWCA

600 Lexington Avenue, New York, 22, N. Y. — PLaza 3-4700 — Cable. Emissarius, N. Y.

Special Project Staff:
MRS. EDNA T. ANDERSON
4315 Avenue H
AUSTIN 5, TEXAS
Phone GLendale 3-1608

Southwest Region
3012 Maple Avenue
Dallas 4, Texas
Phone RIverside 8-5741

December 17, 1962

NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CR, 12/26/62
RHA

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed is my check for $2.50 in payment for 25 copies of the September 1962 issue of NEW SOUTH.

Thank you very much for your prompt delivery.

Sincerely yours,

Edna T. Anderson

Edna T. Anderson
4315 Avenue H
Austin 51, Texas

ETA:val

encl. - Mrs. Anderson: your check was <u>not</u> enclosed and I thought you would want to know right away. Barbara Patterson

Thanks! I discovered it yesterday!
ETA

2538 Yale Station
New Haven, Conn.
December 21, 1962

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

I am currently doing a paper for the Yale Law School on the participation (or lack of participation) of the Justice Department in the Albany situation and in the South in general. I would appreciate it if you would send me a copy of The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, and any other of your publications which might be relevant.

Naturally I will be glad to remit whatever fees, including postage, as are customary.

12/26/62

Sincerely,

Oscar Chase

Oscar Chase

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES
(Formerly Bureau of Public Administration)

December 19, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES LIBRARY would appreciate the receipt of the publications noted below if available for free distribution to libraries. If this material may be obtained only by purchase, will you kindly quote the price before sending?

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Barbara J. Hudson

Barbara J. Hudson
Librarian

348 Library Annex
Berkeley4

Southern regional council.

The unequal badge. 1962.

12/26/62

Boston University

CHARLES RIVER CAMPUS • 725 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE • BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

CHENERY LIBRARY

December 19, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

12/26/62

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find your "Fall 1962 additions to SRC Publication List". We would much appreciate receiving those items which we have checked.

We thank you for your gift of useful pamphlet material in the previous months.

Very truly yours,

Dr Zimmerman

for Joseph H. Dayag
Head, Reference Department

D/z

Fall 1962
additions to
SRC Publication List

L-35 STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS - in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia.

L-36 RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS WAY IN RACE RELATIONS - reprint from the Washington Post.

L-37 STATEMENT ON "ECONOMIC COST OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT" PRESENTED TO CONGRESS BY THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS.

L-38 WHAT PRICE VIOLENCE? Press commentary on the economic hazards of the University of Mississippi riots.

ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, by Howard Zinn. Report on the Summer, 1962, events. SC 25¢.

A HUNDRED YEARS LATER - comments by four outstanding Southerners on the meaning of the Civil War Centennial. SC 20¢.

SOUTHERN STUDENT NEWSPAPER OPINION ON THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI. A round-up of editorials and columns reflecting on Oxford. SC 5¢.

6108 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois
22 December 1962

Dear Sirs,

Could you please send me a copy of your map entitled "Percentage of non-white population in counties of Southern States" along with a list of publications which you have available. Thank you.

Yours Faithfully,

Herbert Mack

HERBERT MACK

12/26/62

Blaustein Library

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

December 24, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

According to our records, we have not received the issue of the publication noted below. In order that our files may be complete, we would appreciate your supplying us with the missing issue as soon as possible.

12/26/62

Very truly yours,

Sylvia Hemmer
Periodicals Assistant

REPORT L-38, November 1962 issue.

LIBRARY

TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY

Box 3715, University Hill Station

Denton, Texas

12/26/62

Dec. 20, 1962

The following numbers of NEW SOUTH Vol. 17 nos. 7 & 8, July & Aug., 1962 have not been received at this library. Will you kindly have a copy of each forwarded at your earliest convenience?

Periodicals Librarian

December 26, 1962

Mr. Nicholas Riccardi
P.O. Box 384
West New York, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Riccardi:

I apologize for the delay in answering your letter of December 15, but the holidays have put us in some arrears regarding requests such as yours.

Under separate cover we are mailing three employment studies the Council has done on Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Houston, together with some materials of a less specific nature geographically. It is my understanding that the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor has, through its various regional offices, been producing city-wide surveys on Negro income and spending. I have also included a reprint we have made which digests their most recent information on the Atlanta area. You might also be interested in procuring from the Department Bulletin S-3, "The EconomicSituation of Negroes in the United States," directly from their office, 14th Street & Constitution Avenue, Washington, D.C. The National Urban League (14 E. 48th Street, New York City 17) has also produced a valuable booklet, "The Economic Status of the Negro in the United States." And, Volume Three of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report, Employment, is thorough and usually available at major libraries.

Trusting the above and separate mailings with prove useful in preparing your graduate thesis,

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Econ. & Soc. Status of Neg. - in US
Nat. Urban League
14 E 48th St
NYC 17

in Econ. Sit. of Negroes - in US
U.S. Dept. of Labor
Bull. S-3
Rev 1962

P.O. Box 384
West New York, N.J.
December 15, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a graduate student in industrial relations at Saint Francis College, Loretto, Pa. Having a deep and sincere interest in the problem of the Negro, I have decided to write my thesis on the "Negro in the United States, His Employment and Economic Status." I would appreciate any information you could send me pertaining to this field of study.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Yours truly,

Nicholas Riccardi

Civil Rights #3.

San Diego, Calif.
16 December 1962

R. F. BLACKLEY YNC, USN,
USS ESTES (AGC-12)
FPO SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Recently I read Howard Zinn's KENNEDY: The Reluctant Emancipator in the December 1, issue of THE NATION. It mentioned that a copy of the report could be procured from your organization.

I would like to receive a copy of it and am enclosing 50¢ to cover any cost of mailing.

12/26/62 Coins
RHA 12/26/62

Very truly yours,

R. F. Blackley

LWD ✓
BP ✓

Duke University Library

DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

March 27, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for your kind letter of March 21, 1963 and for sending us your Reports as well as a collection of your other publications. We are delighted to add these items to our collection. We are grateful to you for adding our name to your mailing list to receive all subsequent research publications.

We look forward to receiving Report L-23C as well as other publications as they become available. Your interest in our library is sincerely appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Linda Yost

(Mrs.) Linda Yost
Gifts and Exchange
Assistant

Montez says both done.

March 18, 1963

Mr. John W. Davis
Special Director
Teacher Information and Security
N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Davis:

Your letter of February 27 came about the time I succumbed to the flu, and I am sorry about the delay in replying.

Regarding the requested five copies of L23B, it is in process of revision again and we will send these to you as soon as we can. As always when we get up a list like this, we get letters regarding some of the colleges listed, and letters from colleges not listed. It seems a number of private colleges have quietly integrated without publicity; we had no way of knowing that they had. We have found one or two instances of colleges with an announced policy (newspaper clips) of integration, but it has been reported to us that they have turned down Negro student applications. We are in process of checking all these questionable listings, as well as adding those we did not know about, and will reissue the report.

I'm sure you can understand, and share with us, our desire to have this list as accurate as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant

Rec'd
4-1-63
MA

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, N. Y.

JUdson 6-8397

February 27, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

May I respectfully ask you to send me immediately five copies of your report L-23B revised (February 13, 1963) on Desegregation in Higher Education. Lawyers in our office here greatly need this important document.

If there are charges in this connection be kind enough to submit to me a voucher.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Davis
Special Director
Teacher Information and Security

JWD/mgf

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Grand Forks, North Dakota

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ORDER NO.

DATE ORDERED 25 March 1963

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Dabbs, J. M.

Hundred years later

4/1/63

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23-C Revised 3-21-63

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April 1, 1963

Mr. William M. Kunstler
511 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Kunstler:

When your secretary telephoned us this morning our receptionist took the call since the entire staff was in a staff meeting. We do not have a "645 report" which she requested. There must be some mutual misunderstanding here and if she will write us by return mail with a title and/or subject matter, we will be only too glad to oblige if the material is ours.

Sincerely,

d

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

/

875 - 9543

Southern Ed Fdn

William M. Kunstler
511 - 5th Ave. - New York

6 copies 645 report

March 31, 1963

Dear Sirs:

I thank you very much for sending me the Albany booklet and all the other material you enclosed in response to my letter.

I would appreciate your ~~also~~ sending me the following material, also:

1) Action Patterns in School Desegregation, Herbert Way + J. Corey
2) "The Southern Regional Council Reports the Changing South"
3) The following Leadership Reports: (one of each) 23C
L-12, L-14, L-16, L-17, L-19, L-20, L-21, L-22, L-23, L-27, L-28, L-29, L-30, L-32, L-33, L-34, L-35, L-36, L-37, L-38.

When my check arrives from home, I will send you the money for at least the postage necessary. — Carl Stieren

Dear Sirs:

I would be very grateful if you would send me a few copies of your "A Hundred Years Later."

Yours truly,

James W. Cortada

Send to:

J. W. Cortada
127 Pelisor St.
Orange, VA.

April 8, 1963

Mr. Julian Bond
Administrative Assistant
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Julian:

Last week Ken Friedman was in our office to copy news clips on the work of SNCC for a brochure that is being financed, we understand, by the U. A. W. He told us to submit a bill for the copying work, and one is enclosed, with the understanding that it is to be included in the U. A. W. underwriting of the brochure.

If, for any reason, this is not the case and SNCC would have to bear the cost, then just let us know and we will cancel the charges.

Sincerely yours,

Montex G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Enclosure

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

****

Purchase Order #

Date Shipped 4-5-63

photo-copying of newsclips for brochure $2.80

(35 pages @ .08 per page)

April 3, 1963

Miss Ruby Doris Smith
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

As I told you on the telephone today, we can let SNCC have 300 copies of the second Albany report, and at no charge.

The only other thing we have which would be of interest to the SNCC Conference is The Oxford Disaster... Price of Defiance, and since our supply is limited and we will have to reorder to replace any copies we let you have, we will have to charge the cost to us, which is 10¢ per copy. A sample copy is enclosed so that you may look it over and decide whether you think it is worth the money.

I am also enclosing a publications list; most anything of interest to SNCC is now out-dated and would be "old stuff" to you SNCC workers who have been in on the more recent developments in the field. However, if you note anything that interests you, we will do our best to let you have it at the lowest possible price--or perhaps at no cost if it is something we have in quantity.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

April 3, 1963

The Reverend John Carroll, S.S.J.
St. Hoseph's Seminary
1200 Varnum Street, N.E.
Washington 17, D.C.

Dear Father Carroll:

The film you refer to in your letter of April 1 is the Council's and the title is "The Face of the South." The Anti-Defamation League's Atlanta office, 41 Exchange Place, S.E., handles distribution of it in your area and you may obtain it for showing at your seminar by writing them directly. There is a flat fee of $2.00 for rental.

We would be glad to make any of our materials available to those in attendance April 27. Under separate cover I am mailing an SRC publications list and recent issues of our monthly magazine New South. Since you mentioned "agricultural conditions which hamper the progress of the Negro in the South" I have also included a recent study of South Carolina farmers. Why don't you write us which of the materials seem most topical and we will be glad to forward them if they are available in quantities you require. Otherwise, we could provide display copies.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

$2 flat use

ADL 41 Exchange Pl SE

L-1 publist

St. Joseph's Seminary
1200 Varnum Street, N. E.
Washington 17, D. C.

April 1, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The students hare at the seminary are planning a "Seminar in Racial Understanding" to be held on April 27th. We are expecting to have in attendance at the meeting approximately two hundred persons. As a member of the programing committee I would like to have on the schedule a movie which I believe was sponsored by the Council. I recall seeing the movie over three years ago but the title escapes my mind. It was more or less a lectureconcerning the geographical and agricultural conditions which hamper the progress of the Negro in the South.

Can you help me? I realize that I have not given you the best of descriptions as to what I want. If you have the film and it is available for use on the 27th of the month I would appreciate your sending it along.

Any information concerning your organization which you would like to send in quantity for distribution will be welcomed. It is our plan not only to stimulate thinking but to make known where information in the field of race relations can be obtained.

Before I close, let me extend my personal congratulations to you for the great work which you are doing. God bless you.

Sincerely
John Carroll S.S.J.

April 8, 1963

Mr. Gordon Lane Joyner
P.O. Box 213 State College
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Georgia

Dear Mr. Joyner:

We are glad to send you in a separate envelope three Council publications which may be useful to you: 1) a population map of southern states (valuable if you wished to compare funds spent on education for Negroes and whites in relations to population); 2) Georgia's Divided Education; and 3) School Desegregation - The First Six Years. Take care to note the publication dates of the latter two.

It is possible that in the college library you could locate and find useful these materials: 1) Progress and Problems, 1959, Southern Education Reporting Service (a three-volume statistical survey); 2) Separate and Unequal, Louis R. Harlan, 1958, University of North Carolina Press; and 3) issues of The Journal of Negro Education.

Good luck with your report.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Progress & Problems, 1959, SERS
Sep. & Unequal, Louis R. Harlan, 1958, U of NC Press

SB
pl my

P.O. Box 213 State College
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Georgia

Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am planning an exhibit on "Negro Education in America" for the Local Social Science Fair scheduled for April 11.

In addition to pictures of educators and outstanding educated people, I am trying to develope charts, graphs, and tables to show the progress and present status of education among Negroes, especially as compared to American Whites. Please send me any material or literature you have that is related to the topic of my display, in addition to a selected list of references.

Thankfully yours,
Gordon Lane Joyner
7th Grade, H.A. Hunt
High School

mcp
Ga. Div. Ed
First 6 yrs

Jour. of Negro Educ.

April 1, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Is your report on your voter education project, which was the subject of a story in yesterday's Atlanta Journal and Constitution by Paul Valentine, available for distribution? If so, might I please have a copy? Thank you.

Yours truly,
Elizabeth Keen

Elizabeth Keen
Box 976
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

4/8/63

April 8, 1962

Mr. Allen A. Phillips, Jr.
Piedmont College
Demorest, Georgia

Dear Mr. Phillips:

As an organization primarily concerned with race relations I regret that we have little to offer on your topic, "Religion in the Soviet Union." Perhaps your best help would come from the National Council of Churches, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y. This group recently sponsored the visit of the four clergymen from the Soviet Union.

Sincerely yours,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Communist ministers visit - clipping?

Natl Council Relations
Dept of Racial & Cultural
475 Riverside Dr
NY 27

Piedmont College
Demorest, Georgia
April 1, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir,

This quarter I am taking a course in the History of the Soviet Union. I have chosen as my research project: "Religion in the Soviet Union."

Do you have information on this subject that I may obtain. I will appreciate any help that you can give me on this topic.

My address is:

Allen A. Phillips, Jr.
Piedmont College
Demorest, Georgia

Sincerely,

Allen A. Phillips, Jr.

Allen A. Phillips, Jr.

Southern Regional
Council , Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
N.W. Atlanta 3
Albany

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26-II-1963

re: 1 copy of Zinn, Prof. Howard- A Study in National
Responsibility and a previous report

H/8163

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

March 29, 1963

Miss Nancy M. Turnbull
450 Emerson Avenue
Hamilton, Ohio

Dear Miss Turnbull:

In Mr. McGill's absence we are writing you regarding material for your thesis. He will be away from the office on assignments and will not have an opportunity to answer mail in time for your deadline.

Sent 4/8/63

We do not have material in the office for mailing. Our newspapers are put on microfilm for our permanent record and we do not keep back issues. Many public libraries do keep The Atlanta Constitution on microfilm, and if you will contact one in Hamilton it is possible they will have it for you to research. We are sending your letter to the Southern Regional Council, an organization that does research, and asking them to send you some material.

Sincerely yours,

Grace Lundy
Secretary to Mr. McGill

450 Emerson Avenue
Hamilton, Ohio
March 27, 1963

Ralph McGill
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill,

I am a Junior at Taft High School, and am enrolled in a seminar on Twentieth Century U.S. History. For my thesis (due in May) I have chosen Civil Rights - State or Federal, with special emphasis on the James Meredith case.

I am trying to present all sides of the issue, and would greatly appreciate any suggestions or help you might

give me. I would be happy to buy back issues of your newspaper to get your editorials.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Nancy M. Turnbull

NANCY M. TURNBULL
450 EMERSON AVENUE
HAMILTON, OHIO

450 Emerson Avenue
Hamilton, Ohio

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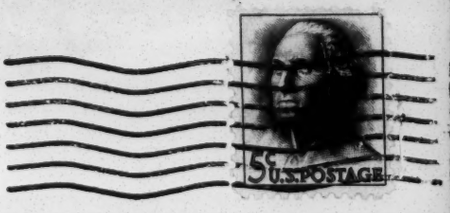

Mr. Ralph McGill
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

OFFICIAL ORDER L. C. CARD A55-6650

New South (Periodical)

Changing patterns in the New South

Rush

No. Copies

Order Date 2Ap63

Firm Order Direct letter

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Publisher Southern Regional Council, Atlanta 3, Georgia 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.

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The Library

April 2, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are enclosing fifty cents (50¢) in stamps which we trust will prove satisfactory payment for a copy of the following publication:

New South (Periodical): Changing patterns in the New South. 1955.

4/8/63

Please Rush as this is needed for a class,

Very truly yours,

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON LIBRARY

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E. B. Barnes, Head
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Info. requests

April 9, 1963

Miss Dollie Smith
Box 328
Meredith College
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Miss Smith:

I am pleased that the suggestions regarding sources of materials on the Far Right groups have been so helpful to you.

Enclosed are copies of the several items you requested; I am sorry that we cannot undertake to copy the "Hearing" item: it is 82 pages. If you write to the U. S. Government Printing Office in Washington, you can very probably get a copy at something like .50 or .75. They require payment in advance, so perhaps you would want to send stamps or money order for $1.00 and they would refund the difference. It costs ux .08 per page to copy materials, and this would run $6.56!

Good luck on your research and writing.

Sincerely yours,

Montez O. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Box 328
Meredith College
Raleigh, N.C.
April 8, 1963

Mrs. Montey G. Albright
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for your letter of March 22. I appreciate your taking the time and effort to list references I could use in my research on the Far Right. It has been a great aid to me in my study. Thank you so much.

Regarding those sources which you have on file concerning the Far Right, I would deeply appreciate the use of these in my research. They were as follows:

✓ 1. Nat'l Conference of Christians and Jews, Background Reports, Norchler, "Anti Communism, the Extreme Right and the Church"

✓ 2. Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 7th Ave., New York 1, N.Y., Wesley, Hate Groups and the Un-American Activities Committee.

✓ 3. American Jewish Committee, Jan. 19-20, 1962, "Statement on the Ultra Right"

No. ✓ 4. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., July 11, 1961, Hearing Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Admistration of the Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate

too long
82 pp

√5. Nat'l Civil Liberties Clearing House, Weston, The Ultra Right Wing Today: Problems in Containment, June 22, 1961

Thank you for your help. You have already been of great assistance in my research. I will be eagerly awaiting a reply from you in the near future. Thank you again for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Dollie Smith

coin 20
4/11/63
rK

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4/5/63

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing 20¢ for one pamphlet entitled Civil War as Told by Contemporaries Hundred Years Later, by J. M. Dabbs.

4/11/63

Sincerely,
Jeannette Apple
Tipton High School

April 15, 1963

Mr. Locksley G. E. Edmondson
352 Johnson Street
Kingston
Ontario
Canada

Dear Mr. Edmondson:

We have your letter of April 3 asking about the Council's publications and purpose. In a separate package I am mailing a prospectus and materials list which should answer most of your questions. We will be glad to mail any of the publications you think would interest you. Also in the packet are some materials we have prepared specifically on education which you may find useful in preparing your paper.

Inasmuch as you are including the NAACP in your study, you may wish to write to their national office (20 W. 40th Street, New York City 18) if you have not already done so. I should also call to your attention the Journal of Negro Education published quarterly by the Bureau of Educational Research at Howard University, Washington 1, D.C.

As to contributions, our monthly magazine New South frequently publishes authors beyond our confines. Several back issues are included in the packet and if you have a specific idea you might want to submit ittto the editor, Margaret Long. More rarely, our research department uses data from outside reporters. Again, if you are more than generally interested, you might wish to discuss your ideas with Staige Blackford, our director of research.

Thank you for your interest, Mr. Edmondson, and please let us know if we can aid you further.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

352 Johnson Street,
Kingston, Ontario,
Canada,
April 3, 1963.

The Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs,

I am in the process of preparing a graduate dissertation in political science at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, on "The NAACP and problems of Negro education". I am therefore seeking information on the publications on the race problem which are prepared by your organization. I am interested in contributing to your publications.

Perhaps you may also find it possible to furnish some information on your organization – purposes, structure, line of activity pursued, membership etc – which would be greatly appreciated by one who is thoroughly interested in the development of race relations in the United States.

4/15/63

Yours very truly,
Lockley G. E. Edmundson.

New South.
Pub. List
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H. 6 yrs.

Refer to Govs. Reg. Educ.
" " NAACP – release
20 W 40th St
NYC 18

Bur. of Educ. Res.
Howard Univ.
Wash 1, DC

3205 East 30 Street
Vancouver, Washington
April 4, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemem:

Our Social Studies class is writing papers on the racial discrimination problem and I wish to have extra information on this subject.

Would it be possible for you to send me any information on this subject? If so please send it to:

Miss Connie Sibert
3205 East 30 Street
Vancouver, Washington

4/15/63

Thank you very much for your time and trouble.

Sincerely yours,
Miss Connie Sibert

Afl. study
& dep'ts

EDWARD H. PEEPLES, JR.
3425 POWELTON AVE.
PHILA. 4, PA.

4-4-63

Dear Sirs:

Some years ago you published a booklet entitled "Next Steps in the South, Answers to Current Questions" which had in the front of it a map of the "Percentage of Non-White Population in Counties of Southern States" based on the 1950 Census. I was wondering if you published a similar map based on the 1960 census. If so would you kindly advise me so because I would like to purchase one.

Also do you publish a list of research, books, or other publications on southern race relations? 4/15/63

Thank you kindly.

Sincerely,

E.H. Peeples Jr.

Dear Sirs:

I am interested in procuring a copy of "Background: Atlanta", an OASIS pamphlet.

If you can supply the pamphlet or advise me of a source I can contact, please let me know.

Thank you very much!

4/15/63

Charles E. McCormac
Chaplain, USAF (Ret.)
910 Michigan Ave.
Pensacola, Florida

April 13, 1963

Dear Sirs:

Thank you so very much for all of the information you sent to me concerning the unfortunate incident at the University of Mississippi last fall. It will be most helpful to me in my research.

Sincerely yours,
Nancy M. Turnbull

SOCIAL ACTION SECRETARIAT
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS
MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE OF THE SACRED HEART
PURCHASE, NEW YORK

April 4, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We are in the process of revising our directory and your name was formerly on our list. Would you please send us a statement of your purpose and a list of available publications?

Thank you for your time.

H/15/63

Sincerely yours,

Diane Cassens

Diane Cassens

THE RICHFIELD BRANCH
AKRON PUBLIC LIBRARY
West Richfield, Ohio

April 4, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would so much appreciate receiving any folders or literature you may have available on desegregation, etc.

We often have calls for articles on this subject, and can assure you they would be put to good use in our library. Thank you! 4/15/63

Sincerely,

Dorothy K. Sykes

Dorothy K. Sykes (Mrs. W.E.)
Librarian

DKS:MPO

Ck $1.40
4/8/63
HK

Pomfret School
Pomfret, Connecticut

Dear Sir,

I am doing a paper on the modern south and would like to obtain the following copies of "The New South"

Vol	Month	Year	number
17	May	1962	5
17	Feb	1962	2
17	July Aug	1961	7
17	Jan	1962	1
16	Dec	1961	11
16	May	1961	5
16	June	1961	6

HH 3/15/63

Also

Racial Crisis and the Press by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer

$1.40 is enclosed for the New South copies.

Your promptest attention will be appreciated.

Yours Truly,

Calhoun Wick

Calhoun W. Wick
Pomfret School
Pomfret Conn.

Other book lists + information would be appreciated.

April 19, 1963

Mrs. Jeanne Sollen
1274 West Birch Street
Oxnard, California

Dear Mrs. Sollen:

Under separate cover I am mailing the school desegregation study you requested in your letter of April 16. Also in the packet is a higher education survey made very recently, a publications list, and a copy of figures reported by the Southern Education Reporting Service in their November, 1962, Statistical Summary. For future reference you might wish to write to SERS (P.O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 12, Tenn.) for a subscription to their monthly, Southern School News. If there are other of our materials which you believe you would find useful, please let us know.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

1274 W. Birch st.
Oxnard, Calif.
Apr. 16, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

I am trying to locate an up-to-date survey of the degree to which Southern schools have been integrated. In a 1961 article in the Washington Post , I note you did such a study at that time. Have you brought this up to date or prepared a supplementary report bringing the results up to 1962 or 1963? If so, I would very much appreciate the opportunity to purchase such a report from you.

Thank you very much for your attention to this inquiry.

Sincerely,

Jeanne Sollen

(Mrs.) Jeanne Sollen

Nov. 62 St. Sum.

SCRS
PO Box 6156 Acklen Sta.
Nashville 12, Tenn.

April 8, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a student at Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York. At present I am working on a paper describing the motivation behind the non-violent integration movement, particularly the sit-in movement. I would be grateful for any information you could send me on the philosophy, aims, action and accomplishments of this movement .

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Deborah F. Barnett

Deborah F. Barnett
2321 East 17th Street
Brooklyn 29, New York

4/19/63

103 Winchester Street
Brookline, Mass,
April 6, 1963

Dear Sirs:

Would you please send me some Special Reports from your publishing List, also is it possible to obtain a publishing list?

The Special Reports that I am especially interested in are--"The Student Protest Movement"," A Recapitulation", "The Freedom Ride".

Thank you ,

4/17/63

Sincerely yours,

Reta M. DeMoss

Chairman: CLAUDE C. SHOTTS Executive Secretary: B. TARTT BELL Treasurer: JAMES MATTOCKS

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 88-2-0109

April 9, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Richard Ramsay, our College Program Director, is out of the office at present and is not expected back until next week. However, I am sure he would want to order a couple copies of your revised report L-23C, April 1, 1963, DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. If you have two or three of these copies available, please send them to this office.

Thank you very much.

H119/63

Sincerely,

Barbara Collins

Barbara Collins
Secretary

/bc

MG
please return to BP

Eleanor
make sure he is getting
NEW SOUTH.

April 3, 1963

Mr. William E. Hill
Intergroup Relations Officer
Public Housing Administration
185 North Wabash Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hill:

Thank you for your letter of March 29 and its enclosed check. We shall, of course, continue to send New South and appreciate your generous comments. I did want to clarify one point, however: at the time Fred Routh acquainted you with the magazine, SRC may have still been a membership organization with the "dues" you refer to. It no longer is such. Members (90 at present) are elected to the Council's Board and the only charges we have are for the annual New South subscription ($2.00) and, when the occasion demands, for our printed materials.

With regard to other publications, we have put your name on our mailing list to receive them as they become available. A packet of literature on your current interest - busines and industry leaders and segregation - is in the mail together with a publications list.

Let us know if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

E.O.G.P.
4-19-63

Ck $10 00
4/1/63
LK

? New Business Ways in the South
OH.

2951 South Parkway
Chicago 16, Illinois
March 29, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

I write you in lieu of filling in your recent questionnaire. As I recall it, my name is on your mailing list through the courtesy of Mr. Fred Routh. If I have paid dues, this is not sharply etched in my memory. However, it was my intention to do so. The enclosed check for $10 will, I hope, square the record.

I also need your help. I want to support the thesis by actual experience that even in the South, when the leaders of business and industry agree to abolish segregation by race, the public will and does accept it. I am particularly interested in large urban centers like Atlanta, New Orleans, Richmond, and Houston. Would appreciate bulletins, references and additional information that would support this view.

New South is a very useful and informative publication. Through it, we of the "Nawth" can learn a lot. Thank you so much.

Sincerely yours,

Wm E. Hill

Wm. E. Hill

Enclosure

Intergroup Relations Officer
Public Housing Administration
185 North Wabash Avenue

Should get NS

SAN DIEGO CITY COLLEGE LIBRARY
1425 Russ Blvd.
San Diego 1 California

4-22-63
mA

Gentlemen:

Please send 2 copies of your free pamphlets entitled:"Albany: A study in National responsibility" by Howard Zinn. Also, two copies of "Previous report on Albany's problems."

Thank you.

Miss Effie Denison
Periodicals Librarian

2-Albany (2nd)
3-18-63
mA

hold for 1st-

3-6-63

Miss Myrtle Lewis, Librarian
Madras Union High School
District No 4-1
Madras, Oregon

4-22-63
mA

Albany - 1st report

April 22, 1964

BC MA

distribution

PLEASE MAIL OUT TODAY, SPECIAL HANDLING, 500 copies March NEW SOUTH

to:

Mr. Woodrow Seals
1510 Lehman
Houston 18, Texas

(for distribution to delegates to Texas Conference of Methodist Church next month, along with covering letter from Mr. Seals.)

Kinchelos AFB, Michigan
23 April 1963

Southern Regional Council

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a clipping from the National Observer, a weekly paper I subscribe to. You undoubtedly already know about the political upset in Texas, but this article is fairly lengthy and may help fill you in on the details. The National Observer is a Republican paper, which is obvious in the article.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Powell

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

289 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK · GR 5-2121

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Racial and Cultural Relations

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L. Alexander Harper
Regional Secretary

Mrs. William A. Gordon
U.N. Representative

April 11, 1963

Distribution Office
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send 15 copies of "Desegregation in Higher Education", Report L-23C, Revised, April 1, 1963, to:

Dr. S. Gary Oniki
Associate Secretary
Racial and Cultural Relations
Council for Christian Social Action
289 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

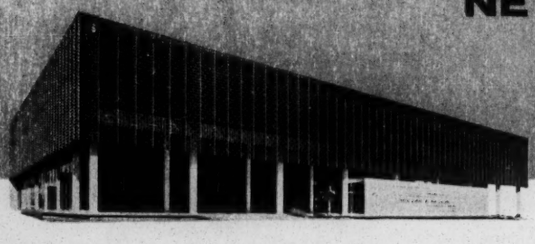
Thank you.

4/24/63

Very truly,

Mrs. Gerald L. Moore

(Mrs.) Gerald L. Moore
Secretary to
Dr. S. Garry Oniki



NEW ORLEANS Public Library

219 LOYOLA AVENUE • PHONE 523-4602

4/11/73

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Georgia

Please mark, care of my personal attention 4 copies of Annealing of the South pamphlet by Dunbar. Bill me please.

Truly yours,

Jerome Cushman
Librarian

4/24/63

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
LOS ANGELES 24, CALIFORNIA

GB

RECEIVED
APR 22 1963

April 19, 1963

The Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 forsyth Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send me a copy of your recent report on compliance with President Kennedy's executive order barring racial discrimination in firms under government contract.

Thank you.

4/24/63
BP

Cordially yours,

Richard P. Longaker

Richard P. Longaker
Chairman

RPL:gf

HEADQUARTERS
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF FOR PERSONNEL
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

12 April 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Aulwm Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This letter is to request a copy of your publications on Statistical Summary of School Segregation - Desegregation in the Southern and Border States - November 1961 and Supplement - May 1962.

If there is a charge for the data, please forward same with the publication and I will remit by return mail.

4/2-4/63

Thank you,

Lt. Colonel C. J. Merck
ODCSPER-PSD
Room - 2D739 - Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

12 April 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Aulwm Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This letter is to request a copy of your publications on Statistical Summary of School Segregation - Desegregation in the Southern and Border States - November 1961 and Supplement - May 1962.

If there is a charge for the data, please forward same with the publication and I will remit by return mail.

Thank you,

Lt. Colonel C. J. Merck
ODCSPER-PSD
Room - 2D739 - Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

18 Moquette Row

Yonkers, New York

April 11, 1963

Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth Street N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a student at City College, New York and have been assigned to do a term-paper entitled "Negroes' Counter Resistance in the South from 1954 to the Present". One of the topics that I have selected in the paper is the Albany Movement. I, therefore, wish to request that you send any pamphlets which you might have relative to this movement.

If there is any charage, please forward it C. O. D. Thanking you in advance, I remain

4/24/63

Yours very truly,

William H Thompson

William H, Thompson

14850 Turney Road
Maple Heights 37, Ohio
April 15, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Mr. Melvin I. Cooperman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has suggested that your organization has available a publication entitled, "Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's New Private Schools," by Mary E. Goodman.

I would very much appreciate receiving a copy and would be happy to pay any cost involved.

4/24/63

Thanking you in advance for any courtesy that you might extend, I am

Sincerely yours,

Richard M. Strafford

Richard M. Strafford

RMS:me

William C. Bowman
4842 Oakland Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS
APR 13
6 30 PM
1963
5 MINN.

5c U.S. POSTAGE

Southern Regional
Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.,
Atlanta, Ga

According to the Dec 1, 1962 issue of "The Nation" I can obtain the Howard Zinn report on Albany by writing to this address.
Thank you.

4/24/63

Sincerely

Mrs Wm. Bowman
4842 Oakland So.

April 24, 1963

Mr. Malcolm Kovacs
519 State Street
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Kovacs:

As a general rule we do not add names of individual students to our permanent mailing list since students are usually transient. We do, however, send materials to student groups and we willbbe glad to do this in the case of your NSA chapter if you will furnish us with the appropriate address.

You inquire about other organizations. I would suggest the following:

NAACP (national office)
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

SNCC (Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee)
6 Raymond Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Should you desire to keep current personally with SRC publications, I would suggest further that you subscribe to our monthly, NEW SOUTH. This frequently carries descriptions of our materials as they become available. A recent issue is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
Enclosure

NAACP 20 W. 40th St. NYC 18

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON, WISCONSIN

SCLC

SNCC

April 11, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CORE
38 Park Row
NYC 38

Gentlemen:

I am a student at the University of Wisconsin and a Regional Officer of the National Student Association. I have been active most recently in the campaign here at Wisconsin to raise money, food and clothing for relief in Mississippi.

I would appreciate it if you would add my name to your mailing list so that I might receive your periodic reports. I would also like to receive the names and addressed of the other civil rights groups whom I might contact to stay fully informed of developments.

Thanking you kindly,

WE SHALL OVERCOME

Malcolm Kovacs

Malcolm Kovacs
519 State Street
Madison 3, Wisconsin

April 24, 1963

Miss Marcella Bassani
Strada del cantello 9
Torino, Italy

Dear Miss Bassani:

To assist you with your thesis on American labor unions and their attitudes toward race relations, I am mailing under separate cover several of our publications dealing with employment generally. We have no recent studies relating specifically to unions. Included in the package, though, are some clippings which may be more pertinent.

You would also perhaps be well advised to try to locate in your university library or the local United States Information Service reading room a copy of the 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report #3, Employment. This is offered for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. There is a chapter on unions.

In this country several unions with "liberal" policy regarding race publish bulletins, and there are various non-union connected labor bulletins. Several which might interest you are:

Labor Reports, Jewish Labor Committee, 25 E. 78th St., New York 21, N.Y.

Progressive Labor, G.P.O. Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, N.Y.

I.U.D. Bulletin, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W. Washington 6, D.C.

Another very good source of information would be the National Labor Service, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

And, in the December 1962 Harper's Magazine, "David Dubinsky: Why His Throne Is Wobbling," by Paul Jacobs.

If you have time for further inquiry, one of the best

resource persons in your field is
Mr. Ben Segal
Director
Educational Department, IUE, AFL-CIO
1126 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Finally, Mr. Herbert C. Hill,
Labor Consultant,
NAACP
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Has written extensively on your subject and reprints of his articles are available from the above address.

Trusting this will be of some use,

Sincerely yours,

BP:s

Barbara Pattesson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

To:Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Marcella Bassani
Strada del cantello 9
Torino Italy

I' m an Italian student; in 1958 I spent three months in the U.S. on a scholarship sponsored by the N.Y.Herald Tribune.
Now I' m studying political sciences at the University of Turin and I would like to prepare a thesis on the American labor unions and their attitude towards the negro problem (discrimination segregation etc.). Since it's almost impossible to get any material on this subject in Italy, I was advised to write to you: will you be able to help me in some way?(as what it concerns bibliography,books,reviews etc.).
I do hope in your answer,thank you

yours

Marcella Bassani

Turin, April 12th 1963

Studies on
Self - employment
Plans for Progress

I.L.C.

Rec. Employment

Ben Segal, Dir.
Educ. Dept. IUE, AFL-CIO
1126 16th St NW
Wash 6

March 17, '62
Force & Nonviolence

Harry Wofford - Law & Civil Disobedience
Freedom Ride
Albany
Dan Thompson
Marion Wright, MLK in NS

Miss Dolores Byrd
422 North Sickels Street
Phila. 39, Pa.

April 16, 1963

Southern Regional Co.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

4/24/63

Dear Friends:

I am participating in a group discussion on the subject of "Intergration" and "The Meaning of Nonviolence."

I would appreciate any literature you could send to me on the subjects. Please use the address given above.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Miss Dolores Byrd

(Miss Dolores Byrd)

.40 Corr
4/24/63
LR

April 18, 1963

To whom it may concern,

I am interested in obtaining the publication, "The Negro and the Ballot in the South" by Margret Price. I have enclosed the necessary money.

4/24/63

Thanking you for your time I am,

Respectfully yours,
Roy R. Schwartz

Roy R. Schwartz
Washington College
Chestertown, Md.

coin .20
4/24/63
LK

CONESTOGA VALLEY SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

2110 HORSESHOE ROAD
LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA

J. Elias Fritz
Supervising Principal

Robert W. Rill
Principal

April 19, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find 20¢ in coin for the pamphlet Racial Work and Negro Waste in Southern Employment.

4/24/63

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours truly,

Anna Geiger

Anna Geiger
Librarian

Enc.
AG/jh

April. 23rd, 1963.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3,
Georgia.

Gentlemen:-

In reading the "Bay State Bugle" issued by the Massachusetts Civil War Centennial Comm. I noticed that your council has issued a publication "A Hundred Years later". If copies are still available I would greatly appreciate your sending me a copy of some, as I am greatly interested in the conflict between the states and all history pertaining to our country.

4/25/63

Respectfully yours,

Saul B. Weinberg.

2951 Ocean Ave.
Brooklyn 35, New York.

April 25, 1963

Dr. V. B. Howard
8300 North Wisner Street
Niles 48, Illinois

Dear Dr. Howard:

The Macon study to which you refer in your letter of April 16 was reported in error in a wire service news story and, no doubt, taken from that story and reported in Southern School News. The Council has not prepared a study on Macon. We regret, moreover, that you have been misled and are enclosing a listing of current publications. If any of these are of interest, please let us know and we will be glad to send them.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
Enclosure (1)

8300 North Wisner Street
Niles 48, Illinois
April 16, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I would appreciate a copy of the recent study that you made concerning race relations in Macon, Georgia, as referred to in the Southern School News, April, 1963, page 16.

Sincerely,

V. B. Howard

VBH:ed

Dr. V. B. Howard

April issue
article

... Coin. 55
4/19/63
LK

EDWARD H. PEEPLES, JR.
3425 POWELTON AVE.
PHILA. 4, PA.

4-17-63

Dear Sirs:

Would you kindly mail to me one copy each of the following:

#125/63

1. "If the Schools Are Closed... A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan" by Gauerke & Green.
20¢

2. "Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's New Private Schools" by Goodman.
10¢

3. "When a City Closes its Schools" by Campell
SCF

4. "New Business Ways in the South" in Business Week
SCF

5. Leadership Reports - SCF
   a. L-5
   b. L-14
   c. L-19
   d. L-27

Total ..... 30¢

plus 25¢ I owe you from ..... 25¢
Map of Non-whites you sent me.

Grand Total 55¢

Sincerely,
E. H. Peeples Jr.

DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT-
ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENT
JAMES H. SMITH

ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENTS
EVELYN F. CARLSON
EDWIN A. LEDERER
THADDEUS J. LUBERA
LESTER J. SCHLOERB
EILEEN C. STACK

BOARD OF EDUCATION
CITY OF CHICAGO
228 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 1. ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE DEARBORN 2-7800
BENJAMIN C. WILLIS
GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENTS
MILTON J. COHLER
NEAL DUNCAN
DAVID J. HEFFERNAN
RICHARD C. McVEY
FRANCES A. MULLEN

April 19, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would it be possible for us to buy or borrow a copy of your report of December 15, 1959 on the effects of desegregation on I.Q.

4/25/63

If you have more recent reports, we would appreciate a copy of each.

Cordially,

Morris Hairnowt

Director
Bureau of Human Relations

MLH:mbd

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW LIBRARY
357 East Chicago Avenue
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

ELBERT H. GARY LIBRARY

OWEN L. COON LIBRARY

19 April 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We should like to obtain the material listed below, which we understand is distributed through your office, for our reference collection which is used not only by our students and faculty but by other departments of the University. If there is any charge for this material, please advise us before sending it.

4/25/63

A shipping label is enclosed herewith which we should be pleased to have you use if convenient.

Yours sincerely,

Wm R Roalfe

Wm. R. Roalfe, Librarian

Executive support of civil rights.
1962.

April 25, 1963

Mr. William H. Copenhaver
Associate Counsel
Committee on the Judiciary
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Copenhaver:

Under separate cover the Plans for Progress is being mailed to you today. You ask about similar studies the Council has made: in the packet also are three employment reports on Houston, Chattanooga, and Atlanta, and a listing of other recent publications. We will be glad to send any of these which may be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

EMANUEL CELLER, N.Y., CHAIRMAN

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

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LAW REVISION COUNSEL:
CHARLES J. ZINN

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL:
WILLIAM H. COPENHAVER

April 19, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Would you please send me a copy of your recent report concerning the non-compliance of Georgia branches of major industries with the President's executive order which seeks to eliminate job discrimination. If your organization has prepared other reports of a similar nature, I would like to receive them also.

Your assistance is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Copenhaver

William H. Copenhaver
Associate Counsel

WHC:kmc

April 25, 1963

Miss Linda Jessup
Jones Hall, Box 124
State University College
Geneseo, New York

Dear Miss Jessup:

Under separate cover we are mailing you Albany - A Study in National Responsibility and The Student Protest Movement - A Recapitulation, both of which deal with student activities in the South. Also included are some descriptive materials on the Council and the Voter Education Project, and a reprint of some southern student editorial opinion on the Ole Miss situation.

For specific information on the other organizations you list, you would probably be most satisfied by approaching them directly. Their addresses, if you do not already have them, are as follows:

NAACP - (national office) 20 W. 40th St., NYC 18;
CORE - 38 Park Row, NYC 38; and
SNCC - (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) 6 Raymond St., NW, Atlanta 14, Ga.

If we can help you more, please let us know.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Weston
Rase Rite Bond

Jones Hall, Box 124
State University College
Geneseo, New York
April 17, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am writing a research paper on the effect of the student, civil rights workers in their fight against Negro voting restraint in the South.

I would appreciate it if you could supply me with any phamplets or information on the following:

1. Student worker groups in the South under John Hardy or Robert Moses.

2. Groups such as:

   Southwide Voter Education Project (Wiley A. Branton)
   Council of Federated Organizations
   National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples
   Congress for Racial Equality
   Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

This project has a time limit so I would appreciate your earliest attention. Thank you for your kind consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Linda Jessup

(Miss) Linda Jessup

Stu News
Albany
-64 acts
L-1
VE Pseliana
6 Raymond NW
Atl 14
Stu. Prot. Hoo.

24016 Fifth Place West
Bothell, Washington

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am a student at the University of Washington and am enrolled in Speech 220. For this class we are required to present five six minute speeches on a contemporary social problem. As we well know, segregation is such a problem.

If possible I would like to have any information you may be able to give me on the problem of segregation. Since the forthcoming speech is concerned with the pros and cons of the issue, information on why people are against and also reasons why people are for segregation, would be most appreciated. I have been unable to find much material regarding those reasons for being for segregation. 4/25/68

The material, of course, would have to be sent as soon as possible if I am to have time to use it to full advantage.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Mary E. Wojcik

Miss Mary E. Wojcik

April 25, 1963

Mrs. Arlene Sagee
Order Division
The Public Library
Denver 2, Colorado

Dear Mrs. Sagee:

Our supply of "Racial Work and Negro Wasterin Southern Employment" (New South, May 1962) is virtually exhausted which is why you must have been sent one copy instead of the eight you requested. I am, however, under separate cover mailing seven copies of a report on employment opportunities in Miami which constituted the bulk of the issue in question. I trust these will be of some use, there is no charge for them, and I regret that you have been inconvenienced.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

THE CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER

DENVER 2, COLORADO

JOHN T. EASTLICK, Librarian

MALCOLM GLENN WYER, Librarian Emeritus

April 18, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

On March 20, 1963 we sent you an order form for eight (8) copies of RACIAL WORK AND NEGRO WASTE IN SOUTHERN EMPLOYMENT.

You were kind enough to send one copy of this pamphlet as a gift. However, we are still in need of the additional seven (7) copies.
If you would be good enough to send the seven (7) copies, we would be glad to pay for them. We believe the price is 20¢ per copy. Please send an invoice along with the books.

Thank you very much for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs Arlene Sagee

(Mrs) Arlene Sagee
Order Division

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
270 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
TEL.: BARCLAY 7-1616

GEORGE H. FOWLER
CHAIRMAN
BERNARD KATZEN
VICE CHAIRMAN
J. EDWARD CONWAY
FRANCIS X. GIACCONE
LLOYD L. HURST
MARY LOUISE NICE
RUPERTO RUIZ

April 5, 1963

Gentlemen:

We would appreciate it greatly if you would send information on the following for our files: 4/25/63

1) The official name of your agency

2) The law or authority under which your agency functions

3) A copy of your latest report

4) The name of the members of your Policy Board or Commission

5) The name of your executive director or administrator

We are pleased to enclose a copy of the New York State Law Against Discrimination and a copy of our 1961 Annual Report of Progress for your information.

Very truly yours,

John B. Sullivan

John B. Sullivan
Director of Education

jja/lb
encl.

EDWARD O. McCUE, III
ATTORNEY AT LAW
412 EAST JEFFERSON STREET
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

2-7911

April 22, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I would greatly appreciate your sending a list of the materials published by the Council subsequent to March 30, 1962 to me at the following address:

Edward O. McCue, III
2122 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 8, D. C.

4/26/63

Yours very truly,

Edward O. McCue III

Edward O. McCue, III

Roosevelt University
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE
WABASH 2-3580

April 22, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me a copy of Professor Howard Zinn's study of the Albany movement, and bill the cost.

4/26/63

Thank you,

Charles V. Hamilton

Charles V. Hamilton, Lecturer
Department of Political Science
Roosevelt University
Chicago 5, Illinois

George E. Linton
3613 Ave. H
Brooklyn 10, N. Y.

22 April 63:

Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St., N.W.,
ATLANTA,
Georgia:

Gentlemen:

Kindly advise me of the cost of one copy of your valued A HUNDRED YEARS LATER. On receipt of the amount will send check, and then please send me the copy desired. Thank you very much,

4/26/63

Very truly yours,

George E. Linton

GE – 4-1720

4074 Broadway
Indpls., 5, Ind.
April 24, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia
Attention: Mr. H.C. Fleming
Executive Director

4/26/63

Gentlemen:

I am writing a term paper on the rise of Negro Associations & wonder whether you would have any information on your organization to send me - its history, aims, projects it supports, etc. I am interested in finding out what caused the rise of the Associations we now have & how effective they are. Also,

does your information on your organization include in it the answer to my question: why did you change your name from the Commission on Interracial Cooperation? Also, I am interested in all phases of equality - not just civil rights.

Thank you for any information you send me.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Leon Shiman

P.S. I am a student at Butler University of Indpls., Ind., & am writing this term paper for my course in Racial & Social Minorities under Dr. Wm. Martin.

April 21, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

4/26/63

Dear Sirs;

I am a student of American history at the State University of New York compiling a research paper on the problem of desegregation in schools. It would be appreciated if you could send any current information, following the May 17th 1954 decision, on this subject. Thank you.

Sincerely
Holland Izbicki
Holland Izbicki

Holland Izbicki
171 E. Second Street
Oswego, New York

SB please handle - done

did SB send?

April 23, 1963

The Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have received the copy of the booklet "A Hundred Years Later" which I recently requested from your Council. After reading this booklet over very carefully, I take note of the fact that it will be of great aid to me in my extensive surveys and studies on race relations, etc. Thank you for sending this booklet to me. I am most pleased to be able to obtain a copy of it.

Much of the commentary given in "A Hundred Years Later" gives the thoughts and feelings of individuals in the South today 100 years after the Civil War and it is this type of information I needed in order to finish a short survey on the Civil War which I only just completed to fulfill part of my requirements for an advanced degree at the University of Wisconsin. At present, I am planning to do much more extensive research and study in the near future on race relations, segregation, the South, etc. both at my home and at the University of Wisconsin and take note that in the SRC publications list sent with the above mentioned booklet, there is listed a number of gratis publications which I might be able to use in my studies and research and in any teaching I may do on race relations, etc. in the future in my field of sociology. I would add here that I can make full use of your information and have access to a large number of persons who in turn can have access to larger circles and I need to be kept informed of many happenings, informational materials etc. on a variety of subjects including segregation, etc. I supplement my own knowledge with information I can obtain from organizations like the SRC and then pass this knowledge on to those with whom I come into contact with both in teaching and as an individual. Unlike many other persons, the nature and scope of my research and activities is not limited.

4/26/63

In order that I may have materials to supplement my studies and research on race relations, the South, segregation, etc., can you forward a copy of the following SRC publications: A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH by Harold Fleming, THREE VIEWS OF THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS, THE EASY CHAIR by Harry Ashmore, SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK compiled by Rev. J.B. Morris, ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A GUIDEBOOK By Wey and Corey, L-28 ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT, and also a copy of Toward Regional Realism Nos. 1, 3, 4, etc. to date?

As I await to receive the above materials, I have the honor to remain,

Very truly yours,

Earl J. Bornschein

Mr. Earl J. Bornschein
Route 2
Jefferson, Wisconsin

1274 W. Birch st.
Oxnard, Calif.
Apr. 26, 1963

Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Thank you very much for the material you sent on school desegregation. I expect to be teaching a course in modern history next year and hope to use the material in that.

Sincerely,

Jeanne Sollen

(Mrs.) Jeanne Sollen

Massapequa Public Schools

MASSAPEQUA HIGH SCHOOL
4925 MERRICK ROAD
MASSAPEQUA, NEW YORK
AREA CODE 516
LI 1-6600

OFFICE OF THE ~~PRINCIPAL~~ Psychologist

4-29-63

Dear Sirs,

A copy of F.H. Stallings "Atlanta and Washington: Racial differences in academic achievement" (Report no. L-16, Feb 26, 1960), to briefly borrow or keep, will be greatly appreciated. If this is current unavailable, perhaps you can give me the address of Mr Stallings so I can contact him.

4/30/63

Sincerely,

Milton Kornich, Ph.D.

April 24, 1963
Baton Rouge, La.

Sir:

Please send me a copy of your publication entitled "A Hundred Years Later". I would also like copies of any other booklets, pamphlets which you may have with a Civil War theme. Please place my name on your mailing list.

Sincerely,

4/30/63

Mr. Philip B. Eckert
144 Hearthstone Dr.
Baton Rouge, La.

HARRY F. BILLINGS
2789 Glen Avenue
Altadena, California

April 23, 1963

Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send us literature regarding the struggle for the Franchise.

Thank you kindly.

Sincerely yours,

Mr & Mrs. Harry F. Billings

4/30/63

Especially RE: Report by Prof. Zinn of Spelman College

Gentlemen:

April 15, 1963

Please send me a free copy of your recent publication, A Hundred Years Later. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

GARY R. PLANCK
1207 N. 11TH ST.
PEKIN, ILLINOIS

5-18-63
mA

ck $2.00
4/19/63
LK

Box 976
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

April 16, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Gentlemen:

I enclose a check for two dollars, hoping that you may be able to send me its equivalent in copies of your March 31 News Release on the "Voter Education Project." I have no idea of the cost of each release, but I do need a number of copies to send North. Thank you.

Yours very truly,

Elizabeth Keen

Elizabeth Keen

8/19/63

stamp .05

140 Heatherdell Rd.
Bradley, New York
April 13, 1963.

Dear Sir:

Miss Jane Bond of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference suggested I write to you and ask for information. I am a student working on a term paper on youth in the Civil Rights Movement. I would appreciate recieving copies of your reports ~~on~~ on Freedom and Sit-in Rides plus any other material you have on this topic. Thank you.

Sincerely,
Susan Loren

8/19/63

Barbara,

Dr. Ladd (Emory) called and asked that we send some material on integration to a young lady writing a college term paper:

Miss Barbara Cormier
609 Birmingham St.
Bridgeport 6, Conn.

please say that it was sent at his request.

MA

Gentlemen,

I should appreciate it, if you would see an opportunity to let me know the forwarding conditions for a copy of

Zimn, Prof. Howard - A Study in National Responsibility and a previous report.

I am very interested in this matter and should be obliged to you if you kindly would give me the asked information.

With my sincere thank in anticipation

Very truly yours

Hans Rabe

already sent

EXPÉDITEUR/AFZENDER

H. Rothschild
3 van Woustr.
Amsterdam

NIETS INSLUITEN!

GEEN ADRESSTROKEN, SLUITZEGELS, PLAKBAND, ENZ. GEBRUIKEN.
INDIEN ZULKS TOCH GESCHIEDT, DAN WORDT DEZE BRIEF
PER BOOT/TREIN VERZONDEN

UITKLEP

OUVRIR

Southern Regional Council, Inc. 5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3 Albany

AANBIEDING	ANGEBOT	OFFRE	QUOTATION
volgens bijlagen verkocht - vervolg - terug niet in voorraad - ter inzage	laut Anlagen - verkauft nicht vorrätig - zur Ansicht - zurück	selon description vendu - pas en stock à l'examen - en retour	as enclosed description not in stock - on approval - return to sender

27-iv-1963

with sincere thank an compliments
for your shipment " 1 copy of
Zinn, Prof. - Study in National Responsibility
and a previous report

July 14, 1964

Miss Mary Elise McWilliams
Room 226, Pierce Butler House
Tulane University
31 MacAlister Drive
New Orleans, La. 70118

Dear Miss McWilliams:

We do not have any prepared information on Caddo Parish, La., but I am sending you some bits and pieces from the resources we have. I would suggest that you make contact with both the Anti-Defamation League regional office and the Catholic Interracial Council office and talk with them about more specific information. Ask to see their files of Southern School News regarding school desegregation to take place this fall.

Other sources are: U. S. Census of Population 1960: General Social and Economic Characteristics, Tables 141 and 147. If the library has the more detailed reports by states, you can find county figures in it.

Voting (from Report of U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1963, p. 19) Caddo Parish, La.--voting: "The largest single numerical gain occurred without benefit of a Federal suit or negotiation in Caddo Parish (which includes Shreveport). Here, too, some degree of access to the ballot had already been obtained in 1956." Federal suits were filed in counties in the state at the time of this reports: 11

	White	%	Negro	%
1956 registration	49,095	67	3,615	9
1962 registration	58,523	67	4,420	10.4

School desegregation: (see pp 230-31 or above) Only New Orleans, where 107 Negro children were enrolled in desegregated schools in one district. (1 district out of 67 in 1962-63 school year.) Public schools only. (SSN will give you current information.) SSN Statistical Summary for 1963-64 list two parishes: E. Baton Rouge and Orleans with the following enrollment:

E. Baton Rouge--28 in 4 schools; Orleans 1,786*in 28 schools
*-includes 1,439 Negroes in school attended by one white

Teaching staffs remain completely segregated.

The Shreveport trade school, state-supported, ordered to desegregate "with all deliberate speed" by U.S. District Court in 1960. U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld decision in February, 1961. U.S. Supreme Court declined to review. No date set for desegregation. (I can find no later information on this.)

In East Baton Rouge Parish, 97 Negroes have requested transfer this fall to four previously all-white high schools.

Check with Anti-Defamation League and Catholic Interracial Council regarding religious and political organizations, labor unions and professional societies.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

MA / file reply

Miss Mary Elise McWilliams
Rm. 226 Pierce Butler House
Tulane University
31 MacAlister Drive
New Orleans, Louisiana, 70118
June 11, 1964

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

check with { ADL / Catholic Interracial Council

Dear Sirs:

I am a participant in the USNSA Deep South Human Relations Seminar to be held at the University of Minnesota. I am preparing a paper on Caddo Parish Louisiana - particularly regarding a plan for school desegregation. I would appreciate any information of any kind which you could provide ~~for~~ for me regarding the population, economics, religious and political organizations of this area (also labor unions and professional societies.)

It is very important that I receive this information as soon as possible so that I can have the paper completed before the 25th of July.

I will be glad to pay mailing costs and other expenses you may incur in obtaining such information for me.

Sincerely,

Mary Elise McWilliams

Lynching

December 13, 1960

Mr. Leon M. McCorkle, Jr.
Kirkland W-12
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. McCorkle:

We are enclosing some file copies of materials for your use in writing your paper. Please do keep in mind that it is our only material on this subject and return it as soon as you have read it and made your notes. We do not make a practice of sending our file copies on loan but are making an exception in your case.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosed:
Lynchings and What They Mean by Southern Commission on Study of Lynching
The Mob Still Rides, (1931-35) Commission on Interracial Coop.
Facts on Lynchings in Georgia (1933) Georgia Council Asso. of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching
Mob Murder in America, Commission on Interracial Coop.
A New Public Opinion on Lynching, Asso. of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching
Southern White Women on Lynching and Mob Violence , CIC
Southern Women and Lynching, ASWPL
Some Facts About Lynching, SRC
Southern Leaders Impeach Judge Lynch, CIC
The Cost of the Mob, Dr. Henry M. Edmonds
The Crime of Mob Murder, CIC
Southern Women Look at Lynching, ASWPL
With Quietness They Work, ASWPL
Ladies and Lynchings, by Lewis T. Nordyke
TheChanging Character of Lynching, ASWPL
Lynching Record, NAACP (Supplement to "Thirty Years of Lynching"

Report from Tuskegee Institute, letters December 27, 1944 through 53.
Some Facts About Lynching, SRC (1946)
Lynching maps of the US for two decades (1922-26; 1927-31)
reprinted from The Southern Frontier, January, 1942
Lynchings, 1942-51 (Supplement to "Changing Character of Lynching")
Partial List of Convictions for Lynching SRC
Number of Lynchings 1938-45 SRC
Lynchings 1931-41

October 30, 1963

Dear Norah,

Thanks very much for your kind good wishes. I am enjoying my new work, and finding great satisfaction in it.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

October 29, 1963

Mr. Pat Watters,
Information Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.30303

Dear Pat:

Congratulations on your new job! I wish you great success,

With best wishes,

Norah

(Miss) Norah McNiven

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

November 21, 1963

Mrs. Ray Mitchell
3986 Club Drive, NE
Atlanta 19, Georgia

Dear Sara:

Thanks for your wonderful note. It makes me feel that I succeeded with the column.

Needless to say, I am finding real satisfaction in what I am doing now.

I still follow your brave (and better yet, intelligmnt) doings--and wish when you get by this way, you would stop by for coffee or lunch.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

ATLANTA, GA.
5 30 PM
28 OCT
1963
IB

FOOD FOR PEACE
5c
UNITED STATES
FREEDOM FROM HUNGER

Mr. Pat Watters
The Atlanta Journal
Atlanta 3,
Ga.

BOARD OF EDUCATION OFFICES
CITY HALL

BOARD of EDUCATION
OF THE CITY OF ATLANTA
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Monday
Oct. 28, '63

Dear Pat,

I feel that I have lost one of my best friends - one whose company I enjoyed every day for two & a half years. Every time I picked up the Journal

BOARD OF EDUCATION OFFICES
CITY HALL

BOARD of EDUCATION
OF THE CITY OF ATLANTA
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

I knew I had a kindred soul to turn to. What will people like me do now?

I will miss you - miss you - miss you

Love, Sara Mitchell

Mrs. Ray Mitchell, 3986 Club Drive, N.E., Atlanta 19, Georgia

November 21, 1963

Mr. Sam Massell, Jr.
The Massell Company
40 Pryor Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sam:

Thanks very much for your kind words on my new job--which, as I think I told you, I am finding great satisfaction in.

Again, I want to say how much I have admired your handling of the summit.

We want to see your new home, and wish for you much happiness in it.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

CITY OF ATLANTA

Atlanta 3, Georgia

SAM MASSELL, JR.
President, Board of Aldermen

November 13, 1963
Personal

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I guess it would be less than honest for any public official to say he was not sorry when a friend left the ranks of the daily press, but in this case, realizing that you can be of such tremendous benefit to the important organization with which you now are affiliated, I must say that I am glad you have made the change. You have my very best wishes for your happiness and continued success.

Sincerely,

Sam

Sam Massell, Jr.
(Office: 40 Pryor St., SW)

SM, Jr:epv

P.S. Doris and I look forward to having you and Cecile visit us in our new home when you get a chance.

August 25, 1964

Dr. Joseph B. Mercer
Mayor, City of Brunswick
2700 Parkwood Drive
Brunswick, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mercer:

Here are the reports done so far in the series on cities which have made progress. Brunswick will be the fourth; probably one other will be done. The Brunswick report should be published within about about a month, and you will of course receive copies as soon as it is.

Again my thanks to you for your courtesy and cooperation and for your time in a busy schedule for the interviews.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters,
Director of Information

P
W
/
m
p

Enclosures - 3

September 8, 1964

Miss Diane Mathews
1214 Ash Street
Forest Park, Georgia

Dear Diane Mathews:

I'm very sorry to have kept this fine book by you and your friends so long. The truth is I changed jobs last year, and got put aside with some other things that I just haven't had time to attend to.

I think you all did a good job on Mr. Theodore Charles Bullop, and his adventures and all his hot dog and hamburger pills. I think the story I liked the best was the one about a man like him who had been to the moon and all the planets getting lost in the school! Some of you need to work on spelling a little---but the thing that impressed me was how well all of you do on punctuation and grammar, and most of all, on imagination. I wonder if you showed the book to any of your teachers. If you didn't, I think they would be interested. Maybe there is a school paper where the book could be published as a serial.

Anyhow it is a good job, and I imagine you all got a lot of pleasure out of working on it. That is the best thing about writing.. I hope all of you will keep on doing things like this.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/mp

March 22, 1965

Mr. Ian Macauley
400 Central Park West
Apt. 4-D
New York, New York

Dear Ian:

Hereaare some of my favorites among the materials. I'm enclosing a list of all the current ones. Let me know if you want any of them.

It was a real pleasure to see you and meet your wife and wonderful two kids.

Keep in touch.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:p

Enclosures

June 2, 1965

Dear Mr. Mathews:

I will be looking forward to meeting you and talking with you June 21 or 22, and extending any hospitality your schedule permits. Call at your convenience or just come by.

I'm gald you're getting down this way, and hope the trip is a good one.

Yours truly,

Pat Matters

Mr. Jackson Mathews
Bollingen Foundation
140 East 62nd Street
New York, New York 10021

June 14, 1967

Dr. Leslie G. Moeller, Director
School of Journalism
State University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

Dear Dr. Moeller:

I was interested to see the announcement of your plans. I am sure that the school of journalism will feel the loss deeply, but that what you can contribute in research and scholarship will be of great importance. I hope you find this new phase of your career personally satisfying. Good luck and best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Nice - PW

June 22, 1965

Dear Mr. Mathews:

Here are the materials I mentioned. I think you'll find they define the limits of optimism and pessimism about the South. The report on federal courts is part of a growing effort at basic reform of this most basic of institutions. You are now on the mailing list to get everything--which may be too much of a good thing.

It was very good to meet you and talk with you. I hope we can keep in touch. Any time you have any questions about what is going on down here, I hope you'll send them along.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Mr. Jackson Mathews
Bollingen Foundation
14 East 62nd Street
New York 21, New York

PW:mpa

October 31, 1967

Mr. George Mitchell
1811 Second Avenue, South
Apt. 23
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear George:

I'll be happy to look at your manuscript when you are done with it, and offer any suggestions I can on possible publication.

When the taped material is released on record, I hope you'll let me know so I can get the records.

It was good meeting you and Cathy. I hope you'll be back down here taping some more.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

1811 2nd. Ave. S.,Apt. 23
Minneapolis, Minnesota
October 29, 1967

Dear Pat,

Cathy and I really enjoyed the evening at the Boozers' place last month. It is rarely that I meet anyone who genuinely enjoys listening to this type of music, so I am especially happy when I meet someone like you and your wife.

The remainder of our trip in Mississippi was very successful. We got a lot more good music and interviews. We recorded a lot of nice ones by Leon Pinson, the gospel singer who Wirth recorded.

I have sent samples of my tapes to five record companies, and a couple have already said that they can issue some of them. I have not yet sent Wirth any, so if you see him please tell him that I will mail them shortly.

You suggested that I send you some of the manuscript of my book when possible. Cathy and I have been working hard on it since we got back. I am getting credit for it at the University, so I have more time to work on it than I generally would. At any rate, it is coming along very nicely. I ought to be able to send you a copy of the entire manuscript by the end of the year. I would very much appreciate any help you might be able to give me on the publishing end. I have absolutely no knowledge of these procedures.

I hope to see you and your wife next time we are in Atlanta. Maybe then we'll both have more time.

Sincerely,

George Mitchell

File

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Oslo, Norway
APO 09085 N.Y.

July 26, 1968

Dear Pat,

Somehow it seems as though I should write you a formal apology for not carrying out your request for my impressions of the S.C. VEP. I had the thing about half written and was simply too busy to complete it. I'm sorry.

If you ever wrote the N.Y. Times article on the SCVEP, I would love to have a copy.

Shaw and I will be back in S.C. & Atlanta for a visit in the fall of 1969. We hope to see you then.

If any of the troopers decide to do Europe, more soon they spend a couple of days with us. We have

lots of room. and would be delighted to have them.

Please give ~~me~~ our regards to all and sundry.

Sincerely
Dick Miles
Shaw
Squeery

Dick Miles

amt. due: $5.20.

Pictures only

via air mail special delivery

November 4, 1969

Mr. Jerry Miller
Medical World News
299 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Miller:

Enclosed are the following photographs (we understand that out of this selection, you will be returning two):

1. Appalachia: Strip coal mining region;
2. Mississippi Delta;
3. Georgia;
4. Mississippi Delta;
5. Rural Mississippi;
6. Mississippi Delta;
7. Food Commodity Distribution in Rural Georgia;
8. Appalachia.

Also enclosed is a paperback edition of Still Hungry in America. The invoice for this publication and postage will be mailed separately.

I hope these items will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encls.

May 14, 1970

Mrs. Phyllis Meyers
National Urban Coalition
2100 M Street
Washington, D. C. 20037

Dear Mrs. Meyers:

I think the essential difference between southern school desegregation vs. northern, as we discussed, is the fact that in the rural south, at least on paper, the unitary school system is more easily attainable because housing patterns are not as rigidly segregated and because, frankly, busing has been a way of life both for white and Negro children for many years. The difficulty is that in the several hundred majority black districts in the south, desegregation has not yet really come and it is here, where white resistance has always been the worst, that the Johnny come lately private schools seem most likely to spread. In the urban south we may well be moving toward some of the problems of the north. But despite the Atlantas and Charlottes the South is still for the most part non-urban. There is no doubt in my mind but that the president's statement of a few weeks ago affirmed much of the viewpoint of southern segregationists; i.e. it was essentially against busing, in favor of neighborhood schools, placed "quality education"

above integration; and plainly implied that racial tensions increased as integration increased. Another important aspect of integration in the south is that it has often been a one-way street; Negro children, either by administrative planoor court order have been placed in "previously all-white schools", in some cases with documentable loses in black teachers. Many have resented this practice and staged boycotts in opposition to it. This is a pretty brief summary reading of the situation down here. I am enclosing some recent SRC stuff which maybe fills it out a little more.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/lb

Enclosures

September 22, 1970

Senator George McGovern
Chairman
Select Senate Committee on Hunger
U. S. Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator McGovern:

We would like to obtain copies of the prepared testimony of Dr. David Weeks and Dr. Jack Geiger before your committee, as reported in the September 15, 1970 Washington POST. Would this be possible before publication of the full hearings?

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/lb

9/29/70

CROSS REFERENCE:

For correspondence concerning Tony Dunbar book review see:

Pat Watters - PERSONAL 1970

file
DM

October 21, 1970

Mr. Donald G. Matthews
Department of History
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Don:

Thank you for your letter of October 8 with its interesting outline of your proposed Center for Southern Historical Studies.

I have not yet had the opportunity to discuss your proposal with other members of the Council's staff, but I will do that in the near future.

We are in the midst of serious thought on research needs of the seventies, and certainly a Center such as you have in mind for Chapel Hill would be of interest to us.

I am particularly interested in oral history projects--there is so much that needs to be done to capture the recollections of, among others, persons who have been active in interracial and civil rights activities. All of this needs careful thought and planning. Let us

keep in touch.

I will be in Louisville, and perhaps we can pursue the subject there.

Mary returns good wishes to you and to Jane.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Gaston
Director of Research

PMG:lb

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT
CHAPEL HILL
27514

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

October 8, 1970

Mr. Paul Gaston
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Some of us here at Chapel Hill have decided to apply for a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to establish a Center for Southern Historical Studies. Although plans are yet indefinite, we have decided to sub-divide our endeavors in four different ways:

(1) The selection and training of graduate students within the cooperating universities (Duke, NCCU, UNC) including teaching internships in one of the cooperating departments: History, Economics, Political Science, English. Another aspect of this sub-division would be the recruitment and training of college teachers who do not yet have their Ph.D. degree. One of the requirements for being selected as a Fellow would be the willingness to engage in inter-disciplinary studies; another would be excellence and promise.

(2) Afro-American studies: part of this division will include a provision for recruiting an able Afro-American Historian to teach one seminar and develop a coordinated program of what is variously called Black History, Afro-American history, etc.

(3) Production: there would be a continuing seminar associated with the Center, designed to advance knowledge of both graduate students and faculty. It is expected that seminar projects could be published, and that there would eventually be support for the publication of dissertations written by Fellows of the Center.

(4) Oral History: we would like to expand the Southern Historical Collection and Duke University's archives to include oral history tapes, especially of southern blacks and poor whites, as well as public men and women who have had a significant impact upon the life of the region. Wesley Wallace of the Department of Radio, Television and Motion Pictures endorses this part of the project and will assist in supervising its activities.

Continued .....

I am writing you for two reasons: to ask if you have any suggestions or ideas on the matter and to ask if there is anything here that the Southern regional council would be interested in. I have in mind the oral history project. I do not know what kind of investment the council could make in the program, but sometimes the most important investments are advice, encouragement, criticism--or even a timely veto. I should think that the oral history project would be of special interest to the council. If you know where future monies might come from, I would appreciate your telling me, although I suspect that funds are less available now than they have been.

Please give my regards to Mary. Hope to see you at the "Southern".

Sincerely,

Don

Donald G. Mathews

DGM/dit

December 18, 1970

Mr. Willie Morris, Editor
Harper's Magazine, Inc.
Two Park Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Morris:

Paul Anthony has asked me to send to you the Council's recent publications on school matters; they were posted a couple of days ago and should be in your hands when this letter arrives.

Our annual report on public education is at least a month away from completion. My guess is that we will release it toward the end of January. It will open with a general appraisal of the region and will be followed by four community studies (Mobile, Charlotte, Athens, and Beaufort, S. C.) and a section of the segregation academies. I will see that you get a copy straightaway.

The Mondale Committee hearings have produced some very valuable material.. Seven volumes have appeared to date. The most recent one (Part 3D) contains the testimony of Reese Cleghorn on the segregation academies along with reprints of articles by him and by Kitty Griffith Terjen, of South Today, on the same subject.

The Washington Research Project and associated groups

recently released The Emergency School Assistance Program: An Evaluation, and will momentarily publish a more general critique of compliance efforts, largely based on extensive monitoring done in late September. I believe the best way to get these would be to call Dick Warden of the Washington Research Project. I expect you would also be interested in the N.E.A.'s recent report, School Desegregation: Louisiana and Mississippi. It comes down hard on the dismissal and demotion of black school teachers and principals in those two states.

My general impressions of some of the major developments this fall are summarized in the issue of South Today which is on its way to you. It's not a very inspired piece, and does not really get at some of the larger issues, but it suggests some new twists to an old story.

We were all very appreciative of your "Yazoo. . .Notes on Survival" and look forward to the book you are writing now.

Yours sincerely,

Paul M. Gaston
Director of Research

PMG:lb

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Paul Gaston

29 Dec. 70

Dear Mr. Morris:

Yours of the 23rd came today. Our material was sent 3rd class on, I believe, the 18th. I expect it was submerged under piles of christmas parcels, but if you don't have it by now let me know and we'll try again.

Yrs.

Paul Gaston

HARPER'S MAGAZINE, INC.

Editorial Rooms

2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016
TELEPHONE 212 686-5710

December 23, 1970

Dear Mr. Gaston:

I'm very grateful to you for taking the time to write me your most informative letter and for sending your material on integration. It hasn't arrived yet, but I look forward to reading it with much interest.

My book will make no pretensions to being "definitive," but I do want my facts straight. Thanks again.

Yours sincerely,

Willie Morris

Mr. Paul M. Gaston
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Willie Morris: ar

file
(M)

February 19, 1971

Mr. Charles Medd
Voice of America
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charlie:

Enjoyed seeing you when you were here. I hope you can come back to see us. I'm glad you got tapes of Weltner and Jackson who certainly represent the kind of change you talk about.

Let us hear from you if we can be of help again.

Sincerely,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

VOICE OF AMERICA
UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

File

February 10, 1971

Dear Bob:

I delayed writing you in order to include a copy of the script that resulted from my recent trip. Had I known it would take this long, I would certainly have sent you my thanks before this.

I feel especially indebted to Emory Via who contacted Jackson for me and to Ginny for arranging an appointment with Weltnor. The ex-congressman is regarded by my friends in Washington as something of a diety, and that interview earned me some undeserved applause.

In short, without the Council's help I would have had little beyond Agnew to hear, and for such opportunities one need not visit Atlanta.

Finally, if the script sounds overly optimistic, keep in mind the source of my income. I am grateful, of course, that you people are there to turn out more objective accounts.

I trust we will meet again, here or in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Charlie

Charles Medd

Enclosure:

As stated

Robert Anderson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SPECIAL FEATURE
CHARLES MEDD

FEBRUARY 8, 1971

THE NEW SOUTH -- REASON FOR HOPE

ANNCR:

THE SPEAKER WAS HENRY GRADY, A VERSATILE SOUTHERN JOURNALIST AND ORATOR. THE SUBJECT -- "THE NEW SOUTH." THE YEAR -- 1886. ALTHOUGH BITTER MEMORIES REMAINED, THE CIVIL WAR AND THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA WERE OVER. THE SOUTH, GRADY CONTENDED, WAS STRIPPING ITSELF OF ITS PAST AND LOOKING AT LAST TO THE FUTURE.

GRADY MAY HAVE BEEN THE FIRST TO TALK ABOUT A NEW SOUTH. HE WAS NOT THE LAST. OVER THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS MORE HAS BEEN SAID AND WRITTEN ABOUT "THE NEW SOUTH," AND VOA CORRESPONDENT CHARLES MEDD TOOK A LOOK FOR HIMSELF AT THIS LATEST VERSION. HERE IS HIS REPORT:

VOICE:

NO ONE ARGUES THE POINT. THE SOUTH HAS CHANGED. THE OLD PLANTATION ECONOMY HAS FADED INTO HISTORY, REPLACED BY TWENTIETH CENTURY INDUSTRY AND TECHNOLOGY. AND SHARECROPPERS LONG AGO BEGAN LEAVING THEIR SHANTIES FOR LIFE AND WORK IN MODERN CITIES LIKE HOUSTON, NASHVILLE AND ATLANTA.

BUT ONE SIDE OF THE OLD SOUTH HAS LINGERED ON. THAT, OF COURSE, IS THE RACE ISSUE WHICH LIKE MAGNOLIA TREES AND RED CLAY SEEMED TO HAVE A PERMANENT PLACE ON THE SOUTHERN LANDSCAPE. JUST HOW PERMANENT GEORGE CORLEY WALLACE WAS TO SAY IN JANUARY, NINETEEN SIXTY-THREE. STANDING BEFORE AN ALL-WHITE AUDIENCE GATHERED FOR HIS INAUGURAL, THE NEWLY ELECTED GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA CRIED: "SEGREGATION NOW, SEGREGATION TOMORROW, AND SEGREGATION FOREVER."

BUT LAST MONTH -- JUST EIGHT YEARS LATER -- GOVERNOR WALLACE SPOKE BEFORE ANOTHER INAUGURAL AUDIENCE, THIS TIME NOT ENTIRELY WHITE. NOT ONCE DID HE USE THE WORD SEGREGATION. TO THE CONTRARY, GEORGE WALLACE SAID: "ALABAMA BELONGS TO ALL OF US -- BLACK AND WHITE, RICH AND POOR."

A FEW DAYS LATER AND A FEW HUNDRED MILES TO THE EAST, JOHN WEST -- THE NEW GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA -- PROMISED THAT HIS ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE "TOTALLY COLOR-BLIND." AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME, ANOTHER NEW GOVERNOR, JIMMY CARTER OF GEORGIA, WOULD SAY "THE TIME FOR RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IS OVER." I ASKED GOVERNOR CARTER WHY HE MADE THAT STATEMENT.

TAPE: CARTER

"FOR THE LAST FOUR AND A HALF YEARS I HAVE SPENT ABOUT SIXTEEN HOURS A DAY ACTIVELY CAMPAIGNING FOR GOVERNOR-- IN FACTORY SHIFT LINES, SHOPPING CENTERS, WALKING THE STREETS, TALKING TO GEORGIA PEOPLE AND LISTENING TO THEM. I WAS SPEAKING FOR THE GEORGIA PEOPLE. I THINK THE GEORGIA PEOPLE THEMSELVES MADE THIS DECISION THAT THE TIME FOR RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IS OVER."

VOICE:

GOVERNOR CARTER ADMITS THAT DECISION DID NOT COME EASILY. FOR THE PAST FIFTEEN YEARS, GEORGIANS -- ALONG WITH OTHER SOUTHERNERS -- WITNESSED A SOCIAL REVOLUTION ON THEIR OWN SOIL. IT WAS A REVOLUTION IMPOSED FROM WITHOUT -- BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THROUGH A SERIES OF CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS. THOSE LAWS SHOOK THE VERY FOUNDATION OF SOUTHERN SOCIETY, A SOCIETY NEATLY DIVIDED ALONG RACIAL LINES. THE CHANGE, AS WE ALL KNOW, WAS STERNLY RESISTED.

TAPE: CARTER

"IT'S A TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCE FOR A REGION TO CHANGE ITS WHOLE ATTITUDE. BUT I THINK GEORGIANS HAVE COURAGEOUSLY DECIDED...(AND) AS I SAY, RELUCTANTLY WE WILL OBEY THE LAW."

VOICE:

THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS CALLED FOR AN END TO DISCRIMINATION IN SCHOOLS, IN JOBS, IN ALL PUBLIC PLACES AND -- PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL -- THE VOTING BOOTH. TODAY THERE ARE CLOSE TO THREE AND ONE-HALF MILLION REGISTERED NEGRO VOTERS IN THE SOUTH, ROUGHLY A MILLION MORE THAN WHEN THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT WAS PASSED IN NINETEEN SIXTY-FIVE. BLACK CANDIDATES ARE NO LONGER A RARITY. NOR ARE BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS. ONE OF THEM, MAYNARD JACKSON, THE DEPUTY MAYOR OF ATLANTA -- SEES THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW POLITICAL COALITION, COMBINING BLACKS, WHITE LIBERALS AND EVENTUALLY POOR WHITES. I ASKED HIM HOW LONG IT WOULD TAKE TO BUILD SUCH A COALITION.

TAPE: JACKSON

"I THINK WE'RE BEGINNING TO SEE THE START OF IT RIGHT NOW. WE HAVE FOUND ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES THAT THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO, SOCIALLY AND POLITICALLY, WERE TOTALLY AT ODDS, BUT WHO ARE NOW BEGINNING TO REALIZE THAT THEY HAVE COMMON INTERESTS AND AFFLICTIONS."

VOICE:

MAYNARD JACKSON NEEDED SUCH A COALITION TO BECOME DEPUTY MAYOR, FOR ATLANTA'S BLACK VOTERS ARE A DECIDED MINORITY. HE'S NOT THE FIRST AMERICAN POLITICIAN TO PUT TOGETHER THIS KIND OF ELECTORAL SUPPORT.

TAPE: JACKSON

"I THINK THE SELF-INTEREST VOTING PATTERN IS CERTAINLY NOTHING NEW TO AMERICA. IT IS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE, AND I THINK WE'LL SEE MORE AND MORE OF THIS."

VOICE:

TODAY THERE ARE NEARLY SEVEN HUNDRED ELECTED NEGRO OFFICIALS IN THE ELEVEN STATES OF THE OLD SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY. THAT'S TEN TIMES AS MANY AS IN NINETEEN SIXTY-FIVE. BUT MORE THAN THAT, BLACK POLITICAL POWER AND THE NEW COALITION THAT JACKSON TALKED ABOUT HAS HELPED BRING MODERATE WHITES LIKE JIMMY CARTER INTO OFFICE.

CLEARLY, THE SOUTH IS CHANGING. EVEN THE SKEPTICS ADMIT THAT. BUT SOME QUESTION WHETHER LAWS ALONE CAN AFFECT THE MOST IMPORTANT CHANGE OF ALL -- A CHANGE IN HUMAN ATTITUDES. CHARLES WELTNOR -- LAWYER, WRITER AND FORMER U.S. CONGRESSMAN -- HAS STRONG DOUBTS.

TAPE: WELTNOR

"I BELIEVE OF COURSE THE SOUTH IS CHANGING...BUT I DO NOT THINK THAT THE DREAM OF A UNITED, PROSPEROUS SOUTH, AT PEACE WITH ITSELF, IS GOING TO COME THROUGH VOTER REGISTRATION. I THINK IT MUST BE THE OUTCOME OF THE RESULT OF SUBSTANTIALLY CHANGED ATTITUDES."

VOICE:

WERE SOUTHERN ATTITUDES REALLY CHANGING, I ASKED.

TAPE: WELTNOR

"I THINK ATTITUDES ARE CHANGING WITH YOUNGER PEOPLE, BUT PEOPLE OF MIDDLE YEARS PROBABLY THINK ABOUT LIKE THEIR PARENTS THOUGHT."

VOICE:

THE OPINIONS OF THIS WHITE SOUTHERNER WERE ECHOED ELSEWHERE -- IN ATLANTA'S EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH. THE SPEAKER IS ELDERLY AND BLACK.

TAPE: KING

"YES, I THINK WE ARE EMERGING INTO A NEW SOUTH. (BUT) IT ISN'T AS CLEARLY HAPPENING AS THE WHITE SOUTH WOULD LIKE TO SAY."

VOICE:

THE REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, SENIOR, WHOSE SON WON A NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FOR HIS ROLE IN CHANGING THE OLD SOUTH. THE ELDER KING -- NOW IN HIS SIXTIES -- HAS SEEN MANY CHANGES. BUT HE KNOWS THERE IS STILL WHITE RESISTANCE, ESPECIALLY IN THE OUTLYING RURAL AREAS.

TAPE: KING

"THERE ARE STILL SOME EATING PLACES IN THESE BACK COUNTIES THAT FIND REASONS WHY THEY CAN'T SERVE BLACKS."

VOICE:

AFTER ALL THE YEARS OF STRUGGLE AND PROTEST, A BLACK MAN STILL FINDS PLACES THAT WON'T SERVE HIM. WHAT ABOUT HIS SON'S FAMOUS DREAM -- WAS THERE STILL HOPE?

TAPE: KING

"OH, YES, OH, YES, THERE'S HOPE. WE SEE RESULTS COMING NOW OF HIS DREAM, AND HERE AND THERE SOME OF IT IS FULFILLED. BUT NOT ENOUGH, NOT NEARLY ENOUGH. BUT, OH YES. WE'RE HOPEFUL. IT'S GOING TO BE, WE KNOW IT'S GOING TO HAPPEN."

VOICE:

A NEW SOUTH? YES, INDEED. A DOZEN YEARS OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION INSURED THAT MUCH. THE LEGAL BARRIERS TO RACIAL EQUALITY ARE NOW DOWN, AND A NEW AND MODERATE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IS TAKING POWER.

IS THE RACE PROBLEM GONE? NO, OF COURSE NOT, NO MORE THAN ANYWHERE ELSE. BUT THIS IS A SOUTH WHERE RECENT EVENTS GIVE MEN MORE REASON THAN EVER TO HOPE.

##########

HMT

file

mailed 3/15
received 3/17

WASHINGTON RESEARCH PROJECT

1823 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

202-659-4880

March 12, 1971

Mr. Paul Gaston
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

This comes as a follow-up to our meeting yesterday at the Field Foundation which simply "ended" after we received the shocking news of the death of Mr. Whitney Young.

As I recall, we did agree that we would seek an appointment with Mr. James Moore, Special Assistant to the Commissioner for the ESAP set-aside program and Mr. Melvin Johnson, the Program Director. Carl Holman asked me to try to make the arrangements and we are trying now to nail down a specific time. Mr. Moore and Mr. Johnson can see us at 2:00 pm on Tuesday, March 23 or the same time on Wednesday the 24th.

Please let me know as soon as possible which date is best for you.

Sincerely,

Ruby

Ruby G. Martin

The Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy
Clark College
240 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
404-758-7561

M

April 1, 1971

Mrs. Florence Mars
518 Poplar Avenue
Philadelphia, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Mars:

I've received your manuscript and look forward to reading it.

Thanks for the vote of confidence and will be back in touch.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters

PW:lb

May 5, 1971

Professor August Meier
Department of History
Kent State University
Kent, Ohio 44240

Dear Augie:

Please forgive my being so long answering your letter of March 23. I have just completed revisions of my book, and during the ordeal just let everything slide.

I am enclosing my own copy of "Direct Action In The South." Since they are rare, I would be grateful if you would return it when you are done with it. And I hope it is not too late to be of use.

It was good to see you and to meet Elliott Rudwick. I look forward to the book.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:lb

Enclosure

KENT STATE
UNIVERSITY
KENT, OHIO 44240

DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY
(216) 672-2882

March 23, 1971

Mr. Pat Watters:
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

We have just spoken with Les Dunbar and he has referred us to a pamphlet published by the SRC about 1962 or 1963, which he recalls as being entitled Direct Action (or some similar title). He stated that you wrote most of it, and that he wrote one section.

We were wondering if you could xerox a copy of this pamphlet for us, if one is available. We would of course reimburse SRC for cost of having this done.

Anything you can do to help us on this would be most appreciated.

Cordially,

August Meier
University Professor of History

October 4, 1971

Barbara J. Mobley
Technical Assistant
Youth Board Organization
Commission of Community Relations
Citizens Building Room 806
Tampa, Florida 33602

Dear Miss Mobley:

I appreciate your sending us the enclosed. Unfortunately, at the present time it will not fit into South Today's editorial schedule.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC, Publications

REA,jr:lb

Encl.

SEP 30 REC'D

CHARLES I. JONES
ADMINISTRATOR

CITIZENS BUILDING ROOM 806
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33602

TELEPHONE:
228-7388

City of Tampa

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COMMISSION OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS
YOUTH BOARD ORGANIZATION

September 27, 1971

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Editor
South Today
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Sir:

Greetings from Tampa and the Community Relations Youth Board. I am happy to submit the attached article for possible publication in your paper if the topic is of general interest to your readers.

It is our desire to inform people everywhere, especially in the Southland of the wonderful job being done by the youth of Tampa. If possible, other youth groups might want to try their hand at such a venture or something similar. I also hope that you can use the pictures of the site and youth.

If there is any question please contact me at (813) 223-8691, 1420 Tampa Street 2nd Floor Rear.

Yours in the interest of youth,

Barbara J. Mobley

Barbara J. Mobley, Technical Assistant

m

January 18, 1972

Mr. George McMillan
12 Hilliard Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear George:

We do have tentative plans to publish some kind of summary of the papers and discussions at the Florida conference. I assume you're getting all our stuff, but will make sure you get this one.

I am going to be editing South Today for a time, and would very much like to tone it up with something from you--out of your Ray ponderings or on anything that strikes your fancy. Let me know if you are interested.

My book on the movement of the 1960's is due out the end of this month; if nothing else, I got a lot out of my system.

When you all get down this way, we'd love to see you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:lb

January 14, 1972

Dear Pat:

Is there going to be any published record of the recent meeting in Florida and if so can you send it to me? Still struggling with my book on James Earl Ray. Good luck with your work & best to Glenda.

Cordially,

Geo

ne

February 21, 1972

Mrs. Annie L. McPheeters
1365 Mozley Place SW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McPheeters:

I was so good to get to talk to you the other day. We have looked over your manuscript pages and while we certainly feel the completed work would be a valuable acquisition to any library we just do not feel we have the capability to publish and distribute so large a volume for what would, I think, be a fairly limited audience.

I wish the decision could have been otherwise.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Encl.

1365 Mozley Place, SW
Atlanta, Georgia
February 11, 1972

Mr. Robert Anderson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Enclosed are pages from my manuscript which I talked with you about this week on the telephone. Also volume 1 an earlier book which has sold widely in this and other regions especially to schools and libraries.

I know that SRC is not a publishing house as such, but thought you might consider the possibility of making this publication available to institutions, research scholars, and other individuals interested in race and human relations in our city, Dekalb, and Georgia.

As you will observe the material has been selected from The Atlanta Constitution, The Atlanta Daily World, The Atlanta Inquirer, and The Atlanta Journal. Unfortunately very little has been done yet in indexing these newspapers except volume 1 of my index. Incidentally, this volume (1) may be obtained from University Microfilms either in hard cover or xerographic copies.

The present volume is broader in scope than the earlier one, Containing approximately 300 pages, it also covers historical and biographical data not easily accessible or obtainable from any other source.

I am available to talk with you about ways we might cooperate on making this material available to the public, and may be reached at home - 755 5656, or at Georgia State University Library, Reference Department - 658 2158.

Attatched is postage for the return of this material. The book you may have for the use of your office.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

(Mrs.) Annie L. McPheeters

P.S. The manuscript covers the years 1961 - 1970.
Final typing of manuscript is still to be done.

Dear Mr or Mrs. I don't Know Pat Waters,

I forgot to write to you about the book from my friend and I wrote you probly. don't rember. But you told us send the book to you so you could look it over. I hope you will tell us all about what you have to do toward getting the book published.

Your old friends,

h.w.1 per s2D Diane Mathews

Kay Tramel Claudia Sealy
Karen Wiley
Karen Brown

JAMES A. MACKAY
Congressman-elect
Fourth District, Georgia

LWD ✓

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

December 8, 1964

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

I want you to know that I deeply appreciate what you did for me in the campaign. You were a great help to me in making the contacts with ministers in the community. I know that this played an important part in the outcome of the election.

I hope you will come to our "Open House" December 14th from 7:00 to 10:00 PM at the Decatur Federal Sky Room. This will be a get-together for all the people whose work was so important to my campaign.

You may count on my doing my very best to represent the citizens of this district in a responsible and effective manner. You have a special claim on my attention and I hope you will write me or call on me for assistance at any time.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James A. Mackay

JAM/am

February 24, 1965

The Honorable James A. Mackay
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

Just a note to say that my wife Shirley has been made a Unit Supervisor at the Fulton County Family and Children Services, giving her the responsibility for administering a unit, and the supervision of eight public welfare workers. Needless to say, Shirley is quite pleased, so am I. I doubt seriously her considering any offer from the Atlanta-Fulton County Economic Opportunity Office, but she appreciates very much your efforts in her behalf, as do I.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

JAMES A. MACKAY
4TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

LWD

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

February 26, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Please feel free to call me collect at Area Code 202, 225-4272 at anytime that you have something you wish to discuss with me. I have a fairly liberal telehone account.

I am very pleased to learn of Shirley's new position as Unit Supervisor at the Fulton County Family and Children Services.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

James A. Mackay
Member of Congress

JAM/mg

March 3, 1965

The Honorable James A. Mackay
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

Enclosed is the memorandum that you requested of us a fortnight ago. Leslie is out of town but has had an opportunity to look it over. It is our sincere hope that the information therein will be helpful.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

March 3, 1965

This memorandum addresses itself to race relations in the 4th Congressional District of Georgia in the following areas (1) problems of chief concern; (2) key organizations; (3) key people; (4) statistical information on population, income, registered voters, employment, and education.

A Complex Leadership Structure

Any discussion of the 4th Congressional District in the area of race relations must focus on the fact that the Fulton County sector of the district is of primary importance. The Fulton County sector embraces a part of Atlanta wherein reside more Negroes than in all of DeKalb and Rockdale counties combined. As shown by the population figures below, Negroes in both DeKalb and Rockdale counties total approximately 32,717 people; whereas the Fulton County sector has 51,391. (Note that except for Rockdale County these figures are as of April 1964). But after years of relative decline, the Negro population of DeKalb made last year a small relative increase, presumably due to the Kirkwood entry.

As of July 1964, the Fulton County sector, according to the registrar's office, had 15,253 registered Negro voters. Though DeKalb County does not keep records on the basis of race, there are an approximate 4,884 registered Negro voters in DeKalb and Rockdale counties. Note here, however, that in the November 1964 general election 81,000 people voted in DeKalb County. It is reasonable to assume that few, though some, of these 81,000 people were Negroes.

Therefore, it is of extreme importance that Negroes in the Fulton County sector of the 4th District be fully aware that they are a part of the 4th District and further that James A. Mackay is their Congressman. This is not the case today. The survey made for the Mackay campaign in the south end of the Fulton County sector bore this out, and there has been little change since. The heavy Mackay vote by Fulton County Negroes

was predominantly a straight ticket vote. One group in the 4th District desiring a poverty grant, reportedly went to the 5th District Congressman for assistance.

These people must know their Congressman and feel that they can call on him for assistance. Obviously, the Congressman from the 4th District not only desires such a relationship but needs it.

The point here is that the bulk of the Negro support is in the Fulton County sector; however, only those Negroes in DeKalb and Rockdale counties as yet think of James A. Mackay as "their Congressman." This stems from the fact that Mackay was "their representative" in the General Assembly.

Based on the above, the following conclusions may be appropriate:

1) The Negro leadership in and around Decatur, and DeKalb County (excluding the communities of Kirkwood, Edgewood, and Reynoldstown), will address itself solely to problems in that area. For example, Mrs. Johnnie Brown, a political leader in the Kirkwood, Edgewood, Reynoldstown area, was not among those persons who sent the telegram regarding DeKalb General Hospital. "All my people go to Grady," claims Mrs. Brown.

2) The Kirkwood and Edgewood communities, though situated in DeKalb County, do not consider themselves a part of DeKalb County nor do they relate to Decatur. These communities are within the Atlanta city limits and they consider themselves Atlantans. Reynoldstown, though not in DeKalb County, is closely identified with Kirkwood and Edgewood. The three communities could be viewed as a unit.

3) The Negro leadership must be dealt with, in many cases, on the basis of the area of the district in which it lives. These areas are: (a) Decatur and DeKalb County; (b) Kirkwood, Edgewood, and Reynoldstown; (c) South Atlanta, Peoplestown, Plunkytown (near airport at South Expressway), and Summerhill; (d) the Northeast section, centered around Georgia Baptist Hospital. When you hear from some particular leader, he or she will usually be concerned only about one area. Note here that many of the problems that may be directed to your attention will be so local that an alderman or county commissioner should be involved rather than the

Congressman. It may help then for the Congressman to give these people some idea as to problem or service areas in which he can be and desires to be most effective.

4) The organizations in these four areas look to the metropolitan organizations for leadership and guidance. Mrs. Johnnie Brown, for example, serves on the Executive Committee of the Fulton County Citizens Democratic Club and is a leader in the All-Citizens Registration Committee. She gets called on frequently by the Atlanta Negro Voters League, which could not survive in her area without her help. Leaders in the South Atlanta and the Northeast section relate to these metropolitan organizations in much the same way. There are, however, no tight controls on these area leaders, but the influence is considerable. There are splits and heated differences. The Pye-Webb-Hollowell race and the Dan Duke-Wesley Asinoff race evidence that the area leaders can and do think for themselves.

The Decatur-DeKalb County area, on the other hand, does not have such a relationship with the large organizations, excepting the Atlanta and state NAACP's. The DeKalb County Branch NAACP, for example, never participated in the All-Citizens Registration Committee's voter registration campaign which, although extended to DeKalb County, was confined to the Atlanta area thereof.

The DeKalb County branch has always received voter registration support through the national NAACP, which was aided in DeKalb County by the Voter Education Project. The group concentrated its efforts in Decatur, Scottsdale, Stone Mountain, Lithonia, Ellenwood, and the like, rather than in the Atlanta portion of the county.

There is little white leadership in the District interested in and informed about <u>its</u> race relations. DeKalb County includes many white persons who have been of invaluable help and strength with the issues of recent years. Typically (there are some exceptions) these people direct their concerns and activities toward state problems and those of Atlanta; they tend to know little about and take little interest in similar problems within DeKalb County. (Two persons who do take a specific interest in DeKalb problems, and whom you might not otherwise think of, are: Rev. Austin Ford, St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church, La Vista Road; and Dr. John Starr, U. S. Communicable Disease Center, 1600 Clifton Road, N. E.)

Problems of Chief Concern

Problems of concern, then, depend upon areas affected. The most immediate concerns in Decatur and DeKalb County are police brutality and the DeKalb General Hospital. Another concern is school desegregation. DeKalb County has the largest segregated school system in the nation. This shameful condition is not improved by official denials or by signing the Title VI certificate; indeed, as long as compliance is merely verbal, the shame is deeper. Two years ago there was considerable activity and interest in school desegregation: Negro children appeared at the Stone Mountain High and several elementary schools to attempt to register. Factors such as fear, lack of leadership, and discouragement by Negro principals caused the school desegregation effort to fade away. Whether correct or not, there is a widespread belief that Superintendent Cherry requires the Negro principals to discourage transfer applications.

The Kirkwood school situation is not satisfactory to anyone save the Atlanta Board of Education. Another segregated school is the result. As shown below, there are many Atlanta schools in the 4th District. The fact that only one elementary school (John Hope - one white student) and three high schools are desegregated should merit the Congressman's attention, though there might be little he can do to correct the situation.

The slaying of James Lawrence by two DeKalb County officers has aroused considerable interest in the Decatur and DeKalb County area. The protesting group is the DeKalb County Branch of the NAACP, which is the same group protesting discrimination in employment and hospital services at the DeKalb General Hospital. Note again that other areas of the district have not protested because they are not directly affected. The Atlanta branch NAACP involvement stems from its organizational relationship to the DeKalb branch and the fact that the Atlanta branch has staff. See the attached article from the Atlanta Inquirer.

The DeKalb County branch of the NAACP has submitted to the Administrator and Board of Governors of the DeKalb General Hospital, a petition setting forth several grievances. They were: (a) the employment of nurses through the program at the vocational school in DeKalb County. (We are not certain what the arrangement is between the DeKalb General Hospital and the technical school in nurses' training.) (b) Negro job

applications for other positions are not being processed.
(c) Patient segregation.

The DeKalb branch NAACP is scheduled to meet with the Administrator of the Hospital Board on March 8. You may want to make a more detailed inquiry of Professor Charles Price and the hospital administrator.

Housing is certain to be a problem of concentrated focus in the near future. Several factors point to this: (1) the takeover by Negroes of the Kirkwood area, representing the first new middle class Negroes to move to DeKalb in decades; (2) the question of what should be done with the East Lake golf course; (one Atlanta alderman has proposed that the city purchase the land for some sort of housing development. Is there contemplated here a buffer to keep the Negro community from expanding into East Lake community? Buffers are not created by integrated housing; thus what kind of housing is proposed for the golf course site?) (3) the presence of the Communicable Disease Center, Emory University, and other Decatur and DeKalb County governmental and non-governmental agencies will attract Negro middle class and professional people, who will and should choose to live near their work, and, therefore, will seek housing in Druid Hills and other presently all-white residential areas and apartment houses; (4) does not Eastwick, which, according to our understanding, is 221-D3 housing, present problems or better still opportunities for integrated housing?

Medicare is a serious concern of the entire Negro constituency of the 4th District for obvious reasons. The leadership has not made it an issue but the attitude of the Congressman toward medicare, and more importantly his vote, could make medicare a burning issue.

The implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the poverty legislation is a special concern of the entire constituency; of especial interest is the employment of Negroes in the administration of the programs. Negroes should be considered for some of the top jobs, especially on the regional level. And where Negroes are employed, they should not be denied policy and program assignments.

Key Organizations and People

Key organizations are as follows:

DECATUR AND DEKALB COUNTY,

DeKalb County Branch, NAACP
Professor Charles Price, President
Department of Social Studies
Morris Brown College

KIRKWOOD, EDGEWOOD, REYNOLDSTOWN,

East Atlanta Civic Council
Mrs. Johnnie Brown
90 Whiteford Avenue, N. E.
525-2182

SOUTH ATLANTA,

Metropolitan Atlanta Civic Council
Mr. Bennie T. Smith, President
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.

South Atlanta Civic League
Mr. L. D. Simon, President
23 Maury Avenue, S. E.
JA-4-3628

NORTHEAST ATLANTA,

Northeast Civic & Community Council
Mr. Samuel Sheats, President
234 Forrest Avenue, N. E.
JA-3-9867

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA,

Atlanta Negro Voters League
Judge A. T. Walden and Mr. Q. V. Williamson, Co-Chairmen
Walden Bldg. 855 Hunter Street, N. W.
Butler Street, N. E. 522-5895
JA-2-0570

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA, (Cont'd),

Operation Breadbasket
Rev. J. D. Grier, Call Man
Rev. Fred Bennett, Executive Secretary
SCLC, 334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
522-1420

This organization is composed of 400 ministers. It has concentrated all of its efforts on the areas of employment. It has been successful in getting jobs, and job promotions, for Negroes in dairies, bottling companies, bread companies, and other industries in the community. Its modus operandi is as follows:

1) One company is selected -- a study is made of its employment situation as it relates to Negroes.

2) A 5-man negotiating team calls on the officials of the company, making certain requests for the up-grading and/or hiring of Negroes. Often companies immediately co-operate, and other times there are long periods of negotiating. In several instances, the ministers, after exhausting all negotiable avenues, went to their pulpits and called for a boycott of the product of the particular company. This method has been very effective and has brought outstanding results. The effectiveness of Operation Breadbasket in Atlanta has been such that it has spread to Macon and other cities in the state.

Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference
Mr. Jesse Hill and Rev. Samuel Williams, Co-Chairmen
Atlanta Life Insurance Co. Morehouse College
Auburn Avenue, N. E.
521-0513

Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action
Dr. Tilman Cothran and Mr. Clarence Coleman, Co-Chairmen
Atlanta University Sou. Regional Office
National Urban League
250 Auburn Avenue
MU-8-8778

Fulton County Citizens Democratic Club
Sen. LeRoy Johnson, Chairman, Executive Committee
960 Hunter Street, S. W.
524-7369

Mr. W. H. "Chief" Aiken
President
239 West Lake Avenue
794-2431

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA, (Cont'd),

All Citizens Registration Committee
Mr. Jesse Hill Chairman
Atlanta Life Insurance Co.
Auburn Avenue, N. E.
521-0513

Atlanta Branch, NAACP
Rev. Samuel Williams, President
Morehouse College

Mr. Ben Brown, Executive Secretary
859½ Hunter Street
JA-4-8054

Atlanta Urban League
Mr. Harold Arnold, Executive Secretary
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
JA-1-2355

Atlanta Baptist Ministers' Alliance
Rev. E. D. Dorsey, President
Tabernacle Baptist Church
475 Boulevard, N. E.
876-1779

A.M.E. Ministers' Alliance
Rev. A. R. Smith, President
St. Paul A. M. E. Church
1540 Pryor Rd., S. W.
622-9711

Georgia Council on Human Relations
Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director
Rev. Oliver W. Holmes, Associate Director
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. -- 525-6468

Religious Society of Friends (Quaker House)
1384 Fairview Rd., N. E. (Mr. John Youngblut, Director)
DR-3-7986

Partners for Progress

41 Exchange Place, S.E.
523-0347

Commission on Christian Social Concern
Dr. William Jones, Chairman
Glenn Memorial Church -- 1652 N. Decatur Rd., N.E.
DR-7-1610

Many, perhaps most, of the persons of influence in the 4th District do not live in the district; they reside in the 5th District. This is especially true of ministers whose churches are located in the 4th District. Some of the largest Negro churches in Atlanta are in the 4th District.

Wheat Street Baptist Church
Rev. Wm. Holmes Borders
18 Yonge Street, N. E.
JA-2-3634

Ebenezer Baptist Church
Rev. M. L. King, Sr.
413 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
MU-8-7263

Israel Baptist Church
Rev. W. M. Smith
19 Boulevard Dr. , S. E.

Turner Memorial A. M. E. Church
Rev. C. C. Hughes
1401 Boulevard Dr. S. E. -- JA-4-2220

Tabernacle Baptist Church
Rev. E. D. Dorsey
475 Boulevard, N. E. -- 876-1779

Mt. Zion Second Baptist
Rev. E. R. Searcy
137 Boulevard, N. E. -- JA-2-9227

Liberty Baptist Church
Rev. Melvin Watson
395 Chamberlain Street, S. E.-JA-5-3588

Greater Travelers Rest Baptist Church
Rev. H. F. Shephard
119 Mayson Avenue, N. E. --JA-4-3733

Thankful Baptist Church (Decatur)
Rev. W. Leon Tucker
427 Atlanta Avenue, Decatur, Ga.
DR-7-7171

Pastors of the following large churches live in the 4th District.

Fort Street Methodist Church
Rev. J. D. Grier
526 Boulevard, N.E.
875-1456

Big Bethel A. M. E. Church
Rev. R. T. Bussey
220 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
JA-2-5523

Kings Memorial Methodist Church
Rev. F. J. Hunter
1400 Boulevard Drive, N. E.
523-5343

It is important that both the District office and the Washington office subscribe to the Atlanta Daily World and the Atlanta Inquirer to keep abreast of what is going on in the Negro community. This cannot be done through skimpy coverage of the Constitution and Journal, and one of DeKalb's continuing and basic problems is the lack of any widely read media covering and interpreting its now very complex affairs.

Fourth Congressional District of Georgia

Population

	white	non-white	source
Fulton County (in 4th Dist.)	89,801	51,391	Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission, April 1964
DeKalb County	271,159	29,841	
Rockdale County	7,696	2,876	1960 Census

Income

Per Capita Income	1960	1958
DeKalb County	$2,233	$2,029
Fulton County	2,455	2,203
Rockdale County	1,456	1,259

(source: Georgia Business, March 1963)

Bureau of Business Research, Univ. of Ga., Athens

Personal Income (in thousands of dollars)

	1964	1966	1968	1970
DeKalb	$794,086	$990,833	$1,237,807	$1,543,445
Rockdale	20,086	23,261	26,958	31,205
Fulton	1,789,433	2,006,890	2,252,168	2,524,969

(source: Georgia Business, Jan. 1964)

Median Family Income

	All Classes	Non-White
DeKalb	$7,253	$2,823
Fulton	5,207	3,076
Rockdale	4,390	2,012

(source: 1960 Census)

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Income (continued)

Percentage Distribution of Major Sources of Personal Income in Georgia Counties: 1960

	Wage & Salary	Other Labor	Property	Transfer	Social Insurance	Proprietors' Farm	Proprietors' Non-Farm
DeKalb	78.5	3.0	7.5	1.9	2.4	0	11.4
Fulton	68.8	2.5	15.5	7.4	2.1	.1	7.8
Rockdale	73.0	2.8	5.9	9.2	2.1	2.7	8.4

(source: Georgia Business, March, 1963)

Employment

Unemployed (of labor force)

	All Classes	Non-White
DeKalb County	2,506	574
Fulton County	8,293	3,304
Rockdale County	128	72

(source: 1960 Census)

Rockdale County Employment, 1960

Workers Imported Daily Into Fulton-DeKalb Employment Center	955 (no. of workers)
Workers Employed in Fulton-DeKalb as a Percentage of County's Non-Agricultural Labor Force	24 percent
Total Non-Agricultural Labor Force	3,685 (no. of workers)

(source: Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1964)

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Voting

The immediately available official or semi-official registration figures are not always accurate. For example, the nearest semi-official total registration for DeKalb County is a little over 66,500 (see below) but in the November 1964 election a total of over 81,000 persons voted in the county.

Registration

	white	Negro	Date & Source
Fulton County (total those precincts in 4th Dist.)	34,795	15,253	Fulton County Registrar, 7/64
Rockdale County	3,910	731	Registrar, 10/62
DeKalb County	64,450	2,153	Atlanta papers, 4/63 (county says it does not keep records by race)

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FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF GEORGIA +
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	Rockdale		Decatur		DeKalb	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Enrollment	887	2,097	911	3,477	3,657	48,948
ADA	748	1,773	798	2,960	3,186	41,958
high school graduates, 1962	38	59	32	199	110	1,625
failures, all grades	68	65	72	51	289	1,495
total schools	1	2	2	9	8	61
total teachers*	30	63	34	135	122	1,545
Present total value of school plants**	$483,400	$1,442,300	$649,500	$3,563,840	$2,123,277	$37,277,493
# public owned instruction rooms	29	75	31	157	113	1,556
# rated substandard and in use	-	-	-	-	18	41
# rated standard and not is use	-	-	-	1	-	19
rating	Ga. accredited	Ga. & Southern Assn. accredited	all Ga. & So. Assn. accredited		all Ga. and So. Assn. accredited	

*no teacher salary figures available by race in the state
**includes buildings, grounds, furniture & equipment, library books and instructional aids
+all data from Annual Reports of the Department of Education to the General Assembly of the State of Georgia for the biennium ending June 30, 1962 (as of 3/65 this is the most recent official source)

Education, continued

In Fulton County, these are the schools of the Atlanta System either in the Fourth District, or with school population drawn partly from the Fourth District

white schools	non-white schools	integrated schools
Lakewood	Thomas H. Slater	Grady High School
Milton Avenue	Forrest	Murphy High School
Benteen	John Hope	Bass High School
W.F. Slaton	C. W. Hill	
Ed Cook	I. P. Reynolds	
Faith	Whiteford Avenue	
Moreland	Wesley Avenue	
Highland	D. H. Stanton	
Samuel Inman	E. P. Johnson	
Morningside	Lena J. Campbell	
	Jesse Mae Jones	
	L. J. Price	
	David T. Howard High School	

Median School Years Completed

	All Classes		Non-white
	Male	Female	
DeKalb County	12.3	12.2	6.7
Fulton County	10.4	10.7	7.8
Rockdale County	8.1	7.7	5.7

(source: 1960 Census)

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(source: base figures from 1960 Census and Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission. Interpretations by SRC research.)

Housing

The following is an examination in detail of two census tracts which have changed very little between the four years (1960 and 1964) for which figures are available.

F-31 bounded by Decatur St., Moreland Avenue, Memorial Drive and the A. & W. P. railroad tracks (all in the Fourth District)

By the 1960 Census F-31 had a total population of 3,334 in 851 housing units (1964: 3,778 in 1960 units).

According to the census, 468 (over one-half) of the units were occupied by non-whites. The racial distribution (by the Atlanta Planning Commission) of F-31 population in April 1964 was: white - 558; non-white - 3,220.

Using the broadest interpretation, then, 3,220 Negroes live in 468 housing units, which is a rate of 7.0 persons per unit.

The number of rooms per unit averages 3.8 (1960 census). Broken down by blocks, no block within the tract averages higher than 5.6 rooms per unit.

Thus, one must assume most Negro family groups in this tract are crowded in at the rate of 2 persons per room. For the white population the rate is approximately 1.1 persons per unit, or roughly, 1 person per every 4 rooms.

F-18 bounded by Piedmont, North & Highland Avenues, and Boulevard (about one-half of the tract is in the Fourth District)

A similar analysis of this tract
1960 - total population - 10,071
1964 - total population - 9,459
of which white - 134 non-white - 9,325
1960 - total number of units - 3,356
1964 - total number of units - 3,364
1960 - number of units occupied by non-whites - 3,091
" " " " " whites - 273
average number of rooms per unit - 2.8
(and no single block within the tract averages more than 4.0 rooms per unit)

From this it can be concluded that units are available to whites at the rate of approximately 2 per person (which would indicate some vacancies and/or demolition) and there would be, at least, roughly 2.8 rooms per person.

The non-whites, however, must distribute themselves at the rate of 3 persons per unit. And, roughly, the non-whites are living at a rate of more people in each unit than there are rooms (1.7 : 1).

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March 15, 1965

Reverend E. R. Searcy
Pastor
Mt. Zion Second Baptist Church
137 Boulevard, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Reverend Searcy:

I am enclosing herewith the materials on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, that I promised you several days ago. I think that you will find them helpful.

Mr. Mackay's address is as follows:

The Honorable James A. Mackay
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington D. C. 20515

AC 202 -- 225-4272 (phone number)

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

March 16, 1965

The Honorable James A. Mackay
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

The enclosed memorandum has been forwarded to the President, Vice-President, Director of the poverty program, and other high governmental officials, with a covering letter from the president of the Southern Regional Council. We are forwarding this to you for your own edification, and your comments and/or reactions.

This memorandum has not had a wide distribution, nor has it been, and will not be, released to the press. Please keep this in mind.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

New Federal Programs in the South

Recent history as well as recent legislation has placed federal policies and administration at the very center where basic decisions are being made and will be made in the continuing struggle to remove racial inequities. How the federal government does its job is, therefore, a matter of first-rank interest.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 has changed the emphasis of federal involvement from criminal and investigative procesdings to administrative action. In addition, new anti-poverty and education programs will require heavy staffing within the South and will greatly increase the federal government's involvement in southern communities.

These new programs, as well as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, are intended to benefit the nation by alleviating the distress of disadvantaged people. The primary concern of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is the Negro Southerners, who also constitute a large proportion of the nation's impoverished and undereducated.

These federal measures are, in short, intended to correct historic injustices and handicaps. The success of the programs requires that there be democratic participation in them. If the southern voice in their planning and administration is predominantly that of state and local office-holders these programs will not be practical, because they will not meet the problems.

It is an obvious fact of life in the South that lack of representation in policy making or higher staff positions tends to discriminate against Negroes. In the area of federal aid to agriculture that fact has recently been convincingly documented by the Commission on Civil Rights. The Commission, in its report on "Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs" issued

February 27, 1965, concludes:

> It is the Commission's belief that few of the economic problems now burdening the rural South can be solved until basic changes are made in the Federal programs designed to help bring about solutions. These changes must include the elimination of the segregated structuring of services, the removal of racial limitations on opportunity, and the inclusion in the decision-making process of broad sections of the population previously denied participation. Until these long-deferred changes are made, the South will continue to place a brake upon its own progress and that of the Nation.

Federal Employment Practices in the South

SRC has on other occasions expressed gratification with the federal record since 1960 toward achieving equal employment opportunities within the federal government. At the same time, we have pointed out that federal appointment of Negroes to upper-level jobs in southern offices has been disappointingly behind progress elsewhere.

This has been particularly true regarding those positions dealing with civil rights.

We are concerned now not only for what has been and is, but for what may come. Because the government has been reluctant to have Negroes represent its civil rights policies in the South, we are doubly apprehensive that Negroes will not be appointed to upper-level positions in southern offices administering the poverty program and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. We understand also that the Commission on Civil Rights is planning one or more southern offices, and staffing of these will be of importance. The Department of Health,

Education and Welfare has immensely important new responsibilities under Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act; although we are not informed as to the administrative plans of HEW, it seems likely that some of this responsibility will be exercised by regional offices. HEW as well as the Departments of Labor and Agriculture and the Small Business Administration have key assignments to administer under the Economic Opportunity Act. Pending federal aid-to-education will further inject HEW into southern development. All of this adds up to the fact that the federal government is entering on an unprecedented period of staffing in the southern region for civil rights, poverty, and educational programs, and that this new period must be started off right.

Considering the federal record of the past and present, concern over how this staffing will be done is not premature.

At the present time, there are no Negroes serving as U. S. Attorneys in the South.

-- there are five Negro assistant U. S. attorneys (in southern Florida, middle North Carolina, western Tennessee, southern Texas, and eastern Virginia)

-- there are no Negro U. S. marshals serving in the South

-- there are eight Negro deputy marshals (in Birmingham, Huntsville, Montgomery, Jackson, Nashville, Greensboro, Raleigh, and Charleston)

The regional compliance officer serving out of Atlanta for the contractor employment program of the Air Force is Negro. Federal housing agencies employ seven or so Negroes as intergroup relations specialists, working out of southern regional offices.

To our knowledge, the above is a full list of Negroes

stationed in the South at federal jobs concerned with civil rights.

Seldom does the Department of Justice assign Negro attorneys to participate in southern civil rights litigation. Negro F. B. I. agents are never seen.

There are no Negro judges on the federal bench or on state courts. Because state politics is dominant in the appointment of both state judges and federal district judges, the likelihood is that the first Negro judge in the South will have to start on the federal Court of Appeals.

There are very few Negroes employed in administrative or teaching roles in MDTA and ARA programs. There is substantial evidence that Negroes have not drawn direct benefits from ARA programs proportionate to their needs and interests.

There are, of course, factors which sharply limit the ability of the federal government to recruit upper-level Negro staff. One is the continued scarcity of qualified persons. We shall live for some time to come with this problem, created by past discrimination. Negro men and women of excellent qualifications are, however, available, and among their qualifications is a deep experience with the precise problems with which the federal programs are concerned.

We might remark here also that there are some grounds for fearing that the federal appointive authorities may add to the scarcity by excluding Negro Southerners who have been prominent in the civil rights movement. The fact is that much of the best Negro talent <u>has been</u> at the civil rights forefront. It would be sadly ironic if their struggle against discrimination, which has benefitted so many, should lead their government to discriminate against them.

A second factor limiting the federal government's freedom to appoint Negroes to upper-level posts in the South is the fact that such appointments are, as a practical matter, frequently responsive to state political influences. Until the

Negro vote in the South achieves its fair size, those political forces will seldom sponsor Negro candidates for appointments. This fact makes it all the more important that every federal appointment within the South be carefully watched by those, inside and outside the federal government, who are concerned for equal opportunity.

We believe that Negroes should serve in prominent and important federal civil rights, anti-poverty, and education positions in the South for the following reasons:

1) These jobs, just as any other federal jobs, should be filled on a non-discriminatory basis;

2) Federal programs would be strengthened when persons intimately familiar with the problems are helping direct them; this is especially true of the poverty program;

3) Federal seriousness of purpose would be demonstrated to the South;

4) The confidence of Negro Southerners in federal administration would be strengthened;

5) There are often beneficial consequences to human relations when white Southerners confront Negroes in positions of authority.

Community Representation in the Poverty Programs

A related matter is the participation of Negroes, Negro groups, and bi-racial groups in the Community Action Program of the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

This is of immediate and crucial concern. We agree strongly with the philosophy of the Economic Opportunity Act, which expresses a belief in local initiative and planning, and a further belief that the planning and administration of local programs should be by persons truly representative of the whole

community. This means, as we see it, that in the planning and administrative leadership of the community programs there should be persons who stand close to and are sensitively attuned to the interests of the poor. Because of the South's historic problems, we have a special concern for Negro representation.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has already shown its own attentiveness to this problem. It has said that it does and will investigate every program for assurance of full community participation; and it has manifested its sincerity by its actions in regard to the CAP grant to the Office of the Governor of Louisiana and to the adult basic education allotment to Mississippi; and by the influence it brought to bear on the hiring practices of the Atlanta-Fulton County Economic Authority.

In some CAP projects, such as St. Petersburg's Suncoast Progress, Inc., the OEO will be able to find good community-wide representation. In other places the OEO will find much to correct; e.g., the CAP project based at Corinth, Mississippi, where there has been no perceptible Negro participation and the advisory committee is composed entirely of public officials.

But more basic problems are pointed up by the CAP grants in Georgia. This state has been allotted far more OEO funds than any other southern state; indeed, it has more approved CAP projects than <u>any</u> state. Except in Atlanta-Fulton County, there is virtually no Negro participation, and such as there is has come, as in the proposed Savannah-Chatham County project, after local Negro protest. What has happened in Georgia is that the state government has stimulated and directed local planning all over the state, and in this process Negroes have not participated, and have but minute, token part in administration. As other state governments catch up to the Georgia pace, one can reasonably expect a similar experience. The forthright leadership of the state government is welcome, but the virtual exclusion of representative Negroes is not.

OEO pressure, as, e. g., in Louisiana, has been brought usually in response to Negro protest and after basic program planning has been completed. The OEO requirement of full community representation should be brought at an earlier stage, and should be an insistence that representative Negroes participate in planning and policy making. This is seemingly the case with Economic Opportunity Program, Inc. in Miami, with Total Community Action Inc. in New Orleans, and with the Metropolitan Action Commission in Nashville.

The OEO and these localities are to be commended for the policies that have brought this about. As these and like projects elsewhere mature, the representativeness built into their policy making bodies must be carried over to administration. But their beginning is sound, and it is to be hoped that their approach will become the prevailing pattern, not only in large urban centers but in smaller cities and rural areas as well. We see no reason why the vigor and initiative shown by the Georgia state government cannot be combined, in all states of the South, with full and representative community participation; nor why OEO should not insist that that be done.

Southern Regional Council
March 11, 1965

LWDV

JAMES A. MACKAY
4TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

COMMITTEE ON
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

March 18, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

I just want to let you know that I deeply appreciate the two memoranda you sent. The Fourth District study was excellent and the information it provided me was invaluable. The March 16 memo was an eye-opener, and I would like to talk with you about it.

Sincerely Yours,

Jim

James A. Mackay
Member of Congress

?

JAM:jh

March 23, 1965

The Honorable James A. Mackay
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

The Supreme Court deserves the raise that you voted against.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

JAMES A. MACKAY
4TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

COMMITTEE ON
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

VJ

May 4, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Atty.
Law Offices of Wiley A. Branton
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Columnist William O. Smith has drawn his own assumption as to what I oppose and why. I have even made the statement that I am in favor of voting rights legislation, and although there has been no discrimination in the 4th District, I am aware that there has been discrimination in other parts of Georgia and the south. I am not committed to the present bill that is being considered by the Judiciary Committee, and I cannot support or oppose it until I have had the opportunity to study it with the changes that have been made since it was introduced on the floor of the House.

Unfortunately, there are many people who read Mr. Smith's article, who, unlike you, did not bring this to my attention. Thank you for letting me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Mackay
Member of Congress

JAM/sw

Same letter to Wellman

April 30, 1965

The Honorable James A. Mackay
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

Columnist William O. Smith writes in either the Atlanta Journal or Constitution, I am not sure which, that you pppose the present voting rights bill on the grounds that Georgia does not have any voter discrimination. Have you ever heard of southwest Georgia?

As my last act of lobbying prior to joining the federal establishment, I urge you to vote for the voting rights bill, which I hope will not exclude Georgia.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Attorney at Law

VEJ:nm

LWD
MAR 17 1965
Return to VI

I

FOR RELEASE ON MARCH 11, 1965
FROM THE OFFICE OF REP. FRANK THOMPSON, JR., (D-NJ)
452 CANNON OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

A Modest Tax Proposal for Doctorcare

I think it's time we should all start feeling sorry for our doctors. In the past five years, the American Medical Association, the Doctors' trade union, has spent millions of dollars in membership fees, assessments and special assessments in its crusade to save our elderly citizens from the curse of Medicare. Now the AMA has put on a crash advertising and lobbying campaign to alert the nation to the glorious benefits of its antidote to Medicare. It's called "Eldercare."

Why does the AMA say Eldercare is good for the elderly? It's voluntary! If they don't like it, they can ignore it. If they can't afford it, they can apply to the state welfare people who, with a subsidy from the Federal Treasury, will help them buy it. So much for Eldercare.

But how about our doctors? With all this hullaballoo over the elderly, who is thinking of them? The AMA is not looking out for the interests of its members. It is spending huge amounts of money to convince the nation that Congress is trying to swindle the elderly. Why isn't the AMA spending its millions to further the interests of our doctors? Can you imagine what would happen to Walter Reuther if he ignored the welfare of the auto workers? As an old UAW man, I'd call for his head! Who, then, is prepared to go to bat for the doctors---to look after their interests? Me, that's who! I've got a plan for these poor neglected, down-trodden servants of society. I call my program "Doctorcare."

Doctorcare would be financed by a two percent Federal sales tax on apples, apple juice, applesauce and apple pie. It's foolproof---the more apples people eat to keep doctors away, the more the doctors benefit! Either way, they can't lose.

I would use Doctorcare funds to finance a telephone answering service for doctors. Although cynics may dispute it, it is still possible in some areas of the country to call a doctor's office and speak with the doctor! This has got to stop if doctors are to have time to do any serious thinking about caring for the elderly.

I would also use Doctorcare funds to establish "House-callers Anonymous." It would operate like Alcoholics Anonymous. Its purpose would be to help doctors who cannot resist a plea for a house call. The organization would function like this. When a member feels an overwhelming temptation to make a house call, he would immediately dial a secret number. A recorded voice would say: "Get hold of yourself! You're a doctor---patients come to you. Only TV repairmen, milkmen and paper boys make house calls. Don't lose your grip!"

If this fails, the doctor can dial another secret number. Two doctors will immediately come to his office and rush him off to a Cadillac showroom or a golf course to help the backslider overcome his weakness. Doctorcare would pay the caddies, greens fees and mahjong losses.

But that isn't all Doctorcare would do. Funds could also be used to promote research in specialization. Why, for example, should an eye, ear and nose man be required to know everything? If we had "right ear men" and "left ear men," our ears and the profession would flourish.

If Doctorcare works as well as I think it will, perhaps we can merge it later with Lawyercare which, of course, would be financed by a two percent Federal tax on ambulance sirens. This seems logical. So many lawyers practice medicine and so many doctors are constitutional lawyers, they really should join forces. But enough for Lawyercare for the moment. That will have to await the results of our anticipated battle with the Apple Growers' Lobby.

MEMORANDUM

JAMES A. MACKAY
MEMBER OF CONGRESS
FOURTH DISTRICT
GEORGIA

Dear Vernon —

Here's Frank Thompson's opus!

Jim

This memorandum addresses itself to race relations in to the 4th Congressional District of Georgia in the following areas (1) problems of major concern (2) key organizations (3) key people (4) statistical information on population, income, registered voters, employment, and education.

Any discussion of the 4th Congressional District in the area of race relations must focus on the fact that the Fulton County sector of the district is of primary importance. The Fulton County sector embraces a large part of the Atlanta Community wherein reside more Negroes than in all of DeKalb and Rockdale counties combined. As shown by the population figures below, Negroes in both DeKalb and Rockdale counties total approximately 32,717 people; whereas the Fulton County sector totals 51,391 (Note that except for Rockdale County (2,876) these figures are as of April, 1964).

As of July, 1964, the Fulton County sector, according to the registrar's office, has 15,253 registered Negro voters. Though DeKalb County does not, it claims, keep records on the basis of race, there is an approximate figure of 4,884 registered Negro voters in DeKalb and Rockdale counties. Note here, however, that in the November general election that 81,000 people voted in DeKalb County. Based on the DeKalb County population figures, it is reasonable to assume that few, though some, of these 81,000 people were Negroes.

Therefore, it is of extreme importance that Negroes in the Fulton County sector of the 4th District be fully aware that they are a part of the 4th District and further that James A Mackay is their Congressman. This is not the case today. The survey made for the Mackay campaign in the South end of the Fulton County sector bears this out. One group in the 4th District desiring a poverty grant, reportedly went to the 5th District Congressman for assistance.

These people must know their congressmen and feel that they can call on him for assistance. Obviously, the Congressman from the 4th District not only desires such a relationship, but needs it.

The point here is that the bulk of the Negro support is in the Fulton County sector, however, only those Negroes in DeKalb and Rockdale counties think of James A. Mackay as "Their Congressman." Much of this stems from the fact that Mackay was "their representative" in the General Assembly.

Based on the above, the following conclusions may be appropriate:

(1) The Negro leadership in and around Decatur, and DeKalb County (excluding the communities of Kirkwood, Edgewood, and Reynoldstown), will address itselfrsolely to problems in that area. For example, Mrs. Johnnie Brown, a political leader in the Kirkwood, Edgewood, Reynoldstown area, was not among those persons who sent the telegram regarding DeKalb General Hospital. "All

my people go to Grady," claims Mrs. Brown.

(2) The Kirkwood and Edgewood communities, though situated in DeKalb County, do not consider themselves a part of DeKalb County nor do they relate to Decatur. The communities are within the Atlanta city limits and they consider themselves Atlantans. Reynoldstown, though not in DeKalb County, is closely identified with Kirkwood and Edgewood. The three communities should be viewed as a unit.

(3) The Negro leadership must be dealt with, in many cases, on the basis of the area of the district in which they live. These areas are: 1) Decatur and DeKalb County, 2) Kirkwood Edgewood, and Reynoldstown, 3) South Atlanta, Peoplestown, Plunkytown (near airport at S. Expressway) and Summerhill, 4) The Northeast section, centered by Georgia Baptist Hospital. In other words, generally when you hear from Mrs. Johnnie, Brown, she will only be concerned about her area. Note here that many of the problems that may be directed to your attention will be so local that an alderman or county commissioner should be involved rather than the Congressman. It may help then for the Congressman to give these people some idea as to areas in which he can be and desires to be most effective.

(4) That the organizations in these four areas look to the metropolitan organizations for leadership and guidance. Mrs. Johnnie Brown, for example, serves on the Executive Committee of the Fulton County Citizens Democratic Club, and is a leader in the All-Citizens Registration Committee. She gets called on

frequently by the Atlanta Negro Voters League which could not survive without the help of Mr s. Brown in her area. Leaders in the South Atlanta and the Northwast section relate to these metropolitan organization in much the same way. There are, however, no tight controls on these area leaders, but the influence is considerable. There are splits and heated differences. The Pye, Webb, Hollowell race and the Dan Duke-Wesley Asinoff race evidence that the area leaders can and do think for themselves.

The Decatur-DeKalb County area, on the other hand, does not have such a relationship with the large organizations, excepting the Atlanta and stateNAACP. An example of this is the fact that the DeKalb County Branch NAACP never participated in the All-Citizens Registration Committee voter registration campaign which extended to DeKalb County but was confined to the Atlanta area thereof.

The DeKalb County branch has always received voter registration support through the National NAACP which was aided in DeKalb County by the Voter Education Project. The group concentrated its efforts in Decatur, Scottsdale, Stone Mountain, Lithonia, Ellenwood and the like, rather than the Atlanta portion of the county.

Problems of major concern then, depend upon areas affected. The more immediate concerns in the Decatur and DeKalb County are police brutality and the DeKalb General Hospital. Another concern is school desegregation. DeKalb County has the largest segregated

school system in the nation. Two years ago there was considerably activity and interest in school desegregation to the point that Negro children appeared at the Stone Mountain High and several elementary schools to attempt to register. Factors such as fear, lack of leadership and discouragement by Negro principals (Jim Cherry's influence) caused the school desegregation effort to fade away.

The slaying of James Lawrence by two DeKalb County officers has aroused considerable interest in the Decatur and DeKalb County area. The protesting group is the DeKalb County Branch of the NAACP, which is the same group protesting discrimination in employment and hospital services at the DeKalb General Hospital. Note again that other areas of the district have not protested because they are not directly affected. The Atlanta branch NAACP involvement stems from its organizational relationship to the DeKalb branch and the fact that the Atlanta branch has staff. See the attached article from the Atlanta Inquirer.

The Kirkwood school situation is not satisfactory to anyone save the Atlanta Board of Education. Another segregated school is the result. As shown below the Atlanta Board of Education has many schools in the 4th district under its jurisdiction. The fact that only one elementary school (John Hope - one white student) and three high schools are desegregated should

merit the Congressman's attention, though there might be little he can do to correct the situation.

Housing is certainly to be a problem of major focus in the near future. Several factors point to this: (1) the takeover by Negroes of the Kirkwood area (2) the question of what should be done with the East Lake golf course. One Atlanta alderman has proposed that the city purchase the land for some kind of housing development. Is there contemplated here a fuffer to keep the Negro community from expanding into East Lake community? Buffers are not created with integrated housing; thus what kind of housing for the golf course site, if any. (3) The presence of the Communicable Disease Center, Emory University and other Decatur and DeKalb County governmental and non-governmental agencies will attract Negro middleclass and professional people. These people will and should choose to live near their work. They will undoubtedly seek housing in the Druid Hills and other presently all-white residential and apartment dwelling places. (4) Does not Eastwick, which acoording to our understanding is 221-D3 housing, presents problems or better still opportunities for integrated housing.

Medicare is a serious concern of the entire Negro constituency of the 4th District for obvious reasons. The leadership has not made it an issue but the attitude of the Congressman toward medicare, and more importantly his vote could make medicare a burning issue.

The implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the poverty legislation is a special concern of the entire constituency, especially as it relates to the employment of Negroes in the administration of the programs therein. Negroes should be considered for some of the top jobs, especially on the regional level. And where Negroes are employed, they should not be denied policy and program assignments

The key organizations are as follows:

DECATUR AND DEKALB COUNTY,

DeKalb County Branch, NAACP
Mr. Charles Price, President

KIRKWOOD, EDGEWOOD, REYNOLDSTOWN,

East Atlanta Civic Council
Mrs. Johnnie Brown

SOUTH ATLANTA,

Metropolitan Atlanta Civic Council
Mr. Bennie T, Smith, President

South Atlanta Civic League
Mr. L. D. Simon, President

NORTHEAST ATLANTA,

Northeast Civic & Community Council
Mr. Samuel Sheats, President
Mr. Clinton Baton - -

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA,

Atlanta Negro Voters League
Judge A. T. Walden and Mr. O. V. Williamson,
Co-Chairmen

Operation Breadbasket
Rev. J. D. Grier, Call Man
Rev. Fred Bennett, Executive Secretary

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA, (Cont'd)

Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference
Mr. Jesse Hill, Rev. Samuel Williams and
Dr. Tilman Cothran
Co-Chairmen

Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action
Dr. Tilman Cothran and
Mr. Clarence Coleman
Co-Chairman

Fulton County Citizens Democratic Club
Sen. LeRoy Johnson. Chairman
Executive Committee

Mr. W. H. "Chief" Aiken
President

All Citizens Registration Committee
Mr. Jesse Hill, Chairman

Atlanta Branch, NAACP
Rev. Samuel Williams, President
Mr. Ben Brown, Executive Secretary

Atlanta Urban League
Mr. Harold Arnold, Executive Secretary

Atlanta Baptist Ministers' Alliance
Rev. E. D. Dorsey, President

A. M. E. Ministers Alliance
Rev. A. R. Smith, President

The vast majority leaders and persons of influence in the 4th district do not live in the district; they reside in the 5th district. This is especially true of ministers whose churches are located in the 4th district. Some of the largest Negro churches in Atlanta are in the 4th District.

Wheat Street Baptist Church
Rev. Wm. Holmes Borders

Ebenezer Baptist Church
Rev. M. L. King, Sr.

Turner Memorial A. M. E. Church
Rev. C. C. Hughes

Tabernacle Baptist Church
Rev. E. D. Dorsey

Mt. Zion Second Baptist
Rev. E. R. Searcy

Liberty Baptist Church
Rev. Malvin Watson

Traverlers Rest Baptist Church
Rev. H. J. Shephard

Thankful Baptist Church (Decatur)
Rev. W. Leon Tucker

Pastors of the following large churches live in the 4th District
4th District.

Fort Street Methodist Church
Rev. J. D. Grier

Big Bethel A. M. E. Church
Rev. R. T. Bussey

Kings Memorial Methodist Church
Rev. F. J. Hunter

It is important that both the district office and the Washington office subscribe to the Atlanta Daily World and the Atlanta Inquirer to keep abreast of what is going on in the Negro community.

MEMO TO: James Mackay

FROM : LWD

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is primarily an affirmation of dignity. This is very important, ~~and~~ but to a large extent the importance is symbolic. The Act represents a registering of the national will by the only body -- Congress -- which is representative enough to be able to speak the nation's will. So the Act is historic. But, it will have very little direct effect on the basic problems of Negro Americans.

As I see it there are two problems more basic and more troublesome than any others.

1. Although some tremendous gains have been made in ~~the~~ race relations ~~in~~ and civil rights the last 15 to 20 years, proving that the American system can produce and accommodate ~~a~~ change, one part of the system has not ~~worked~~ helped much and it is a crucial part; the economy. There has been only minimal narrowing of the economic gaps between white and Negro Americans since World War II and none at all since the Korean War. I am not an economist but it seems to me that we have need to reappraise some of our economic theory. ~~I believe it~~ We have been thought ~~has been~~ that the central economic responsibility of the government is to take care that a satisfactory rate of growth is maintained. ~~They~~ Economists ~~seem~~ generally agreed that the rate of growth for the last few years has been a healthy one. Yet, what we are seeing in our economy ~~pockets~~ is that there are large~~r~~ pockets ~~in~~ of our ~~economy, when~~ population where people seemingly do not benefit from the generally good growth rate. These

MEMO TO:

people ~~af~~ course are not all Negro; in fact, most of them are white. But a very large percentage of the Negroes fall within these pockets. I do not think there is much realistic chance for ~~reproval~~ improvement in ~~the~~ Negro status in any field, such as housing, employment, education, until these pockets of people are hitched on to the national economy so that their conditions improve as the economy itself grows, and naturally improve but steadily catch up. Or, in better words, ~~what~~ such poverty as we may see in the future in the country be diversified, not an attitude of race, religion, etc. There is a big problem here, of course, as to what it is ~~called,~~ cause and what is ~~a fact~~ effect. But I would, nevertheless, say that the basic problem is the integration of ~~our~~ all Americans into the economy, to the point where the economy has a need for everybody.

2. Prejudice. This may seem almost old-fashioned to say. I have not yet got over the idea, even if everyone else has, that an awful lot of educating has to be done. The basic decisions in race relations are really decisions about what kind of country Americans want this to be. These decisions are going to be made, not by the White House, or by you, or by Martin Luther King. They are going to be made by millions of home-owners, trade-unionists, church-goers, parents ~~and~~ of school children, ~~and~~ etc., who will be ~~able~~ called on to say whether they ~~will~~ wish to pay a premium to live with, worship with, go to school with, only people like ~~myself~~ themselves. One of my nightmares is an America which becomes never more made up of socially insulated groups. When I see ~~disproportionate~~ private school enrollment going disproportionately up, municipal ~~closing down~~ swimming pools closing down, ~~and parks,~~ restaurants converting into private clubs, etc. I get mighty worried, not about ~~the~~ Negro, but about white people. It is this kind of narrowing of the public sector of our lives, which if it continues, will keep Goldwaterism (and Pickettism) a live force.

MEMO TO:

The South has never been able to solve its problems, except to the point that it has been able to clear its head and its talk ~~about~~ of the old battle cries; states rights, ~~corrupt~~ constitutional government, southern way of life, "The South," judicial tyranny, etc. ~~The~~ A bad thing is that sometime the South has had a point, which the rest of the country could not properly hear because of the way we shouted ~~over~~ e.g. "constitutional government". Nor do I have to tell you how it is possible, even in a gathering of intelligent white Southerners, to wreck all possibilities of rational ~~discussions~~ discourse by someone's telling a colored joke. Then, of course, there are the poisonous epithets & stereotypes.

Another block to rational consideration of our problem is the way the North talks about "The South." What is, of course, important in both the North and the South is the understanding of the variety of the South. Sometimes in reading American history, it almost seems as if the opinion~~ed~~ leaders of both the North and South have been in conspiracy to force the South to regard itself as a single monolithic region. # How can we ever solve our school problems when we talk about them in terms of segregation, integration, desegregation, etc. This kind of language leads us on to futility. Public schools of Washington, D. C. are largely segregated; they can't be anything else when better than 80% of the enrollment is Negro. Manhattan is not far different. We have, in some way, got to approach our school problems, not in these terms, but in the terms of how best to educate our

MEMO TO:

children. Here, ~~as~~ in the past, America we frequently ~~has~~ have tended to think that one of the requirements for a good education for their children was a school which kept out all kids who didn't "fit in" and weren't "nice." I believe that a good education for all children requires a school which opens their social experiences. But the~~r~~ point of view has got to be educational, when ~~to where, for example,~~ the Atlanta school board ~~said~~ says that it ~~could~~ can not do something because the ~~board~~ court has ~~had~~ not yet told it to do, not, their is sickening. It is almost as bad to ~~hear~~ see ~~that~~ the New York School Board writes and re-writes its policies after ~~having been~~ being visited and pressured by Negro and white groups.

What, after all, is a "Negro?" And isn't this the biggest of all semantic blocks to intelligent thinking? Some place far back in my wife's ancestry an Indian apparently entered in. Is she an Indian? This whole ~~purpose~~ thing is ridiculous.

Who, for that matter, ~~is~~ are the "poor?" I realize that the government has to have some kind of ~~intercedor~~ index, and so do~~es~~ the rest of us. And I realize that it may not be of any great consequence to most people; but I came out of the hills of West Virginia, and there are a lot of proud people there (still, I hope), and it is cruel ~~too proud~~ to break the~~ir~~ already slipping hold on their pride by labeling them all, indiscriminately, the poor, and by rushing about to do them good.

MEMO TO:

No word currently plagues our vocabulary more than the word "extremist." I suppose that, logically, there are extremists on any question. Actually, most questions in the U. S. are discussed within a rather narrowing framework of alternaties. The real manner of Goldwater was the threat that the framework of alternate would be greatly expanded, so that we would truly have a conflict of extremists. I suppose that, as a lot have, if we approach problems from the springboard of race we will avoid extremists, The fact is though, I think the record shows that these have chiefly come from on the other side. As we approach our problems from other springboards, perhaps we can avoid this. If our question is how to give our children the best education, or how to make use of the talents of each person, or how best to make each person self-sustained, etc.

Finally, anybody who starts out calling old people "senior citizens," or poor people "underprivileged," kids from bad neighborhoods "culturally deprived," etc. already has at least one strike against him in trying to think clearly.

LDJ
VJJ
Return to PW

Weltner, Mackay Oppose Present Voter Rights Bill

By WILLIAM O. SMITH

An "escape clause" exempting Georgia apparently is the key to whether 5th District Congressman Charles Weltner will support the proposed voting rights bill.

Rep. Weltner told the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce at its annual congressional issues luncheon Monday he can vote for the bill if Georgia is excluded from its provisions.

There is voting discrimination in other states but not in Georgia, he said.

A Senate committee has proposed an amendment to the voting bill that would exempt all states which have 60 per cent of eligible state residents registered. Georgia was included in the bill proposed by President Johnson because only 43 per cent of residents voted last year.

AT THE SAME luncheon, new 4th District Congressman James Mackay called it "a poor bill" because "it is a product of emotion." He said he opposes it because it doesn't apply equally to all states.

"The law should be uniform in its application," he said. "It should apply the same to every citizen in the 50 states"

Rep. Mackay said "Georgia can hold its head high in the area of voting rights." If other states had done as well "there would be no talk of a federal bill on voting rights," he said.

"The plain truth is that there has been voter discrimination and it continues," he said.

ALTHOUGH he's opposed to the voting bill as introduced in the Senate, Rep. Weltner said he feels a strong voting bill is needed.

"Having lived under the county unit system, I'm in sympathy with those who want their vote counted," he said.

Rep. Mackay predicted Congress will pass a bill requiring congressional districts to have districts within 15 per cent of each other in population.

Such a bill, already passed by the House and now pending in the Senate, is "good because we ought to forbid featherbedding in legislative bodies," he said. "We ought to forbid for all time the rotten boroughs and ridiculously gerrymandered districts."

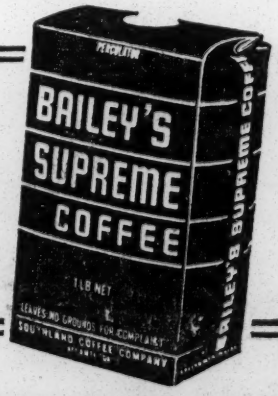
REP. MACKAY also said he feels the Georgia House should be reduced in size. He said it is "too large, unwieldly, its members are terribly underpaid and frustrated."

He said the critical need in Georgia is to reduce the House, get more professional people into the Legislature and give them a more adequate staff.

Rep. Weltner predicted Congress will reduce excise taxes on such items as telephone service, cosmetics, handbags and others.

He said Atlanta has a good chance of getting one of five vocational technical schools to be operated by the federal government.

He also said there's a possibility Congress will increase the minimum wage from $1.25 an hour to $1.50 but won't cut the work week.

for GOODNESS sake!


JAMES A. MACKAY
Congressman-elect
Fourth District, Georgia

LWD ✓

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

December 8, 1964

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

I want you to know that I deeply appreciate what you did for me in the campaign. You were a great help to me in making the contacts with ministers in the community. I know that this played an important part in the outcome of the election.

I hope you will come to our "Open House" December 14th from 7:00 to 10:00 PM at the Decatur Federal Sky Room. This will be a get-together for all the people whose work was so important to my campaign.

You may count on my doing my very best to represent the citizens of this district in a responsible and effective manner. You have a special claim on my attention and I hope you will write me or call on me for assistance at any time.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James A. Mackay

JAM/am

February 24, 1965

The Honorable James A. Mackay
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

Just a note to say that my wife Shirley has been made a Unit Supervisor at the Fulton County Family and Children Services, giving her the responsibility for administering a unit, and the supervision of eight public welfare workers. Needless to say, Shirley is quite pleased, so am I. I doubt seriously her considering any offer from the Atlanta-Fulton County Economic Opportunity Office, but she appreciates very much your efforts in her behalf, as do I.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

JAMES A. MACKAY
4TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

LWD

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

February 26, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Please feel free to call me collect at Area Code 202, 225-4272 at anytime that you have something you wish to discuss with me. I have a fairly liberal telehone account.

I am very pleased to learn of Shirley's new position as Unit Supervisor at the Fulton County Family and Children Services.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

James A. Mackay
Member of Congress

JAM/mg

March 3, 1965

The Honorable James A. Mackay
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

Enclosed is the memorandum that you requested of us a fortnight ago. Leslie is out of town but has had an opportunity to look it over. It is our sincere hope that the information therein will be helpful.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

March 3, 1965

This memorandum addresses itself to race relations in the 4th Congressional District of Georgia in the following areas (1) problems of chief concern; (2) key organizations; (3) key people; (4) statistical information on population, income, registered voters, employment, and education.

A Complex Leadership Structure

Any discussion of the 4th Congressional District in the area of race relations must focus on the fact that the Fulton County sector of the district is of primary importance. The Fulton County sector embraces a part of Atlanta wherein reside more Negroes than in all of DeKalb and Rockdale counties combined. As shown by the population figures below, Negroes in both DeKalb and Rockdale counties total approximately 32,717 people; whereas the Fulton County sector has 51,391. (Note that except for Rockdale County these figures are as of April 1964). But after years of relative decline, the Negro population of DeKalb made last year a small relative increase, presumably due to the Kirkwood entry.

As of July 1964, the Fulton County sector, according to the registrar's office, had 15,253 registered Negro voters. Though DeKalb County does not keep records on the basis of race, there are an approximate 4,884 registered Negro voters in DeKalb and Rockdale counties. Note here, however, that in the November 1964 general election 81,000 people voted in DeKalb County. It is reasonable to assume that few, though some, of these 81,000 people were Negroes.

Therefore, it is of extreme importance that Negroes in the Fulton County sector of the 4th District be fully aware that they are a part of the 4th District and further that James A. Mackay is their Congressman. This is not the case today. The survey made for the Mackay campaign in the south end of the Fulton County sector bore this out, and there has been little change since. The heavy Mackay vote by Fulton County Negroes

was predominantly a straight ticket vote. One group in the 4th District desiring a poverty grant, reportedly went to the 5th District Congressman for assistance.

These people must know their Congressman and feel that they can call on him for assistance. Obviously, the Congressman from the 4th District not only desires such a relationship but needs it.

The point here is that the bulk of the Negro support is in the Fulton County sector; however, only those Negroes in DeKalb and Rockdale counties as yet think of James A. Mackay as "their Congressman." This stems from the fact that Mackay was "their representative" in the General Assembly.

Based on the above, the following conclusions may be appropriate:

1) The Negro leadership in and around Decatur, and DeKalb County (excluding the communities of Kirkwood, Edgewood, and Reynoldstown), will address itself solely to problems in that area. For example, Mrs. Johnnie Brown, a political leader in the Kirkwood, Edgewood, Reynoldstown area, was not among those persons who sent the telegram regarding DeKalb General Hospital. "All my people go to Grady," claims Mrs. Brown.

2) The Kirkwood and Edgewood communities, though situated in DeKalb County, do not consider themselves a part of DeKalb County nor do they relate to Decatur. These communities are within the Atlanta city limits and they consider themselves Atlantans. Reynoldstown, though not in DeKalb County, is closely identified with Kirkwood and Edgewood. The three communities could be viewed as a unit.

3) The Negro leadership must be dealt with, in many cases, on the basis of the area of the district in which it lives. These areas are: (a) Decatur and DeKalb County; (b) Kirkwood, Edgewood, and Reynoldstown; (c) South Atlanta, Peoplestown, Plunkytown (near airport at South Expressway), and Summerhill; (d) the Northeast section, centered around Georgia Baptist Hospital. When you hear from some particular leader, he or she will usually be concerned only about one area. Note here that many of the problems that may be directed to your attention will be so local that an alderman or county commissioner should be involved rather than the

Congressman. It may help then for the Congressman to give these people some idea as to problem or service areas in which he can be and desires to be most effective.

4) The organizations in these four areas look to the metropolitan organizations for leadership and guidance. Mrs. Johnnie Brown, for example, serves on the Executive Committee of the Fulton County Citizens Democratic Club and is a leader in the All-Citizens Registration Committee. She gets called on frequently by the Atlanta Negro Voters League, which could not survive in her area without her help. Leaders in the South Atlanta and the Northeast sectimn relate to these metropolitan organizations in much the same way. There are, however, no tight controls on these area leaders, but the influence is considerable. There are splits and heated differences. The Pye-Webb-Hollowell race and the Dan Duke-Wesley Asinoff race evidence that the area leaders can and do think for themselves.

The Decatur-DeKalb County area, on the other hand, does not have such a relationship with the large organizations, excepting the Atlanta and state NAACP's. The DeKalb County Branch NAACP, for example, never participated in the All-Citizens Registration Committee's voter registration campaign which, although extended to DeKalb County, was confined to the Atlanta area thereof.

The DeKalb County branch has always received voter registration support through the national NAACP, which was aided in DeKalb County by the Voter Education Project. The group concentrated its efforts in Decatur, Scottsdale, Stone Mountain, Lithonia, Ellenwood, and the like, rather than in the Atlanta portion of the county.

There is little white leadership in the District interested in and informed about <u>its</u> race relations. DeKalb County includes many white persons who have been of invaluable help and strength with the issues of recent years. Typically (there are some exceptions) these people direct their concerns and activities toward state problems and those of Atlanta; they tend to know little about and take little interest in similar problems within DeKalb County. (Two persons who do take a specific interest in DeKalb problems, and whom you might not otherwise think of, are: Rev. Austin Ford, St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church, La Vista Road; and Dr. John Starr, U. S. Communicable Disease Center, 1600 Clifton Road, N. E.)

Problems of Chief Concern

Problems of concern, then, depend upon areas affected. The most immediate concerns in Decatur and DeKalb County are police brutality and the DeKalb General Hospital. Another concern is school desegregation. DeKalb County has the largest segregated school system in the nation. This shameful condition is not improved by official denials or by signing the Title VI certificate; indeed, as long as compliance is merely verbal, the shame is deeper. Two years ago there was considerable activity and interest in school desegregation: Negro children appeared at the Stone Mountain High and several elementary schools to attempt to register. Factors such as fear, lack of leadership, and discouragement by Negro principals caused the school desegregation effort to fade away. Whether correct or not, there is a widespread belief that Superintendent Cherry requires the Negro principals to discourage transfer applications.

The Kirkwood school situation is not satisfactory to anyone save the Atlanta Board of Education. Another segregated school is the result. As shown below, there are many Atlanta schools in the 4th District. The fact that only one elementary school (John Hope - one white student) and three high schools are desegregated should merit the Congressman's attention, though there might be little he can do to correct the situation.

The slaying of James Lawrence by two DeKalb County officers has aroused considerable interest in the Decatur and DeKalb County area. The protesting group is the DeKalb County Branch of the NAACP, which is the same group protesting discrimination in employment and hospital services at the DeKalb General Hospital. Note again that other areas of the district have not protested because they are not directly affected. The Atlanta branch NAACP involvement stems from its organizational relationship to the DeKalb branch and the fact that the Atlanta branch has staff. See the attached article from the Atlanta Inquirer.

The DeKalb County branch of the NAACP has submitted to the Administrator and Board of Governors of the DeKalb General Hospital, a petition setting forth several grievances. They were: (a) the employment of nurses through the program at the vocational school in DeKalb County. (We are not certain what the arrangement is between the DeKalb General Hospital and the technical school in nurses' training.) (b) Negro job

applications for other positions are not being processed.
(c) Patient segregation.

The DeKalb branch NAACP is scheduled to meet with the Administrator of the Hospital Board on March 8. You may want to make a more detailed inquiry of Professor Charles Price and the hospital administrator.

Housing is certain to be a problem of concentrated focus in the near future. Several factors point to this: (1) the takeover by Negroes of the Kirkwood area, representing the first new middle class Negroes to move to DeKalb in decades; (2) the question of what should be done with the East Lake golf course; (one Atlanta alderman has proposed that the city purchase the land for some sort of housing development. Is there contemplated here a buffer to keep the Negro community from expanding into East Lake community? Buffers are not created by integrated housing; thus what kind of housing is proposed for the golf course site?) (3) the presence of the Communicable Disease Center, Emory University, and other Decatur and DeKalb County governmental and non-governmental agencies will attract Negro middle class and professional people, who will and should choose to live near their work, and, therefore, will seek housing in Druid Hills and other presently all-white residential areas and apartment houses; (4) does not Eastwick, which, according to our understanding, is 221-D3 housing, present problems or better still opportunities for integrated housing?

Medicare is a serious concern of the entire Negro constituency of the 4th District for obvious reasons. The leadership has not made it an issue but the attitude of the Congressman toward medicare, and more importantly his vote, could make medicare a burning issue.

The implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the poverty legislation is a special concern of the entire constituency; of especial interest is the employment of Negroes in the administration of the programs. Negroes should be considered for some of the top jobs, especially on the regional level. And where Negroes are employed, they should not be denied policy and program assignments.

Key Organizations and People

Key organizations are as follows:

DECATUR AND DEKALB COUNTY,

DeKalb County Branch, NAACP
Professor Charles Price, President
Department of Social Studies
Morris Brown College

KIRKWOOD, EDGEWOOD, REYNOLDSTOWN,

East Atlanta Civic Council
Mrs. Johnnie Brown
90 Whiteford Avenue, N. E.
525-2182

SOUTH ATLANTA,

Metropolitan Atlanta Civic Council
Mr. Bennie T. Smith, President
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.

South Atlanta Civic League
Mr. L. D. Simon, President
23 Maury Avenue, S. E.
JA-4-3628

NORTHEAST ATLANTA,

Northeast Civic & Community Council
Mr. Samuel Sheats, President
234 Forrest Avenue, N. E.
JA-3-9867

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA,

Atlanta Negro Voters League
Judge A. T. Walden and Mr. Q. V. Williamson, Co-Chairmen
Walden Bldg. 855 Hunter Street, N. W.
Butler Street, N. E. 522-5895
JA-2-0570

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA, (Cont'd),

Operation Breadbasket
Rev. J. D. Grier, Call Man
Rev. Fred Bennett, Executive Secretary
SCLC, 334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
522-1420

This organization is composed of 400 ministers. It has concentrated all of its efforts on the areas of employment. It has been successful in getting jobs, and job promotions, for Negroes in dairies, bottling companies, bread companies, and other industries in the community. Its modus operandi is as follows:

1) One company is selected -- a study is made of its employment situation as it relates to Negroes.

2) A 5-man negotiating team calls on the officials of the company, making certain requests for the up-grading and/or hiring of Negroes. Often companies immediately co-operate, and other times there are long periods of negotiating. In several instances, the ministers, after exhausting all negotiable avenues, went to their pulpits and called for a boycott of the product of the particular company. This method has been very effective and has brought outstanding results. The effectiveness of Operation Breadbasket in Atlanta has been such that it has spread to Macon and other cities in the state.

Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference
Mr. Jesse Hill and Rev. Samuel Williams, Co-Chairmen
Atlanta Life Insurance Co. Morehouse College
Auburn Avenue, N. E.
521-0513

Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action
Dr. Tilman Cothran and Mr. Clarence Coleman, Co-Chairmen
Atlanta University Sou. Regional Office
National Urban League
250 Auburn Avenue
MU-8-8778

Fulton County Citizens Democratic Club
Sen. LeRoy Johnson, Chairman, Executive Committee
960 Hunter Street, S. W.
524-7369

Mr. W. H. "Chief" Aiken
President
239 West Lake Avenue
794-2431

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA, (Cont'd),

All Citizens Registration Committee
Mr. Jesse Hill Chairman
Atlanta Life Insurance Co.
Auburn Avenue, N. E.
521-0513

Atlanta Branch, NAACP
Rev. Samuel Williams, President
Morehouse College

Mr. Ben Brown, Executive Secretary
859½ Hunter Street
JA-4-8054

Atlanta Urban League
Mr. Harold Arnold, Executive Secretary
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
JA-1-2355

Atlanta Baptist Ministers' Alliance
Rev. E. D. Dorsey, President
Tabernacle Baptist Church
475 Boulevard, N. E.
876-1779

A.M.E. Ministers' Alliance
Rev. A. R. Smith, President
St. Paul A. M. E. Church
1540 Pryor Rd., S. W.
622-9711

Georgia Council on Human Relations
Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director
Rev. Oliver W. Holmes, Associate Director
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. -- 525-6468

Religious Society of Friends (Quaker House)
1384 Fairview Rd., N. E. (Mr. John Youngblut, Director)
DR-3-7986

Partners for Progress

41 Exchange Place, S.E.
523-0347

Commission on Christian Social Concern
Dr. William Jones, Chairman
Glenn Memorial Church -- 1652 N. Decatur Rd., N.E.
DR-7-1610

Many, perhaps most, of the persons of influence in the 4th District do not live in the district; they reside in the 5th District. This is especially true of ministers whose churches are located in the 4th District. Some of the largest Negro churches in Atlanta are in the 4th District.

Wheat Street Baptist Church
Rev. Wm. Holmes Borders
18 Yonge Street, N. E.
JA-2-3634

Ebenezer Baptist Church
Rev. M. L. King, Sr.
413 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
MU-8-7263

Israel Baptist Church
Rev. W. M. Smith
19 Boulevard Dr. , S. E.

Turner Memorial A. M. E. Church
Rev. C. C. Hughes
1401 Boulevard Dr. S. E. -- JA-4-2220

Tabernacle Baptist Church
Rev. E. D. Dorsey
475 Boulevard, N. E. -- 876-1779

Mt. Zion Second Baptist
Rev. E. R. Searcy
137 Boulevard, N. E. -- JA-2-9227

Liberty Baptist Church
Rev. Melvin Watson
395 Chamberlain Street, S. E.-JA-5-3588

Greater Travelers Rest Baptist Church
Rev. H. F. Shephard
119 Mayson Avenue, N. E. --JA-4-3733

Thankful Baptist Church (Decatur)
Rev. W. Leon Tucker
427 Atlanta Avenue, Decatur, Ga.
DR-7-7171

Pastors of the following large churches live in the 4th District.

Fort Street Methodist Church
Rev. J. D. Grier
526 Boulevard, N.E.
875-1456

Big Bethel A. M. E. Church
Rev. R. T. Bussey
220 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
JA-2-5523

Kings Memorial Methodist Church
Rev. F. J. Hunter
1400 Boulevard Drive, N. E.
523-5343

It is important that both the District office and the Washington office subscribe to the Atlanta Daily World and the Atlanta Inquirer to keep abreast of what is going on in the Negro community. This cannot be done through skimpy coverage of the Constitution and Journal, and one of DeKalb's continuing and basic problems is the lack of any widely read media covering and interpreting its now very complex affairs.

Fourth Congressional District of Georgia

Population

	white	non-white	source
Fulton County (in 4th Dist.)	89,801	51,391	Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission, April 1964
DeKalb County	271,159	29,841	
Rockdale County	7,696	2,876	1960 Census

Income

Per Capita Income	1960	1958	
DeKalb County	$2,233	$2,029	
Fulton County	2,455	2,203	
Rockdale County	1,456	1,259	(source: Georgia Business, March 1963) Bureau of Business Research, Univ. of Ga., Athens

Personal Income (in thousands of dollars)

	1964	1966	1968	1970
DeKalb	$794,086	$990,833	$1,237,807	$1,543,445
Rockdale	20,086	23,261	26,958	31,205
Fulton	1,789,433	2,006,890	2,252,168	2,524,969

(source: Georgia Business, Jan. 1964)

Median Family Income

	All Classes	Non-White	
DeKalb	$7,253	$2,823	
Fulton	5,207	3,076	
Rockdale	4,390	2,012	(source: 1960 Census)

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Income (continued)

Percentage Distribution of Major Sources of Personal Income in Georgia Counties: 1960

	Wage & Salary	Other Labor	Property	Transfer	Social Insurance	Proprietors' Farm	Proprietors' Non-Farm
DeKalb	78.5	3.0	7.5	1.9	2.4	0	11.4
Fulton	68.8	2.5	15.5	7.4	2.1	.1	7.8
Rockdale	73.0	2.8	5.9	9.2	2.1	2.7	8.4

(source: Georgia Business, March, 1963)

Employment

Unemployed (of labor force)

	All Classes	Non-White
DeKalb County	2,506	574
Fulton County	8,293	3,304
Rockdale County	128	72

(source: 1960 Census)

Rockdale County Employment, 1960

Workers Imported Daily Into Fulton-DeKalb Employment Center	955 (no. of workers)
Workers Employed in Fulton-DeKalb as a Percentage of County's Non-Agricultural Labor Force	24 percent
Total Non-Agricultural Labor Force	3,685 (no. of workers)

(source: Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1964)

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Voting

The immediately available official or semi-official registration figures are not always accurate. For example, the nearest semi-official total registration for DeKalb County is a little over 66,500 (see below) but in the November 1964 election a total of over 81,000 persons voted in the county.

Registration

	white	Negro	Date & Source
Fulton County (total those precincts in 4th Dist.)	34,795	15,253	Fulton County Registrar, 7/64
Rockdale County	3,910	731	Registrar, 10/62
DeKalb County	64,450	2,153	Atlanta papers, 4/63 (county says it does not keep records by race)

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FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF GEORGIA +
Page five

	Rockdale		Decatur		DeKalb	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Enrollment	887	2,097	911	3,477	3,657	48,948
ADA	748	1,773	798	2,960	3,186	41,958
high school graduates, 1962	38	59	32	199	110	1,625
failures, all grades	68	65	72	51	289	1,495
total schools	1	2	2	9	8	61
total teachers*	30	63	34	135	122	1,545
Present total value of school plants**	$483,400	$1,442,300	$649,500	$3,563,840	$2,123,277	$37,277,493
# public owned instruction rooms	29	75	31	157	113	1,556
# rated substandard and in use	-	-	-	-	18	41
# rated standard and not is use	-	-	-	1	-	19
rating	Ga. accredited	Ga. & Southern Assn. accredited	all Ga. & So. Assn. accredited		all Ga. and So. Assn. accredited	

*no teacher salary figures available by race in the state
**includes buildings, grounds, furniture & equipment, library books and instructional aids
+all data from Annual Reports of the Department of Education to the General Assembly of the State of Georgia for the biennium ending June 30, 1962 (as of 3/65 this is the most recent official source)

Education, continued

In Fulton County, these are the schools of the Atlanta System either in the Fourth District, or with school population drawn partly from the Fourth District

white schools	non-white schools	integrated schools
Lakewood	Thomas H. Slater	Grady High School
Milton Avenue	Forrest	Murphy High School
Benteen	John Hope	Bass High School
W.F. Slaton	C. W. Hill	
Ed Cook	I. P. Reynolds	
Faith	Whiteford Avenue	
Moreland	Wesley Avenue	
Highland	D. H. Stanton	
Samuel Inman	E. P. Johnson	
Morningside	Lena J. Campbell	
	Jesse Mae Jones	
	L. J. Price	
	David T. Howard High School	

Median School Years Completed

	All Classes		Non-white
	Male	Female	
DeKalb County	12.3	12.2	6.7
Fulton County	10.4	10.7	7.8
Rockdale County	8.1	7.7	5.7

(source: 1960 Census)

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(source: base figures from 1960 Census and Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission. Interpretations by SRC research.)

Housing

The following is an examination in detail of two census tracts which have changed very little between the four years (1960 and 1964) for which figures are available.

F-31 bounded by Decatur St., Moreland Avenue, Memorial Drive and the A. & W. P. railroad tracks (all in the Fourth District)

By the 1960 Census F-31 had a total population of 3,334 in 851 housing units (1964: 3,778 in 1960 units).

According to the census, 468 (over one-half) of the units were occupied by non-whites. The racial distribution (by the Atlanta Planning Commission) of F-31 population in April 1964 was: white - 558; non-white - 3,220.

Using the broadest interpretation, then, 3,220 Negroes live in 468 housing units, which is a rate of 7.0 persons per unit.

The number of rooms per unit averages 3.8 (1960 census). Broken down by blocks, no block within the tract averages higher than 5.6 rooms per unit.

Thus, one must assume most Negro family groups in this tract are crowded in at the rate of 2 persons per room. For the white population the rate is approximately 1.1 persons per unit, or roughly, 1 person per every 4 rooms.

F-18 bounded by Piedmont, North & Highland Avenues, and Boulevard (about one-half of the tract is in the Fourth District)

A similar analysis of this tract
1960 - total population - 10,071
1964 - total population - 9,459
of which white - 134 non-white - 9,325
1960 - total number of units - 3,356
1964 - total number of units - 3,364
1960 - number of units occupied by non-whites - 3,091
" " " " " whites - 273
average number of rooms per unit - 2.8
(and no single block within the tract averages more than 4.0 rooms per unit)

From this it can be concluded that units are available to whites at the rate of approximately 2 per person (which would indicate some vacancies and/or demolition) and there would be, at least, roughly 2.8 rooms per person.

The non-whites, however, must distribute themselves at the rate of 3 persons per unit. And, roughly, the non-whites are living at a rate of more people in each unit than there are rooms (1.7 : 1).

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March 15, 1965

Reverend E. R. Searcy
Pastor
Mt. Zion Second Baptist Church
137 Boulevard, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Reverend Searcy:

I am enclosing herewith the materials on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, that I promised you several days ago. I think that you will find them helpful.

Mr. Mackay's address is as follows:

The Honorable James A. Mackay
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington D. C. 20515

AC 202 -- 225-4272 (phone number)

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

March 16, 1965

The Honorable James A. Mackay
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

The enclosed memorandum has been forwarded to the President, Vice-President, Director of the poverty program, and other high governmental officials, with a covering letter from the president of the Southern Regional Council. We are forwarding this to you for your own edification, and your comments and/or reactions.

This memorandum has not had a wide distribution, nor has it been, and will not be, released to the press. Please keep this in mind.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

New Federal Programs in the South

Recent history as well as recent legislation has placed federal policies and administration at the very center where basic decisions are being made and will be made in the continuing struggle to remove racial inequities. How the federal government does its job is, therefore, a matter of first-rank interest.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 has changed the emphasis of federal involvement from criminal and investigative proceedings to administrative action. In addition, new anti-poverty and education programs will require heavy staffing within the South and will greatly increase the federal government's involvement in southern communities.

These new programs, as well as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, are intended to benefit the nation by alleviating the distress of disadvantaged people. The primary concern of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is the Negro Southerners, who also constitute a large proportion of the nation's impoverished and undereducated.

These federal measures are, in short, intended to correct historic injustices and handicaps. The success of the programs requires that there be democratic participation in them. If the southern voice in their planning and administration is predominantly that of state and local office-holders these programs will not be practical, because they will not meet the problems.

It is an obvious fact of life in the South that lack of representation in policy making or higher staff positions tends to discriminate against Negroes. In the area of federal aid to agriculture that fact has recently been convincingly documented by the Commission on Civil Rights. The Commission, in its report on "Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs" issued

February 27, 1965, concludes:

> It is the Commission's belief that few of the economic problems now burdening the rural South can be solved until basic changes are made in the Federal programs designed to help bring about solutions. These changes must include the elimination of the segregated structuring of services, the removal of racial limitations on opportunity, and the inclusion in the decision-making process of broad sections of the population previously denied participation. Until these long-deferred changes are made, the South will continue to place a brake upon its own progress and that of the Nation.

Federal Employment Practices in the South

SRC has on other occasions expressed gratification with the federal record since 1960 toward achieving equal employment opportunities within the federal government. At the same time, we have pointed out that federal appointment of Negroes to upper-level jobs in southern offices has been disappointingly behind progress elsewhere.

This has been particularly true regarding those positions dealing with civil rights.

We are concerned now not only for what has been and is, but for what may come. Because the government has been reluctant to have Negroes represent its civil rights policies in the South, we are doubly apprehensive that Negroes will not be appointed to upper-level positions in southern offices administering the poverty program and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. We understand also that the Commission on Civil Rights is planning one or more southern offices, and staffing of these will be of importance. The Department of Health,

Education and Welfare has immensely important new responsibilities under Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act; although we are not informed as to the administrative plans of HEW, it seems likely that some of this responsibility will be exercised by regional offices. HEW as well as the Departments of Labor and Agriculture and the Small Business Administration have key assignments to administer under the Economic Opportunity Act. Pending federal aid-to-education will further inject HEW into southern development. All of this adds up to the fact that the federal government is entering on an unprecedented period of staffing in the southern region for civil rights, poverty, and educational programs, and that this new period must be started off right.

Considering the federal record of the past and present, concern over how this staffing will be done is not premature.

At the present time, there are no Negroes serving as U. S. Attorneys in the South.

-- there are five Negro assistant U. S. attorneys (in southern Florida, middle North Carolina, western Tennessee, southern Texas, and eastern Virginia)

-- there are no Negro U. S. marshals serving in the South

-- there are eight Negro deputy marshals (in Birmingham, Huntsville, Montgomery, Jackson, Nashville, Greensboro, Raleigh, and Charleston)

The regional compliance officer serving out of Atlanta for the contractor employment program of the Air Force is Negro. Federal housing agencies employ seven or so Negroes as intergroup relations specialists, working out of southern regional offices.

To our knowledge, the above is a full list of Negroes

stationed in the South at federal jobs concerned with civil rights.

Seldom does the Department of Justice assign Negro attorneys to participate in southern civil rights litigation. Negro F. B. I. agents are never seen.

There are no Negro judges on the federal bench or on state courts. Because state politics is dominant in the appointment of both state judges and federal district judges, the likelihood is that the first Negro judge in the South will have to start on the federal Court of Appeals.

There are very few Negroes employed in administrative or teaching roles in MDTA and ARA programs. There is substantial evidence that Negroes have not drawn direct benefits from ARA programs proportionate to their needs and interests.

There are, of course, factors which sharply limit the ability of the federal government to recruit upper-level Negro staff. One is the continued scarcity of qualified persons. We shall live for some time to come with this problem, created by past discrimination. Negro men and women of excellent qualifications are, however, available, and among their qualifications is a deep experience with the precise problems with which the federal programs are concerned.

We might remark here also that there are some grounds for fearing that the federal appointive authorities may add to the scarcity by excluding Negro Southerners who have been prominent in the civil rights movement. The fact is that much of the best Negro talent <u>has been</u> at the civil rights forefront. It would be sadly ironic if their struggle against discrimination, which has benefitted so many, should lead their government to discriminate against them.

A second factor limiting the federal government's freedom to appoint Negroes to upper-level posts in the South is the fact that such appointments are, as a practical matter, frequently responsive to state political influences. Until the

Negro vote in the South achieves its fair size, those political forces will seldom sponsor Negro candidates for appointments. This fact makes it all the more important that every federal appointment within the South be carefully watched by those, inside and outside the federal government, who are concerned for equal opportunity.

We believe that Negroes should serve in prominent and important federal civil rights, anti-poverty, and education positions in the South for the following reasons:

1) These jobs, just as any other federal jobs, should be filled on a non-discriminatory basis;

2) Federal programs would be strengthened when persons intimately familiar with the problems are helping direct them; this is especially true of the poverty program;

3) Federal seriousness of purpose would be demonstrated to the South;

4) The confidence of Negro Southerners in federal administration would be strengthened;

5) There are often beneficial consequences to human relations when white Southerners confront Negroes in positions of authority.

Community Representation in the Poverty Programs

A related matter is the participation of Negroes, Negro groups, and bi-racial groups in the Community Action Program of the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

This is of immediate and crucial concern. We agree strongly with the philosophy of the Economic Opportunity Act, which expresses a belief in local initiative and planning, and a further belief that the planning and administration of local programs should be by persons truly representative of the whole

community. This means, as we see it, that in the planning and administrative leadership of the community programs there should be persons who stand close to and are sensitively attuned to the interests of the poor. Because of the South's historic problems, we have a special concern for Negro representation.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has already shown its own attentiveness to this problem. It has said that it does and will investigate every program for assurance of full community participation; and it has manifested its sincerity by its actions in regard to the CAP grant to the Office of the Governor of Louisiana and to the adult basic education allotment to Mississippi; and by the influence it brought to bear on the hiring practices of the Atlanta-Fulton County Economic Authority.

In some CAP projects, such as St. Petersburg's Suncoast Progress, Inc., the OEO will be able to find good community-wide representation. In other places the OEO will find much to correct; e.g., the CAP project based at Corinth, Mississippi, where there has been no perceptible Negro participation and the advisory committee is composed entirely of public officials.

But more basic problems are pointed up by the CAP grants in Georgia. This state has been allotted far more OEO funds than any other southern state; indeed, it has more approved CAP projects than <u>any</u> state. Except in Atlanta-Fulton County, there is virtually no Negro participation, and such as there is has come, as in the proposed Savannah-Chatham County project, after local Negro protest. What has happened in Georgia is that the state government has stimulated and directed local planning all over the state, and in this process Negroes have not participated, and have but minute, token part in administration. As other state governments catch up to the Georgia pace, one can reasonably expect a similar experience. The forthright leadership of the state government is welcome, but the virtual exclusion of representative Negroes is not.

OEO pressure, as, e. g., in Louisiana, has been brought usually in response to Negro protest and after basic program planning has been completed. The OEO requirement of full community representation should be brought at an earlier stage, and should be an insistence that representative Negroes participate in planning and policy making. This is seemingly the case with Economic Opportunity Program, Inc. in Miami, with Total Community Action Inc. in New Orleans, and with the Metropolitan Action Commission in Nashville.

The OEO and these localities are to be commended for the policies that have brought this about. As these and like projects elsewhere mature, the representativeness built into their policy making bodies must be carried over to administration. But their beginning is sound, and it is to be hoped that their approach will become the prevailing pattern, not only in large urban centers but in smaller cities and rural areas as well. We see no reason why the vigor and initiative shown by the Georgia state government cannot be combined, in all states of the South, with full and representative community participation; nor why OEO should not insist that that be done.

Southern Regional Council
March 11, 1965

LWDV

JAMES A. MACKAY
4TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

COMMITTEE ON
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

March 18, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

I just want to let you know that I deeply appreciate the two memoranda you sent. The Fourth District study was excellent and the information it provided me was invaluable. The March 16 memo was an eye-opener, and I would like to talk with you about it.

Sincerely Yours,

Jim

James A. Mackay
Member of Congress

JAM:jh

March 23, 1965

The Honorable James A. Mackay
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

The Supreme Court deserves the raise that you voted against.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

JAMES A. MACKAY
4TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

COMMITTEE ON
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

VI

May 4, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Atty.
Law Offices of Wiley A. Branton
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Columnist William O. Smith has drawn his own assumption as to what I oppose and why. I have even made the statement that I am in favor of voting rights legislation, and although there has been no discrimination in the 4th District, I am aware that there has been discrimination in other parts of Georgia and the south. I am not committed to the present bill that is being considered by the Judiciary Committee, and I cannot support or oppose it until I have had the opportunity to study it with the changes that have been made since it was introduced on the floor of the House.

Unfortunately, there are many people who read Mr. Smith's article, who, unlike you, did not bring this to my attention. Thank you for letting me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Mackay
Member of Congress

JAM/sw

Same letter to Wellman

April 30, 1965

The Honorable James A. Mackay
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

Columnist William O. Smith writes in either the Atlanta Journal or Constitution, I am not sure which, that you pppose the present voting rights bill on the grounds that Georgia does not have any voter discrimination. Have you ever heard of southwest Georgia?

As my last act of lobbying prior to joining the federal establishment, I urge you to vote for the voting rights bill, which I hope will not exclude Georgia.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Attorney at Law

VEJ:nm

LWD
MAR 17 1965
Return to VI

I

FOR RELEASE ON MARCH 11, 1965
FROM THE OFFICE OF REP. FRANK THOMPSON, JR., (D-NJ)
452 CANNON OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

A Modest Tax Proposal for Doctorcare

I think it's time we should all start feeling sorry for our doctors. In the past five years, the American Medical Association, the Doctors' trade union, has spent millions of dollars in membership fees, assessments and special assessments in its crusade to save our elderly citizens from the curse of Medicare. Now the AMA has put on a crash advertising and lobbying campaign to alert the nation to the glorious benefits of its antidote to Medicare. It's called "Eldercare."

Why does the AMA say Eldercare is good for the elderly? It's voluntary! If they don't like it, they can ignore it. If they can't afford it, they can apply to the state welfare people who, with a subsidy from the Federal Treasury, will help them buy it. So much for Eldercare.

But how about our doctors? With all this hullaballoo over the elderly, who is thinking of them? The AMA is not looking out for the interests of its members. It is spending huge amounts of money to convince the nation that Congress is trying to swindle the elderly. Why isn't the AMA spending its millions to further the interests of our doctors? Can you imagine what would happen to Walter Reuther if he ignored the welfare of the auto workers? As an old UAW man, I'd call for his head! Who, then, is prepared to go to bat for the doctors---to look after their interests? Me, that's who! I've got a plan for these poor neglected, down-trodden servants of society. I call my program "Doctorcare."

Doctorcare would be financed by a two percent Federal sales tax on apples, apple juice, applesauce and apple pie. It's foolproof---the more apples people eat to keep doctors away, the more the doctors benefit! Either way, they can't lose.

I would use Doctorcare funds to finance a telephone answering service for doctors. Although cynics may dispute it, it is still possible in some areas of the country to call a doctor's office and speak with the doctor! This has got to stop if doctors are to have time to do any serious thinking about caring for the elderly.

I would also use Doctorcare funds to establish "House-callers Anonymous." It would operate like Alcoholics Anonymous. Its purpose would be to help doctors who cannot resist a plea for a house call. The organization would function like this. When a member feels an overwhelming temptation to make a house call, he would immediately dial a secret number. A recorded voice would say: "Get hold of yourself! You're a doctor---patients come to you. Only TV repairmen, milkmen and paper boys make house calls. Don't lose your grip!"

If this fails, the doctor can dial another secret number. Two doctors will immediately come to his office and rush him off to a Cadillac showroom or a golf course to help the backslider overcome his weakness. Doctorcare would pay the caddies, greens fees and mahjong losses.

But that isn't all Doctorcare would do. Funds could also be used to promote research in specialization. Why, for example, should an eye, ear and nose man be required to know everything? If we had "right ear men" and "left ear men," our ears and the profession would flourish.

If Doctorcare works as well as I think it will, perhaps we can merge it later with Lawyercare which, of course, would be financed by a two percent Federal tax on ambulance sirens. This seems logical. So many lawyers practice medicine and so many doctors are constitutional lawyers, they really should join forces. But enough for Lawyercare for the moment. That will have to await the results of our anticipated battle with the Apple Growers' Lobby.

MEMORANDUM

JAMES A. MACKAY
MEMBER OF CONGRESS
FOURTH DISTRICT
GEORGIA

Dear Vernon —

Here's Frank Thompson's opus!

Jim

Make full correspondence memo.

January 2, 1962

Miss Mina P. Shaughnessy
1 Gracie Terrace
New York 28, N.Y.

Dear Mina:

This will be a long, loose letter. I have felt recently as if the deadline I set for us is strangling me and the kind of preliminary work which I hoped to get done before you went to Washington is being badly neglected. We are, however, accumulating a great mass of stuff, which I shall work through as soon as I can. The principal value of your trip, however, is not to track down details, but to conduct some broad-gauge discussions. I have already written to Burke Marshall and John Feild that you are coming and I shall drop a note immediately to Harris Wofford. Perhaps it would be well for you to telephone or otherwise communicate with these people from New York to set up appointments. (Incidentally, please keep track of your expenses; would you want a travel advance?) In the paragraphs below I will list the people we would like for you to see, and run out the questions we would like to have you take up with them. I think it would be a good idea, after you have had a chance to mull this letter over, for you to call me — collect. I think we will probably need a fairly leisurely talk so if when you call it's a bad time for me, I will tell the operator that we'll call you back. Also I sent you a carbon of a letter to Dan Pollitt which contained the request that Dan make himself available to you for advice if and when you need it. Dan, besides being a good friend, did the spade work for us last year on <u>The Federal Executive and Civil Rights</u>. Why don't you set up a lunch with him after you get to town.

I. If you can arrange it I wish you would see Harris Wofford first. Harris is the White House

WH

Assistant on Civil Rights and so this is a logical place to start. These are the things we would principally like for you to discuss with him:

A. Many persons, including us, (see Recommendation 3 of The Federal Executive and Civil Rights) have thought the President should issue some sort of ringing public statement about the national problem of race relations. He has never done so. Does the President, as Wofford would interpret him, this this unnecessary, inadvisable? Does Harris think that the President by incidental paragraphs or sentences of other speeches, etc., has accomplished the same end? If so, ask him for citations.

Also, we and others have urged full and explicit endorsement not only of the Supreme Court decision, but of the values of school integration (see Recommendation 7.) What would Harris think on this point?

B. We, and many others, urge a continual use of persuasion by the national government with the political and business leaders of the South (see Recommendation 2, 7 and 18). A good bit of this has been done by officers of the Department of Justice. Would Wofford have opinions or evidence contrary to our impression that just about nobody in the Administration outside of the Justice Department has worked at this? What is his thinking on the question, which may be both a question of practicality and of propriety, of whether the law enforcing arm of the government is the appropriate instrument for persuasion, conciliation and even -- as it reportedly offered to supply in the Albany affair -- mediation.

C. What are the White House views and plans regarding issuance of a housing order banning discrimination? In regard to this question you should tell Harris to let us know clearly what he is saying for the record and what he wants off the record. I am enclosing a thermo of a little poop sheet from the National Committee against Discrimination in Housing, which may be helpful background for you.

D. Tell Harris how long you will be in town and where you will be staying, whom you are planning to see and ask him if there are other people he would like for you to see.

II. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division.

Most of Burke's activities we know about and they represent, as far as I am concerned, the high point of this Administration's record. As to Burke personally, I think he is the best thing to come along in this field in a long, long time. So this is our bias. There is really very little which I think we need for you to get from him.

A. Ask him for his evaluation of the results of the Department's many efforts in the field of persuasion. You might confront him with, as a lever for discussion, this question:

> The Sit-Ins of 1960 occurred during the Eisenhower Administration, which simply watched, if it did that. Nevertheless, in a great many cities of the South, the Sit-In lead to amicable breakthroughts. Does Marshall think this fact has any implications for the value of omnipresent Federal interest?

B. What is the situation re employment of Negroes in the FBI? As U.S. Attorneys, as U.S. Marshalls, in the Civil Rights Division? (See Recommendation 5.)

III. John Feild.

A. Can we get data on complaints more recent than that in the enclosed newsletter? Is there anything wrong with the complaint procedure? Or what is the explanation for only 121 out of 443, and only 70 out of 593 complaints having been disposed of?

B. See the paragraph in the newsletter caption "Making Headway". (This newsletter, incidentally, was received via U.S. mail on January 2 and is the latest). Get elaboration on the various points in that paragraph. What has been the role of the Committee and of Federal agencies?

C. What progress has been made in discussion with unions?

D. Has the Bureau of the Budget yet approved the Compliance Report Form? I think it has. Get a copy.

E. Ask John for his evaluation of the Plans for Progress program (tell John at this point that I would prefer he speak on the record.) This is the program headed by Robert Troutman of Atlanta which has secured the voluntary signing of agreements with about 20 of the super-big contractors. These agreements not only stipulate non-discrimination but commit the companies to take positive steps toward recruiting and training Negroes. If you will look into the Executive Order No. 10925, you will find that concerns which do this are exempted from some of the reporting burdens of that order.

F. 1) Ask him generally about his evaluation of the effectiveness of the committee in the light of the following factors:

The absence of statutory authority --is he apprehensive about the effect of this on money for committee operations?

2) The effectiveness of policy making under supervision by a committee?

3) The value and administrative utility of the Atlanta office? Please tell him at this point that I would prefer he speak on the record only. The Atlanta office is Robert Troutman's now an official part of the committee's structure. The question is how this office, headed by a member of the committee himself, can make administrative sense.

G. What is Feild's evaluation of the effectiveness of the work done since the committee was established?

IV. HHFA. Ask Wofford whom you should ask to see there and , if possible, get him to help you set up an appointment. Tell him that I wrote for information to Jack Conway and have gotten none. With whomever you talk you should, of course, discuss the question of issuance of a presidential order banning housing discrimination. I would like also for you to pose this question:

Does HHFa think it has done things this year to strengthen the housing position of Negroes? What?

V. Health, Education and Welfare. Again ask Harris whom you should see. Tell him that I wrote to James Quigley for information and have had no reply. With whomever you talk, please pose this general question:

> Does the Department have plans to make any contribution in the field of school desegregation? Has it done anything in this field? (See Recommendations 7,8,9). Also, see Recommendation 14 and get some discussion of it.

VI. Adam Yarmolinsky. He is Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense and I would hope he could be your appointment in the Defense Department. As a matter of protocol, however, you may have to see James Evans who is the Councilor on Minority Affairs, or some such thing, and if this is the way you are directed I suspect you had better go along, although if you can maneuver yourself into Yarmolinsky it would be much better.

There are two things which I would like to have you raise with the Defense Department. One is the question of Negroes in the National Guard (see Recommendation 13). The other is a question about schooling for children of military personnel. We are trying right now to get the facts from a number of southern military installations and until we do there is nothing for you to ask. I hope, however, to get these data to you in time.

Please call me.

Very truly yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:jl
enc.

The State! 10-28-65

The State House

Legal defense - General

McNair Challenges Report

By The State's Governmental Affairs Staff

Gov. Robert E. McNair has taken sharp issue with a recent report by the Southern Regional Council on what it called a double standard of justice in the South for whites and Negroes.

At one point, the 31-page report said McNair had been quoted "as saying that the real threat of increased Negro votes is not so much at the polls as on juries. He said that adding large numbers of Negroes to the electorate would put more and more illiterates on juries . . ."

The report went on to ask why is it improper for a penniless Negro to have his fate decided by a jury of his peers.

The governor, in a letter written Thursday to the Regional Council's headquarters in Atlanta, labeled the report "completely unfair" and said it does an "injustice to South Carolina and myself."

He denied having ever made any reference to the "real threat of increased Negro votes" or that adding Negroes to the voter rolls "would put more illiterates on juries."

McNair said the only correct portion of the statement was that he feels it is unfortunate to have more illiterates serving

(See STATE, 8-A, Col. 1)

State House

(Continued from 1-A)

on juries.

Wrote the governor: "The problem . . . is that many court cases, particularly those involving civil actions, include highly complex legal points and questions which are difficult even for persons of reasonably high intelligence to comprehend . . .

"I feel that it would be unfortunate for illiterates to play a significant part on the dispensation of justice anywhere. This has nothing to do with the color of their skin."

The governor added: "The record will show, as far as South Carolina is concerned, that every effort has been made for a number of years to protect the right of each citizen to register and vote . . ."

In South Carolina juries are drawn from the voter rolls. The question of illiterates on juries arose when the federal Voter Rights Act of 1955 forced the state and a few others in the South to drop literacy tests as a requirement for registration.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit organization of white and Negro Southerners to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people of the South.

The State 8-17-65

Illiterates Could Be Jurors Under Vote Bill, McLeod Says

Suffrage - SC

Legal defense

By ROBERT McHUGH
Governmental Affairs Editor

The new voting rights bill could pack South Carolina juries with illiterates unless the jury laws are changed, Atty. Gen. Daniel R. McLeod said Monday.

McLeod made his remarks at a statewide meeting of members of county boards of voter registration. In response to a question, he said there was no way to exclude illiterates from juries, chosen under state law from voting lists.

And he said registration boards will have to accept illiterates under the new voting rights act, which wipes out South Carolina's requirement that a voter should be able to read and write.

"The jury laws should be revised to exclude those not able to sit on juries," the attorney general commented.

Gov. Robert E. McNair, who spoke briefly to the registration officials, told newsmen after his address that persons unable to read

(See ILLITERATE, 11-A, Col. 3)

Illiterate Jurors Seen Under Vote Bill

(Continued from 1-A)

or write could cause chaos in the courts if allowed to serve on juries.

He also suggested that the law may have to be changed to keep illiterates off juries.

About 100 registrars from the 46 counties of the state attended the three-hour session with McLeod and Secretary of State O. Frank Thornton in a steaming hot Dreher High School auditorium.

The purpose of the meeting was to explain the provisions of the new federal act and to go over problems involved in the existing law.

Frequently, McLeod, who was bombarded with questions from the registrars, replied that the law was loosely constructed or needed changing.

Former Greenwood State Sen. G. P. Callison, member of a committee studying possible revisions of the state's election laws, was an interested observer at the meeting.

There is no written law covering registration application forms, McLeod said. He indicated he felt the federal government would comply with requests from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and send registrars to South Carolina. If they are sent into the state, boards of registration should follow the procedures the federal authorities adopt, said McLeod.

Illiterate applicants will have to be helped when it comes to filling out forms, said the attorney general. The illiterate's mark should be witnessed, and he should be required to swear that the information given is true, McLeod added.

McLeod said boards would be required to put on their books as qualified voters the names of those persons submitted to them as qualified by federal registrars.

"You have ten days in which to challenge those registered by federal registrars," said McLeod. "So take a good look, and if you find any disqualifications let me or your county attorney know about it."

McLeod also told the registrars to indicate on their books which voters have been qualified by federal authorities. They must do this, he said, because only federal authorities can remove from the books names they have caused to be entered.

When such persons die or move away, federal registrars will have to make the necessary changes, said McLeod.

He suggested checks by mail as one step in purging books of "deadwood" names of persons no longer qualified to vote. But one registrar complained that her county had neither funds nor personnel for such tasks.

McLeod also reminded registrars that county clerks of court and magistrates are required by law to report disqualifying criminal convictions. Several disqualifying offenses, including petty larceny, come under the jurisdiction of magistrates and must be reported, he said.

The attorney general was told, however, that when such reports are given, they frequently do not include the age and address of the convicted person, making the removal of his name hazardous from a standpoint of correct identity.

McLeod said he was aware of this difficulty, and said perhaps there would have to be some changes to require more complete information from clerks and magistrates.

McLeod also acknowledged there was confusion as to whether the race of the voter should be identified. Some counties maintain voting registration records by race and others do not.

"If there is a space for indication of race on your records, then go ahead and fill it in," the attorney general said.

McLeod also noted a defect in the law that says idiots and insane persons may not vote. The only genuine proof of mental incompetence is a formal court hearing, but such court records are private and are therefore not available to boards of voter registration, said McLeod. He suggested that the law should be changed to make such information available to registration boards.

McLeod said election laws ought also to be clarified as to where registration books should be kept. And he said the statutes are confusing with respect to the age and residence requirements.

McLeod said he has ruled that a 20-year-old may register within the open-book period prior to a June primary and vote in that primary and in the general election if he will be 21 prior to the general election. He said he regards the residence requirements in the same light.

November 2, 1965

The Honorable Robert E. McNair
Governor of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

My dear Governor:

I am sorry you disagree with our interpretation of your remarks regarding illiterates serving on juries.

As I understand your objection, it is that you were talking about illiterates without regard to race. Certainly I can understand the distinction.

But since the voting rights act was designed primarily to correct low registration of Negroes (approximately 38 per cent of eligible Negroes in your state prior to passage of the act) and since, as I understand it, the assumption behind the act's elimination of literacy qualifications was that whites in states affected who are illiterate have been allowed to register to vote, I feel that our interpretation was a fair one.

Our main disagreement would seem to be regarding the question of illiterates serving on juries. We will stand on our statement in the report: "If it is proper for a middle class public official charged with embezzlement to be tried by a jury of his peers -- other members of the middle class -- why is it improper for a penniless Negro to have his fate decided by a jury that includes his peers?" But implicit in that statement and in the whole report is, of course, the assumption that illiteracy is not to be a permanent condition of sizeable sections of the southern population, and that all efforts are to be bent to eliminate this and other aspects of poverty and disadvantage that hurt many Southerners and our region as a whole.

On that point, you and our organization would probably find firm agreement. Certainly, we are aware of South Carolina's unusual and original program of literacy training for adults.

If we can be of service to the state of South Carolina, ever, in such positive efforts toward solutions to the problems which concern us mutually as Southerners and Americans, we of course hope you will call on us.

With all good wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosures - 2.

Rec'd 10/28/65

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Office of The Governor

Columbia

October 27, 1965

ROBERT E. MCNAIR
GOVERNOR

Editor
Southern Regional News
Southern Regional Council
No. 5 Forsythe Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Your article entitled, "Southern Justice, An Indictment" in a recent issue of "Southern Regional News" does an injustice to South Carolina and myself by misrepresenting statements I have made on the subject of the new voting rights law.

In discussing the effects which the law could have on the makeup of our juries, I did not, as your article states, make any reference to the "real threat of increased Negro votes." Neither did I say, as you claim in your article, that "adding large numbers of Negroes to the electorate would put more and more illiterates on juries."

The only part of the article which is correct as it pertains to my views is the statement that I feel it would be unfortunate to have more and more illiterates serving as jurors.

The problem, as I have discussed it privately and publicly, is that many court cases, particularly those involving civil actions, include highly complex legal points and questions which are difficult even for persons of reasonably high intelligence to comprehend.

If you have studied the briefs submitted in South Carolina's challenge of the new voting rights law, you will see that we are simply questioning the obvious double standards imposed by the law. We do not think it is fair to illiterates in New York not to be able to vote when this right is extended without qualification tc illiterates in South Carolina or other states which are targets of the law.

The record will show, as far as South Carolina is concerned, that every effort has been made for a number of years to protect the right of each citizen to register and vote if he so desires. Complaints which were lodged a few years back were investigated by the FBI and apparently were found to be invalid, since no follow-up action was taken.

In short, I feel the inference drawn by your article was completely unfair. I feel that it would be unfortunate for illiterates to play a significant part in the dispensation of justice anywhere. This has nothing to do with the color of their skin.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

Robert E. McNair

REM:HRC

November 11, 1965

Mr. & Mrs. Willis T. Spivey
125 Harver Bluff Road
Largo, Florida

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Spivey:

It occurs to me that you and Dr. Hardiman will be anxious to get this report we have just completed, since it is closely related to the work you are doing with migrant farmers in Florida.

Sending it gives me an opportunity to again express my deep appreciation for all that you and the Hardimans, and others there have meant to the progress and up-lifting of deprived people.

Work here has been hectic, and I have not had the time to write anyone. However, if you are ever in Atlanta, do visit with us at 781 Braemar Avenue, S. W.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosures

November 22, 1965

Mr. Allen D. Grimshaw
Department of Sociology
Ballantine Hall
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47405

Dear Mr. Grimshaw:

Thank you for your comments on "Southern Justice" and your order.

Unless there is a specialized meaning to "evaluative morality" that I don't know, this publicaiton is not at all a departure from the kind of thing we have published all along, and the kind of stands we have taken. Repercussions have been a norm of existence with us, I guess.

Maybe the enclosed history of our organization will clear up the matter some.

Anyhow, thank you for your interest, and for helping circulate "Southern Justice." It seems obvious now that something on a national scale will be done about the problem. Our concern is still that it deal with the real problem -- the segregated structure of southern justice from top to bottom.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosure - 1.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47405

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
BALLANTINE HALL

AREA CODE 812
TEL. NO. 337-3633

November 10, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have read with great interest the Council's recent publication (with the A.C.L.U.), "Southern Justice: An Indictment." I believe it should get wide circulation and should like to learn how I might obtain possibly ten additional copies.

To my recollection this is the first time that the Council has taken a strong stand on an issue of evaluative morality. Are you concerned about possible repercussions?

Sincerely,

Allen D. Grimshaw

Allen D. Grimshaw

ADG:mvr

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

I & P SECTION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Jackson 2-4714

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

January 17, 1966

JAN 19 1966

Copyright Office
Library of Congress
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Would you kindly send us an application and all information pertaining to filing a copyright with your office.

We are mainly interested in obtaining the correct procedure for filing a copyright for a lecture we plan to publish in our magazine, NEW SOUTH.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Janet C Shortt

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary

JCS

SLR8B
Cir. 20, 22, 35, 43
Form 13B

January 17, 1966

Copyright Office
Library of Congress
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Would you kindly send us an application and all information pertaining to filing a copyright with your office.

We are mainly interested in obtaining the correct procedure for filing a copyright for a lecture we plan to publish in our magazine, NEW SOUTH.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary

JCS

Rec'd 1/24/66

File

Cir. 35

COPYRIGHT OFFICE
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

GENERAL INFORMATION ON COPYRIGHT

(Dec. 1965—50,000)

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General Information on Copyright

1. WHAT IS A COPYRIGHT

A copyright is a form of protection given by the law of the United States, to the authors of literary, dramatic, musical, artistic, and other intellectual works. The owner of a copyright is granted by law certain exclusive rights in his work. In addition to the exclusive right to copy his work, there are rights such as:

a. The right to sell or distribute copies of the work.
b. The right to transform or revise the work by means of dramatization, translation, musical arrangement, or the like.
c. The right to perform and record the work.

Not all of the rights granted by the copyright law are without limitation. For example, in the case of musical compositions, the performance right is limited to public performances for profit. Likewise, recording rights in musical works are limited by the so-called "compulsory license" provision, which permits recordings upon payment of certain royalties, after the initial recording has been authorized by the copyright owner.

2. WHAT CAN BE COPYRIGHTED

The Copyright Law (Title 17, United States Code) lists thirteen broad classes of works in which copyright may be claimed, with the provision that these are not to be held to limit the subject matter of copyright. Within the classes are the following kinds of works:

Books (Class A).—Works of fiction and nonfiction, poems, compilations, composite works, directories, catalogs, annual publications, information in tabular form, and similar text matter, with or without illustrations, published as a book, pamphlet, leaflet, card, single page, or the like.

Periodicals (Class B).—Such publications as newspapers, magazines, reviews, newsletters, bulletins, and serial publications, which appear at intervals of less than a year; also, contributions to periodicals, such as stories, cartoons, or columns published in magazines or newspapers.

Lectures or similar productions prepared for oral delivery (Class C).—Unpublished works such as lectures, sermons, addresses, monologs, recording scripts, and certain forms of television and radio scripts.

Dramatic and dramatico-musical compositions (Class D).—Dramatic works such as the acting versions of plays for the stage, for filming, radio, television, and the like, as well as pantomimes, ballets, operas, operettas, etc.

Musical compositions (Class E).—Musical compositions other than dramatico-musical compositions, in the form of visible notation, with or without words, as well as new versions of musical compositions, such as adaptations, arrangements, and editing when such editing is the writing of an author. The words of a song, unaccompanied by music, are not registrable in Class E.

Maps (Class F).—Published cartographic representations of area, such as terrestrial maps and atlases, marine charts, celestial maps, and such three-dimensional works as globes and relief models.

Works of art; or models or designs for works of art (Class G).—Works of artistic craftsmanship, insofar as their form but not their mechanical or utilitarian aspects are concerned, such as artistic jewelry, enamels, glassware, and tapestries, as well as works belonging to the fine arts, such as paintings, drawings, and sculpture.

Reproductions of works of art (Class H).—Published reproductions of existing works of art in the same or a different medium, such as a lithograph, photoengraving, etching, or drawing of a painting, sculpture, or other work of art.

Drawings or sculptural works of a scientific or technical character (Class I).—Diagrams or models illustrating scientific or technical works, such as an architect's or an engineer's blueprint, plan, or design, a mechanical drawing, an astronomical chart, or an anatomical model.

Photographs (Class J).—Photographic prints and filmstrips, slide films, and individual slides. Photoengravings and other photomechanical reproductions of photographs are registered in Class K.

Prints, pictorial illustrations, and commercial prints or labels (Class K).—Prints or pictorial illustrations, greeting cards, picture postcards, and similar prints, produced by means of lithography, photoengraving, or other methods of

reproduction. A print or label, not a trademark, published in connection with the sale or advertisment of an article or articles of merchandise also is registered in this class.

Motion-picture photoplays (Class L).—Motion pictures, dramatic in character such as feature films, filmed television plays, short subjects and animated cartoons, musical plays, and similar productions having a plot.

Motion pictures other than photoplays (Class M).—Non-dramatic motion pictures, such as newsreels, travelogs, training or promotional films, nature studies, and filmed television programs having no plot.

3. WHAT CANNOT BE COPYRIGHTED

The fact that a work does not fit conveniently into one of the thirteen classes does not necessarily mean that it is not copyrightable. However, there are several categories of material which are generally not eligible for statutory copyright protection. These include, among others:

a. Words and short phrases such as names, titles, and slogans; familiar symbols or designs; mere variations of typographic ornamentation, lettering, or coloring; mere listings of ingredients or contents.

b. Works designed for recording information which do not in themselves convey information, such as time cards, graph paper, account books, diaries, bank checks, score cards, address books, report forms, order forms, and the like.

c. Works consisting entirely of information that is common property containing no original authorship, such as for example: standard calendars, height and weight charts, tape measures and rulers, schedules of sporting events, and lists or tables taken from public documents or other common sources.

d. Sound recordings, and the performances recorded on them.

e. Ideas, plans, methods, systems or devices, as distinguished from a description or illustration.

4. WHO CAN CLAIM COPYRIGHT

Only the author or those deriving their rights through him can rightfully claim copyright. Mere possession of a work does not give the possessor the right to copyright. There is no provision for secur-

ing a blanket copyright to cover all works of an author. Each work must be copyrighted separately if protection is desired. In the case of works made for hire, it is the employer, and not the employee, who is regarded as the author.

5. UNPUBLISHED WORKS

An unpublished work (that is, generally, a work of which copies have not been made available to the public) may be eligible for one of two types of protection:

a. *Common Law Literary Property.* This type of protection is a matter of state law, and arises automatically when the work is created; it requires no action in the Copyright Office. It may last as long as the work is unpublished, but it ends when the work is published or copyright is secured.

b. *Statutory Copyright.* This is the protection afforded by the federal law upon compliance with certain requirements. Only the following types of work are eligible for statutory copyright before they have been published: musical compositions, dramas, works of art, drawings and sculptural works of a scientific or technical character, photographs, motion pictures, and works prepared for oral delivery. While there is no requirement that any of these works be registered for statutory copyright, there may be advantages in such registration. However, if they are registered in their unpublished form, the law requires that another registration be made after publication with the copyright notice affixed to the copies (see item 9).

The following types of material **cannot** be registered as unpublished works: books (including short stories, poems, and narrative outlines), prints, maps, reproductions of works of art, periodicals, and commercial prints and labels. Such works secure copyright by the act of publication with notice of copyright.

6. HOW TO SECURE STATUTORY COPYRIGHT FOR AN UNPUBLISHED WORK

Procedure to follow. Statutory copyright for unpublished works is secured by registering a claim in the Copyright Office. For this purpose, it is necessary to forward the following material:

a. *Application Form.* The appropriate form may be ordered from the Copyright Office from the list printed under item 11. Forms are supplied without charge.

b. *Copy.* In the case of manuscripts of music, dramas, lectures, etc., one complete copy should accompany the application. It will be retained by the Copyright Office. For photographs deposit one photographic print. Special requirements concerning motion pictures, and certain graphic and artistic works, are stated on the application forms.

c. *Fee.* The registration fee for unpublished works is $6.00.

See item 13 for mailing instructions.

7. PUBLISHED WORKS

Published works are those which have been made available to the public in some way, usually by the sale or public distribution of copies. The copyright law defines the "date of publication" as "the earliest date when copies of the first authorized edition were placed on sale, sold, or publicly distributed by the proprietor of the copyright or under his authority, . . ." The dividing line between limited distribution and general publication is sometimes difficult to determine. No specific number of copies or method of distribution is required for a general publication. If you are in doubt about publication in a particular case, it may be advisable to consult an attorney.

It is essential that all published copies of a work for which statutory protection is desired or claimed bear a notice of copyright in the form and position described in item 9 or the rights may be permanently lost. After a work has become public property by reason of publication without notice of copyright, adding a notice to copies serves no purpose and may be illegal.

In the case of works which cannot be registered in advance of publication, it is the act of publication with notice of copyright, rather than registration in the Copyright Office, that secures copyright. While the Copyright Office registers *claims* to copyright, it does not grant copyright.

8. HOW TO SECURE STATUTORY COPYRIGHT FOR A PUBLISHED WORK

Procedure to follow. Three steps should be taken to secure and maintain statutory copyright in a published work:

a. *Produce copies with copyright notice.* First, produce the work in copies by printing or other means of reproduction. It is essential that all copies bear a copyright notice in the required form and position; see item 9.

b. *Publish the work.*

c. *Register your claim in the Copyright Office.* Promptly *after* publication, you should forward the following material:

1. *Application Form.* The appropriate form may be requested from the Copyright Office from the list printed in item 11.

2. *Copies.* Send two copies of the best edition of the work as published.

3. *Fee.* The registration fee for published works is $6.00. See item 13 for mailing instructions.

The law requires that after a work is published with the prescribed notice, two copies "shall be promptly deposited," accompanied by a claim of copyright.

9. THE COPYRIGHT NOTICE

Form of the Notice. As a general rule, the copyright notice should consist of three elements:

a. *The word "Copyright," the abbreviation "Copr.," or the symbol* ©. Use of the symbol © may result in securing copyright in countries which are members of the Universal Copyright Convention.

b. *The name of the copyright owner.*

c. *The year date of publication.* If the work has previously been registered as unpublished, the year date of such registration should be given, since the copyright term began on that date.

These three elements should appear together on the copies; for example:

© John Doe 1965

Optional Form of Notice. For works registrable in Classes F through K (namely, maps, works of art, models or designs for works of art, reproductions of works of art, drawings or plastic works of a scientific or technical character, photographs, prints and pictorial illustrations, and prints or labels used for articles of merchandise) a special form of notice is permissible. This may consist of the symbol ©, accompanied by the initials, monogram, mark, or symbol of the copyright owner, if the owner's name appears upon some accessible portion of the work. A tag bearing a copyright notice attached to the work is not acceptable in lieu of a notice on the work itself.

Position of the Notice. For a book or other publication printed in book form, the copyright notice should appear upon the title page or

page immediately following. The "page immediately following" is normally the reverse side of the page bearing the title. For a periodical, the notice should appear upon the title page, upon the first page of text, or under the title heading. For a musical work, the notice may appear either upon the title page or upon the first page of music.

Unpublished Works. The law does not specify a notice for unpublished works. However, to avoid the danger of inadvertent publication without notice, it may be advisable for an author to affix notices to any copies that leave his control.

10. DURATION OF COPYRIGHT

The first term of statutory copyright runs for twenty-eight years. The term begins on the date the work is published with the notice of copyright, or, in the case of unpublished works registered in the Copyright Office, on the date of such registration. A copyright may be renewed for a second term of twenty-eight years, provided an application for renewal is made to the Copyright Office and duly registered during the last year of the original twenty-eight year term, which is measured from the exact date on which the original copyright began. For information concerning renewal, request Circular 15. Certain second-term copyrights, about to expire, have been extended until December 31, 1967.

11. APPLICATION FORMS

The following forms are provided by the Copyright Office, and may be obtained free of charge upon request:

*Class A	Form A—Published book manufactured in the United States of America.
*Class A or B	Form A–B Foreign—Book or periodical manufactured outside the United States of America (except works subject to the *ad interim* provisions of the copyright law of the United States of America; see Form A–B Ad Interim)
	Form A–B Ad Interim—Book or periodical in the English language manufactured and first published outside the United States of America and subject to the *ad interim* provisions of the copyright law of the United States of America

*Not to be used for unpublished material. (See item 5)

*Class B	Form B—Periodical manufactured in the United States of America
	Form BB—Contribution to a periodical manufactured in the United States of America
Class C	Form C—Lecture or similar production prepared for oral delivery
Class D	Form D—Dramatic or dramatico-musical composition
Class E	Form E—Musical composition by an author who is a citizen or domiciliary of the United States of America or which is first published in the United States of America
	Form E Foreign—Musical composition by an author who is not a citizen or domiciliary of the United States of America and which is not first published in the United States of America
*Class F	Form F—Map
Class G	Form G—Work of art; model or design for work of art
*Class H	Form H—Reproduction of a work of art
Class I	Form I—Drawing or plastic work of a scientific or technical character
Class J	Form J—Photograph
*Class K	Form K—Print or pictorial illustration
	Form KK—Print or label used for article of merchandise
Class L or M	Form L-M—Motion Picture
	Form R—Renewal copyright
	Form U—Notice of use of musical composition on mechanical instruments

*Not to be used for unpublished material. (See item 5)

12. TRANSFER OR ASSIGNMENT OF STATUTORY COPYRIGHT

A copyright may be transferred or assigned by an instrument in writing, signed by the proprietor of the copyright. The law provides for the recordation in the Copyright Office of transfers of copyright. The original signed instrument should be submitted for the purpose of recording. It will be returned following recordation. For effective protection, an assignment executed in the United States should be recorded within three months from the date of execution. Assignments executed abroad should be recorded within six months.

13. MAILING INSTRUCTIONS

Address. All communications should be addressed to the Register of Copyrights, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 20540.

Fees. Do not send cash. Fees sent to the Copyright Office should be in the form of a money order, check, or bank draft, payable to the *Register of Copyrights.*

Mailing. Processing of the material will be more prompt if the application, copies, and fee are all mailed at the same time and in the same package.

14. FOREIGN WORKS

If a work is by an author who is neither a citizen nor a domiciliary of the United States and the work is first published outside the United States, special instructions should be requested.

15. INFORMATION FURNISHED

This informational circular attempts to furnish answers to some of the questions which are commonly asked of the Copyright Office. Specific questions relating to copyright problems not dealt with in this circular should be addressed to the Register of Copyrights, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 20540.

The Copyright Office does not give legal advice. If you need information or guidance on matters such as disputes over the ownership of a copyright, getting a work published, obtaining royalty payments, or prosecuting possible infringers, it may be necessary to consult an attorney.

A pamphlet edition of the law, Bulletin No. 14, "The Copyright Law of the United States of America," with the Regulations of the Copyright Office is available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, for $0.25.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1965 O—793-000

FORM BB

CLASS	REGISTRATION NO.
B	DO NOT WRITE HERE

Application for Registration of a Claim to Copyright

in a contribution to a periodical manufactured in the United States of America

Instructions: Make sure that all applicable spaces have been completed before you submit the form. The application must be **SIGNED** at line 10. The application should not be submitted until after the date of publication given in line 4(a), and should state the facts which existed on that date. For further information, see page 4.

Pages 1 and 2 should be typewritten or printed with pen and ink. Pages 3 and 4 should contain exactly the same information as pages 1 and 2, but may be carbon copies.

Mail all pages of the application to the Register of Copyrights, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 20540, together with one complete copy of the periodical containing the contribution and the registration fee of $6. Make your remittance payable to the Register of Copyrights.

1. Copyright Claimant(s) and Address(es): Give the name(s) and address(es) of the copyright owner(s). Ordinarily the name(s) should be the same as in the notice of copyright on the copy of the contribution deposited.

Name .....

Address .....

Name .....

Address .....

2. Title: .....
(Give the title of the contribution as it appears on the copies)

3. Authors: Citizenship and domicile information must be given. Where work is made for hire, the employer is the author. The citizenship of organizations formed under U.S. Federal or State law should be stated as U.S.A.

Authors may be editors, translators, illustrators, etc., as well as authors of original text. If the copyright claim is based on new matter (see line 5), give information about the author of the new matter.

Name ..... Citizenship .....
(Give legal name followed by pseudonym if latter appears on the copies) (Name of country)

Domiciled in U.S.A. Yes ☐ No ☐ Address .....

Name ..... Citizenship .....
(Give legal name followed by pseudonym if latter appears on the copies) (Name of country)

Domiciled in U.S.A. Yes ☐ No ☐ Address .....

4. (a) Date of Publication: Give the complete date when copies of the periodical containing this contribution were first placed on sale, sold, or publicly distributed. (NOTE: The full date (month, day, and year) must be given.)

.....
(Month) (Day) (Year)

(b) Place of Publication: Give the name of the country in which the periodical containing this contribution was first published.

.....

(c) Published in: .....
(Title of periodical)

Vol. ..... No. ..... Date on copies ..... Page .....

(NOTE: Leave line 5 blank unless the following instructions apply to this work.)

5. New Matter in This Version: If any substantial part of this work has been previously published anywhere, give a brief, general statement of the nature of the new matter published for the first time in this version. New matter may consist of translation, abridgment, editorial revision, and the like, as well as additional text or pictorial matter.

.....

.....

NOTE: Leave line 6 blank unless there has been a PREVIOUS FOREIGN EDITION in the English language.

6. Contribution in English Previously Manufactured and Published Abroad: If all or a substantial part of the text of this edition was previously manufactured and published abroad in the English language, complete the following spaces:

Date of first publication of foreign edition .....
(Year)

Was registration for the foreign edition made in the U.S. Copyright Office? Yes ..... No .....

If your answer is "Yes," give registration number .....

EXAMINER

Complete all applicable spaces on next page

7. If registration fee is to be charged to a deposit account established in the Copyright Office, give name of account:

.....

8. Name and address of person or organization to whom correspondence or refund, if any, should be sent:

Name ..... Address .....

9. Send certificate to:

(Type or print name and address)

Name _____

Address _____
(Number and street)

_____
(City) (State) (ZIP code)

10. Certification: (NOTE: Application not acceptable unless signed)

I CERTIFY that the statements made by me in this application are correct to the best of my knowledge.

.....
(Signature of copyright claimant or duly authorized agent)

Application Forms

Copies of the following forms will be supplied by the Copyright Office without charge upon request.

Class A Form A—Published book manufactured in the United States of America.

Class A or B
- Form A–B Foreign—Book or periodical manufactured outside the United States of America (except works subject to the ad interim provisions of the copyright law).
- Form A–B Ad Interim—Book or periodical in the English language manufactured and first published outside the United States of America.

Class B
- Form B—Periodical manufactured in the United States of America.
- Form BB—Contribution to a periodical manufactured in the United States of America.

Class C Form C—Lecture or similar production prepared for oral delivery.

Class D Form D—Dramatic or dramatico-musical composition.

Class E
- Form E—Musical composition the author of which is a citizen or domiciliary of the United States of America or which was first published in the United States of America.
- Form E Foreign—Musical composition the author of which is not a citizen or domiciliary of the United States of America and which was not first published in the United States of America.

Class F Form F—Map.

Class G Form G—Work of art or a model or design for a work of art.

Class H Form H—Reproduction of a work of art.

Class I Form I—Drawing or plastic work of a scientific or technical character.

Class J Form J—Photograph.

Class K
- Form K—Print or pictorial illustration.
- Form KK—Print or label used for an article of merchandise.

Class L or M
- Form L–M—Motion picture.

Form R—Renewal copyright.

Form U—Notice of use of copyrighted music on mechanical instruments.

FOR COPYRIGHT OFFICE USE ONLY	
Application received	
Copy received	
Fee received	
Renewal	

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1965—O-791-321

Certificate

Registration of a Claim to Copyright

in a contribution to a periodical manufactured in the United States of America

FORM BB

CLASS	REGISTRATION NO.
B	DO NOT WRITE HERE

This Is To Certify that the statements set forth on this certificate have been made a part of the records of the Copyright Office. In witness whereof the seal of the Copyright Office is hereto affixed.

Register of Copyrights
United States of America

1. Copyright Claimant(s) and Address(es):

Name .....

Address .....

Name .....

Address .....

2. Title: ..... (Title of contribution)

3. Authors:

Name ..... Citizenship .....
(Legal name followed by pseudonym if latter appears on copies) (Name of country)

Domiciled in U.S.A. Yes ☐ No ☐ Address .....

Name ..... Citizenship .....
(Legal name followed by pseudonym if latter appears on copies) (Name of country)

Domiciled in U.S.A. Yes ☐ No ☐ Address .....

4. (a) Date of Publication:

..... (Month) (Day) (Year)

(b) Place of Publication:

..... (Name of country)

(c) Published in: ..... (Title of periodical)

Vol. ..... No. ..... Date on copies ..... Page .....

5. New Matter in This Version:

.....

.....

6. Contribution in English Previously Manufactured and Published Abroad: If all or a substantial part of the text of this edition was previously manufactured and published abroad in the English language, complete the following spaces.

Date of first publication of foreign edition ..... (Year)

Was registration for the foreign edition made in the U.S. Copyright Office? Yes ..... No .....

If your answer is "Yes," give registration number .....

EXAMINER

Complete all applicable spaces on next page

7. Deposit account:

8. Send correspondence to:

Name ..... Address .....

9. Send certificate to:

(Type or print name and address)

Name _____

Address _____
(Number and street)

_____
(City) (State) (ZIP code)

Information concerning copyright in contributions to periodicals

When To Use Form BB. Form BB is appropriate for contributions published in periodicals which have been manufactured in the U.S.A.

What Is a "Contribution to a Periodical"? The term "contribution to a periodical" refers to an article, story, illustration, or other work which is first published in a periodical; a "periodical" is a magazine, newspaper, or similar work published at regular intervals of less than a year under the same general title.

—*Advertisements.* Merchandise advertisements published in newspapers and magazines are not regarded as "contributions to periodicals." Applications covering such works should be submitted on Form KK as "commercial prints."

—*Serial Installments.* Where a work is published serially in a periodical, each installment is regarded as a separate contribution subject to separate copyright registration.

Unpublished Works. A work cannot be registered for copyright as a "contribution to a periodical" in unpublished form. Unpublished works are protected as common law against unauthorized use prior to publication.

Duration of Copyright. Statutory copyright in a published contribution lasts for 28 years from the date of first publication, and may be renewed for a second 28-year term.

How to secure statutory copyright in contributions to periodicals

First: Add a Separate Copyright Notice to the Contribution. Make sure that all copies of the contribution, as it is to appear in the periodical, contain a separate copyright notice in the form and position explained below.

Second: Await Publication of the Issue Containing Your Contribution. The copyright law defines the "date of publication" as ". . . the earliest date when copies . . . were placed on sale, sold, or publicly distributed . . ."

Third: Register Your Copyright Claim. Promptly after publication, mail to the Register of Copyrights, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 20540, one complete copy of the issue containing your contribution, an application on Form BB, properly completed and signed, and a fee of $6.

The Copyright Notice. The copyright notice for a contribution to a periodical shall appear either on the contribution itself or in direct conjunction with it; in most cases a notice on the first page of the contribution would satisfy the requirements. For literary, dramatic, and musical contributions the notice shall consist of the word "Copyright," the abbreviation "Copr.," or the symbol ©, accompanied by the name of the copyright owner and the year date of publication. Example: © John Doe 1966.

For works which are predominantly artistic, graphic, or pictorial, the notice may consist of the symbol © with the name, initials, or other mark of the owner; if the name is not used in the notice, it must appear elsewhere on the contribution. Use of a notice consisting of the symbol © with the name and year date may result in securing copyright in countries which are parties to the Universal Copyright Convention.

NOTE: Unless the contribution is published with its own copyright notice, separate copyright registration for the contribution cannot be made.

FOR COPYRIGHT OFFICE USE ONLY	
Application received	
Copy received	
Fee received	

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1965—O-791-321 (Dec. 1965—15,000)

COPYRIGHT OFFICE
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20540

HOW TO DETERMINE WHETHER A WORK IS COPYRIGHTED

A. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Notice of Copyright. A notice of copyright (Example: © John Doe 1965 or Copyright John Doe 1965) on a published work indicates that copyright is claimed in that particular work. See Sections 3, 10, 19, and 20 of Title 17, United States Code (copyrights). One function of this notice is to warn potential users not to copy the work without proper authorization. If a published work does not bear the copyright notice required by law, it is probably not protected by copyright. For exceptions, see Sections 10 and 21 of Title 17, United States Code (copyrights).

The absence of a copyright notice on a work which *has never been published* should not be construed to mean that the work is not protected by law. Protection may be available either on the basis of common law literary property rights or by reason of registration in the Copyright Office.

2. Duration of Copyright. United States copyright lasts for 28 years and may be renewed for an additional 28 years. If the copyright is not renewed during the 28th year, the particular work becomes "public domain" and is no longer subject to the protection of the United States copyright law. On the other hand, if the copyright is renewed, it does not expire until the end of the 56th year. (For an exception to the 56-year limit, see the back of this circular.)

3. New Versions. The law provides that copyright can be secured in arrangements, adaptations, translations, dramatizations, and other versions of previous works. If the previous work is in the public domain, copyright in the new version covers only the additions or revisions, and gives no new rights in the public domain material. If the previous work is still protected by copyright, it is necessary to obtain permission from the copyright owner before making a new version or quoting substantially from it.

4. Copyright Office Records. The Copyright Office maintains records of copyright registrations and recorded documents. It also publishes the *Catalog of Copyright Entries* which lists all registrations. The *Catalog* is issued in several parts for different kinds of works and each part covers a 6-month period. However, the *Catalog* does not include entries for assignments or other recorded documents.

The Copyright Office maintains no listing of works by subject, and keeps no separate records of "public domain" works. Individual works, such as poems, stories, songs, or articles, which appeared as contributions to a periodical, anthology, or other composite work are not listed separately by title unless they were separately registered.

If you are near a library that maintains a file of the *Catalog of Copyright Entries* you may be able to avoid the cost of a search by consulting the printed *Catalog* yourself.

Searches
(Dec. 1965—10,000)

(OVER)

B. COPYRIGHT OFFICE SEARCHES

1. In General. The Copyright Office can make a search of its records at the rate of $5 per hour, which is the fee fixed by law. If you furnish the information needed for a search, the Copyright Office will first estimate the total fee and after receiving the estimated fee, will make a search and furnish the report.

The fact that a search of Copyright Office records discloses no information about a particular work does not necessarily mean that the work is unprotected. For example, registration for unpublished works is not required. Some claimants for published works fail to file their applications as promptly as they should, and delay in registration generally has no effect on the validity of a copyright. Also, some foreign works are protected in this country under international conventions to which the United States may be a party, without the necessity of registration.

2. Information Needed. When requesting a search, please furnish us as much of the following information as possible: title of the work; name of the author or authors; name of the copyright claimant; year date of publication, deposit, or registration; class of work (book, music, photograph, etc.); registration number.

3. Searches Concerning Transfers of Copyright Ownership. If you wish information on assignments and other recorded documents relating to changes in the ownership of a copyright, request this information specifically. It is not otherwise included in search reports.

4. Limitations on Searches.

a. No Comparison for Similarity. The Copyright Office does not search or compare works to determine questions of similarity.

b. No Legal Advice. The Copyright Office cannot express an opinion on the legal effect of the facts reported.

c. Titles and Names Not Copyrightable. If your concern is about using a particular title or name, a search of the Copyright Office records may be of little value. Copyright does not give exclusive rights to titles, and the records contain many different works identified by the same or similar titles. In some circumstances, titles may be protected under the law of unfair competition, but this is a matter of State law, not copyright. Trademarks are registered in the Patent Office.

EXTENSION OF COPYRIGHT TERM IN CERTAIN CASES. Two acts of Congress, P. L. 87-668 of 1962 and P. L. 89-142 of 1965, in effect extend the length of all second-term copyrights that were due to expire between September 19, 1962 and December 31, 1967. Under the acts, these copyrights will continue in force until December 31, 1967. The extension is automatic and does not require any action in the Copyright Office.

For example, a work that was first entered for copyright on October 5, 1907, and was renewed in 1935, would normally have fallen into the public domain on October 5, 1963; the acts in question extend it to December 31, 1967. Another example is a work that was first copyrighted on April 10, 1910, and renewed in 1938, which would normally fall into the public domain on April 10, 1966; under this legislation, the renewal copyright is extended until December 31, 1967.

NOTE: This extension does **not** apply to copyrights in their first 28-year term. It has no effect on the time limits for renewal registration, and it does not revive any copyrights that have already expired. The extension applies **only** to copyrights previously renewed in which the second term would otherwise expire.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

COPYRIGHT OFFICE
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20540

COPYRIGHTS FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS

1. General Information

a. What is a "Contribution to a Periodical"? The term "contribution to a periodical" refers to an article, story, illustration, column, or other work which is first published in a periodical. A "periodical" is a magazine, newspaper, or similar publication issued at regular intervals of less than a year under the same general title.

b. Unpublished Works. The law does not provide for registration of a work in unpublished form as a "contribution to a periodical." Unpublished works are protected at common law against unauthorized use prior to publication, without any action being required in the Copyright Office.

c. Advertisements. Advertisements of articles of merchandise published in newspapers and magazines are not regarded as "contributions to periodicals." They are considered "commercial prints"; therefore Form KK and Cir. 46 should be requested.

d. Serial Installments. Where a work is published serially in a periodical, each installment is regarded as a separate contribution subject to separate copyright registration.

2. How To Secure Separate Statutory Copyright In Contributions

First: *Add a Separate Copyright Notice to the Contribution.* Make sure that the contribution, as it is to appear in the periodical, contains a separate copyright notice.

NOTE: Unless the contribution is published with its own copyright notice, separate copyright registration for the contribution cannot be made.

a. Form of the Notice.

(1) For literary, dramatic, and musical compositions, the notice should consist of the word "Copyright," the abbreviation "Copr.," or the symbol ©, accompanied by the name of the copyright owner and the year date of publication; for example:

© John Doe 1965

(2) For works which are predominantly artistic, graphic, or pictorial (photographs, prints, art reproductions, maps, scientific drawings, etc.), the notice may consist of the symbol ©, accompanied by the name, initials, or other mark of the copyright owner. If the owner's name is not used in the notice, it must appear elsewhere on the copies.

(3) For all types of works, a notice which consists of the symbol ©, accompanied by the name of the copyright owner and the year date of publication, may result in securing copyright in countries which are parties to the Universal Copyright Convention.

b. Position of the Notice. The copyright notice should appear on the contribution itself. For literary, dramatic, or musical contributions, the notice should generally appear on the first page (the title page) of the contribution.

Second: *Await Publication of the Issue of the Periodical Containing the Contribution.* The copyright law defines the "date of publication" as "the earliest date when copies ... were placed on sale, sold, or publicly distributed." Request special instructions in the case of contributions to foreign periodicals.

Third: *Register the Copyright Claim.* Promptly after publication, mail to the Register of Copyrights, The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., 20540: one complete copy of the issue containing the contribution, an application on Form BB properly completed and signed, and a fee of $6.00.

3. Contributions Published Without Separate Notice

Many periodicals are published with a general copyright notice covering the issue as a whole. Whether a contribution published without a separate notice is protected by the general notice ordinarily depends upon the arrangement between the periodical publisher and the author of the contribution. In certain cases it may be possible for the author to obtain from the publisher an assignment of copyright in the contribution, and the assignment may then be recorded in the Copyright Office. However, in any case where the contribution did not bear a separate copyright notice, no separate registration for the contribution can be made.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

COPYRIGHT OFFICE
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20540

"FAIR USE" OF COPYRIGHTED WORKS

1. Exclusive Rights of Copyright Owner

The copyright statute (Title 17, United States Code) lists the exclusive rights of a copyright owner. These include, among others, the exclusive right to print, reprint, publish, copy, and vend the copyrighted work, and to translate, dramatize, arrange, or adapt it.

The exclusive rights of the copyright owner extend to the copyrighted work as a whole, and to every copyrightable part of it. Violation of any exclusive right may be an infringement, whether innocent or intentional and whether for profit or not.

2. The Doctrine of "Fair Use"

The U. S. copyright statute does not expressly permit the use of copyrighted material in any of the ways indicated above without the permission of the copyright owner. However, the courts have recognized certain limited uses of copyrighted material as "fair use."

In the broadest terms, the doctrine of "fair use" means that in some circumstances where the use is reasonable and not harmful to the copyright owner's rights, copyrighted material may be used to a limited extent, without obtaining permission. For example, under this doctrine scholars and critics have been held free to publish short extracts or quotations from copyrighted works, without the permission of the copyright owner, for the purpose of illustration or comment.

3. "Fair Use" or Infringement?

The line between "fair use" and infringement is unclear and not easily defined. There is no specific number of words, lines, or notes that can safely be taken without permission. Acknowledging the source of the copyrighted material does not avoid infringement.

4. Use of Ideas or Information

Copyright protection covers the particular way an author has expressed himself, but does not extend to any ideas, systems, or factual information his work may convey.

5. When to Get Permission

The safest course to follow is to get permission before using copyrighted material. The Copyright Office cannot give this permission. It can, however, supply information regarding copyright ownership as disclosed by a search of its records, for which there is a fee of $5.00 per hour. For information about Copyright Office searches, write to: Reference Division, Copyright Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., 20540.

When it is impracticable to obtain permission, use of copyrighted material should be avoided unless it seems clear that the doctrine of "fair use" would apply to the situation. If there is any doubt or question, it is advisable to consult an attorney.

(Nov. 1965—5,000)

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

SL 28B

COPYRIGHT OFFICE
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20540

THE ENCLOSED MATERIAL IS SENT IN ANSWER TO YOUR REQUEST. WE HOPE IT MEETS YOUR NEEDS.

If you need further information or application forms, write to us again, stating exactly what you want. If you write, IT IS IMPORTANT that you send back to us your original letter that we are returning herewith.

Info. Request
(Aug. 1965—20,000)

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

The Washington Post
1515 L STREET, N. W. REPUBLIC 7-1234
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

BENJAMIN C. BRADLEE
MANAGING EDITOR

Make file
Comes: re nominee
+ articles
copyrights

February 7, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, New South
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

This will confirm that you have permission to reproduce in New South Bob Baker's article on Senator Talmadge.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Benjamin C. Bradlee

BCB/erg

VIA AIR MAIL

February 2, 1966

Mr. Ben C. Bradley
Managing Editor
Washington Post
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C

Dear Mr. Bradley:

As we discussed, this will confirm our telephone request this afternoon regarding permission to reproduce in New South the Robert Baker article on Senator Talmadge which ran in the Washington Post on January 6. All credit and copyright notices will, of course, be given.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, New South

REA, Jr./js

Rec'd 3/24/66

Certificate

Registration of a Claim to Copyright
in a periodical manufactured in the United States of America

FORM B

CLASS	REGISTRATION NO.
B	B 246872
	DO NOT WRITE HERE

This Is To Certify that the statements set forth on this certificate have been made a part of the records of the Copyright Office. In witness whereof the seal of the Copyright Office is hereto affixed.

Abraham L. Kaminstein

Register of Copyrights
United States of America

1. Copyright Claimant(s) and Address(es):

Name Southern Regional Council

Address 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Name

Address

2. Title: NEW SOUTH
(Title of periodical)

Vol. 21 No. 1 Date on copies Winter, 1966

3. Citizenship of Author:

Citizenship U.S.A. (Name of country) Domiciled in U.S.A. Yes X No ☐

4. Publication:

(a) Date of Publication of This Issue:

February 18, 1966
(Month) (Day) (Year)

(b) Place of Publication of This Issue:

U.S.A.
(Name of country)

5. Manufacture Outside United States:

(a) Portion of the Manufacturing Done Abroad:

(b) Process Used:

(c) Country of Manufacture:

Complete all applicable spaces on next page

EXAMINER

6. Deposit account:

7. Send correspondence to:

Name ..... Address .....

8. Send Certificate to:

(Type or print name and address)

Name: Southern Regional Council

Address: 5 Forsyth Street, N. W. (Number and street)

Atlanta, Georgia (City) (State) 30303 (ZIP code)

Information concerning copyright in periodicals

When To Use Form B. Form B is for use in registering issues of periodicals which have been manufactured in the United States.

What Is a "Periodical"? Speaking broadly, the term "periodical" refers to works published at regular intervals of less than a year under the same general title. The most common examples include newspapers, magazines, reviews, bulletins, proceedings of societies, and similar works which would be registered as second-class matter at the Post Office. The term "periodical" does not include publications issued at irregular intervals or at intervals of a year or more; such works should generally be registered as "books" on Form A.

No "Blanket" Copyright. There is no such thing as a "blanket" copyright which would protect the general idea or form of a periodical, or a series of issues as a whole. Each issue of a periodical is a separate subject for copyright, and the copyright claims in each issue must be registered separately.

No Copyright in Titles. The title of a periodical cannot be copyrighted. Copyright in an issue covers the copyrightable contents of that issue, but does not extend to the title or name under which the periodical is published. Titles of periodicals can sometimes be registered as trademarks at the Patent Office, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C., 20231.

Duration of Copyright. Statutory copyright in a particular issue of a periodical lasts for 28 years from the date of first publication of that issue, and may be renewed for a second 28-year term.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By:

How to secure statutory copyright in a periodical

First: Produce Copies of the Issue With Copyright Notice. Produce the issue in copies by printing or other means of reproduction. To secure copyright, it is essential that the copies bear a copyright notice in the required form and position, as explained below.

Second: Publish the Issue With Copyright Notice. The copyright law defines the "date of publication" as ". . . the earliest date when copies . . . were placed on sale, sold, or publicly distributed."

Third: Register Your Copyright Claim. Promptly after publication, mail to the Register of Copyrights, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 20540, two copies of the issue as published with notice, an application on Form B, properly completed and signed, and a fee of $6. (NOTE: A deposit account, against which fees can be drawn, may be established. For details write to the Copyright Office.)

The Copyright Notice. The copyright notice for periodicals shall appear on the title page of the issue, on the first page of text, or under the title heading. It shall consist of the word "Copyright," the abbreviation "Copr.," or the symbol ©, accompanied by the name of the copyright owner and the year date of publication. For example: © John Doe 1966. Use of the symbol © may result in securing copyright in countries which are parties to the Universal Copyright Convention.

NOTE: It is the act of publication with notice that actually secures copyright protection. If copies of an issue are published without the required notice, the right to secure copyright in that issue is lost and cannot be restored.

FOR COPYRIGHT OFFICE USE ONLY

Application received

FEB 21 1966

Two copies received

FEB 21 1966

Fee received

$6.00

69136 FEB21'66

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1965—O-791-320 (Dec. 1965—200,000)

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

PWV
~~BA~~

Rec'd 4/11/66

6 April 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed Stanfield:

Not until your letter to Ozell pointing out the impropriety were we aware that New South was not mentioned on our reprint of the record of violence in the South.

I was responsible for ordering the reprint. I considered how to give credit and decided that the appearance of the title, "New South", on each page as it appeared originally would make clear the source. Somehow in reducing the page size the printer cut off the legend, "New South".

Not until I checked after your letter came was I aware of the deletion.

We certainly are sorry, not only because of propriety, but because we wish to publicize New South.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director

NRG:cit

cc: Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, New South

April 12, 1966

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
National Urban League
Southern Regional Office
78 Marietta Street, N. W.
Suite 418
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

This is to give you permission to reprint the following articles by Mrs. Helen Howard:

1. "Am I My Brother's Keeper?"
   New South, November, 1965;

2. "The Day Before Payday"
   New South, Winter Issue, 1966.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

May 16, 1966

Mr. Alan D. Austin
National Methodist Student
Movement
Motive Magazine
P. O. Box 871
Nashville, Tennessee 37202

Dear Mr. Austin:

Certainly we will be delighted for you to reprint the article by Vincent Harding, "Where Have All the Lovers Gone?" in your paperback collection. All we would ask would be normal copyright credits with no reprint fees necessary. Also, we would like to have copies of the book when it appears. Could you let us know when it is due to be out? Dr. Harding has said he would like a little data, too, on the general theme of the book and the audience. Perhaps you could drop him a brief note, expanding a bit on what you told me.

Yours sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

bc: Dr. Vincent Harding
Enclosure - xerox copy of Mr. Austin's letter to BA.

D. S
Jeff

13 May 1966

Mr. Robert Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, New South
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

On behalf of the National Methodist Student Movement, I am editing a series of study papers to be used this summer in the MSM's annual regional conferences. The papers are to be collected in a limited-distribution paperback entitled THE REVOLUTIONARY IMPERATIVE.

I should like to have permission to reprint Vincent Harding's "Where Have All the Lovers Gone?", from the Winter '66 issue of NEW SOUTH, as one of the papers. In fact, gambling on your usual cordiality, I will be handing the copy for the papers over to the printer on Monday afternoon (May 16), so if there is some problem with reprinting Dr. Harding's essay please call me collect immediately.

Since this project is a limited-circulation venture in religious education, and is strictly non-profit, we hope that any normal reprint fees might be waived. However if a fee is necessary we'll scrape together the funds to pay it somehow.

Thank you for your attention to this request.

Cordially,

Alan Austin

Alan D. Austin
for the MSM

motive
magazine
POST OFFICE BOX 871
nashville, tennessee 37202
PHONE: AREA CODE 615/291-6930

THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN

Hill Farms State Office Building • P.O. Box 2209 • Madison, Wisconsin 53701

JOSEPH C. FAGAN
Chairman

CARL E. LAURI
Commissioner

GENE A. ROWLAND
Commissioner

•

STEPHEN J. REILLY
Executive Secretary

June 23, 1966

Rec'd 6/27/66

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

This is in response to your letter of June 16, 1966. You have asked for permission to reproduce a copy of a report on property sales in the City of Madison.

As far as the Industrial Commission is concerned, it is perfectly acceptable to have this reproduced.

Sincerely,

Joseph C. Fagan

Joseph C. Fagan
Chairman

JCF:bak

June 16, 1966

Mr. Joseph C. Fagan
Chairman
The Industrial Commission
of Wisconsin
Hill Farms State Office Bldg.
P. O. Box 2209
Madison, Wisconsin 53701

Dear Mr. Fagan:

Recently you sent to Mr. Moreland Smith, director of our Urban Planning Project, a copy of a report on property sales in the city of Madison. We would like to have permission to reproduce this report in connection with an article now in preparation for our quarterly publication, NEW SOUTH.

Please let us hear from you on this at your earliest convenience.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Alfred P. Sloan School of Management
50 Memorial Drive
Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02139

Rec'd 7/1/66

June 29, 1966

Editor
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

May I have permission to reprint the material noted below in a paperback book entitled READINGS IN THE HISTORY OF THES SOUTH SINCE 1900, which I am preparing for publication by the Thomas Y Crowell Company in 1967. Intended as a book of readings or supplementary text for college students, the book will be about 150 pages long; the proposed price is $1.25.

I would like permission covering the United States and Canadian markets. Full credit will of course be given. If I may have your permission, please sign and return one copy of this letter and keep the other for your files.

I shall be most grateful for your favorable reply.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Brandfon

Robert L. Brandfon, PhD, Lecturer, SSM;
Assistant Professor, Department of
History, College of the Holy Cross

Material to be reprinted: "The Atlanta Conference Statement, April 8, 1943," in New South, XIX, January 1964, pp. 11-12 beginning with "In October, 1942..." and ending "...a mutual respect."
"A Statement by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, December 30, 1963," in New South, XIX, pp. 29-32 beginning with "The South's history..." and ending with "...strength from them."

Permission granted: By Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Date: Mailed 7/1/66 For Southern Regional Council

Certificate

7-6

Registration of a Claim to Copyright

in a contribution to a periodical manufactured in the United States of America

FORM BB

CLASS	REGISTRATION NO.
B	Bb 30076
	DO NOT WRITE HERE

This Is To Certify that the statements set forth on this certificate have been made a part of the records of the Copyright Office. In witness whereof the seal of the Copyright Office is hereto affixed.

Abraham L. Kaminstein

Register of Copyrights
United States of America

1. Copyright Claimant(s) and Address(es):

Name August Meier

Address Roosevelt College, Chicago, Illinois

Name

Address

2. Title: The Dilemmas of Negro Protest Strategy
(Title of contribution)

3. Authors:

Name August Meier (Legal name followed by pseudonym if latter appears on copies) Citizenship U. S. (Name of country)

Domiciled in U.S.A. Yes ☒ No ☐ Address Roosevelt College, Chicago, Illinois

Name (Legal name followed by pseudonym if latter appears on copies) Citizenship (Name of country)

Domiciled in U.S.A. Yes ☐ No ☐ Address

4. (a) Date of Publication:

June 7, 1966
(Month) (Day) (Year)

(b) Place of Publication:

United States
(Name of country)

(c) Published in: New Sough
(Title of periodical)

Vol. 21 No. 2 Date on copies Spring, 1966 Page 1

5. New Matter in This Version:

6. Contribution in English Previously Manufactured and Published Abroad: If all or a substantial part of the text of this edition was previously manufactured and published abroad in the English language, complete the following spaces.

Date of first publication of foreign edition (Year)

Was registration for the foreign edition made in the U.S. Copyright Office? Yes No

If your answer is "Yes," give registration number

EXAMINER

Complete all applicable spaces on next page

7. Deposit account:

8. Send correspondence to:

Name Southern Regional Council Address 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Ga.

9. Send certificate to:

(Type or print name and address)

Name Southern Regional Council

Address 5 Forsyth Street, N.W. (Number and street)

Atlanta, Georgia (City) (State) 30303 (ZIP code)

Information concerning copyright in contributions to periodicals

When To Use Form BB. Form BB is appropriate for contributions published in periodicals which have been manufactured in the U.S.A.

What Is a "Contribution to a Periodical"? The term "contribution to a periodical" refers to an article, story, illustration, or other work which is first published in a periodical; a "periodical" is a magazine, newspaper, or similar work published at regular intervals of less than a year under the same general title.

—*Advertisements.* Merchandise advertisements published in newspapers and magazines are not regarded as "contributions to periodicals." Applications covering such works should be submitted on Form KK as "commercial prints."

—*Serial Installments.* Where a work is published serially in a periodical, each installment is regarded as a separate contribution subject to separate copyright registration.

Unpublished Works. A work cannot be registered for copyright as a "contribution to a periodical" in unpublished form. Unpublished works are protected as common law against unauthorized use prior to publication.

Duration of Copyright. Statutory copyright in a published contribution lasts for 28 years from the date of first publication, and may be renewed for a second 28-year term.

How to secure statutory copyright in contributions to periodicals

First: Add a Separate Copyright Notice to the Contribution. Make sure that all copies of the contribution, as it is to appear in the periodical, contain a separate copyright notice in the form and position explained below.

Second: Await Publication of the Issue Containing Your Contribution. The copyright law defines the "date of publication" as ". . . the earliest date when copies . . . were placed on sale, sold, or publicly distributed . . ."

Third: Register Your Copyright Claim. Promptly after publication, mail to the Register of Copyrights, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 20540, one complete copy of the issue containing your contribution, an application on Form BB, properly completed and signed, and a fee of $6.

The Copyright Notice. The copyright notice for a contribution to a periodical shall appear either on the contribution itself or in direct conjunction with it; in most cases a notice on the first page of the contribution would satisfy the requirements. For literary, dramatic, and musical contributions the notice shall consist of the word "Copyright," the abbreviation "Copr.," or the symbol ©, accompanied by the name of the copyright owner and the year date of publication. Example: © John Doe 1966.

For works which are predominantly artistic, graphic, or pictorial, the notice may consist of the symbol © with the name, initials, or other mark of the owner; if the name is not used in the notice, it must appear elsewhere on the contribution. Use of a notice consisting of the symbol © with the name and year date may result in securing copyright in countries which are parties to the Universal Copyright Convention.

NOTE: Unless the contribution is published with its own copyright notice, separate copyright registration for the contribution cannot be made.

FOR COPYRIGHT OFFICE USE ONLY

Application received JUN 27 1966

Copy received JUN 27 1966

Fee received $6.00 110521 JUN27 66

Certificate

Registration of a Claim to Copyright
in a periodical manufactured in the United States of America

FORM B

CLASS	REGISTRATION NO.
B	B 278266
	DO NOT WRITE HERE

Paid - Wk of 8/15

This Is To Certify that the statements set forth on this certificate have been made a part of the records of the Copyright Office. In witness whereof the seal of the Copyright Office is hereto affixed.

Abraham L. Kaminstein

Register of Copyrights
United States of America

1. Copyright Claimant(s) and Address(es):

Name Southern Regional Council

Address 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Name

Address

2. Title: New South
(Title of periodical)

Vol. 21 No. 2 Date on copies Spring, 1966

3. Citizenship of Author:

Citizenship United States (Name of country) Domiciled in U.S.A. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Publication:

(a) Date of Publication of This Issue:

June 7, 1966
(Month) (Day) (Year)

(b) Place of Publication of This Issue:

United States
(Name of country)

5. Manufacture Outside United States:

(a) Portion of the Manufacturing Done Abroad:

(b) Process Used:

(c) Country of Manufacture:

Complete all applicable spaces on next page

EXAMINER
mgl

September 9, 1966

Mr. William M. Sinrich
Attorney at Law
First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Bill:

Two copies of the summer issue of New South are enclosed. Give me a call when the copyright forms are ready, and I'll come by and sign them.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encls. - 2.

October 20, 1966

Mr. Robert Fitch
Public Relations Department
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Fitch:

Confirming our telephone conversation of November 19, our permission to reprint the MEREDITH MARCH appearing in the summer issue of NEW SOUTH is granted herewith.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

October 20, 1966

Mr. Paul Peachy
Church Peace Mission
4102 Brandywine
Washington, D. C. 20016

Dear Mr. Peachy:

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Managing Editor
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October 27, 1966

Quotation to	Southern Regional Council
Description	The Economic Status of Negroes (Booklet)
Quantities	2,000 - 3,000
Size	8-1/2 x 11 24 page self cover
Paper and Materials	60# Offset
Art Work	Camera Ready Copy
Engravings	None
Composition	Camera-Ready copy
Process and Colors	two (2) color cover one color body
Binding	Saddle Stitch
Special Packing	Bulk
Delivery	As requested
Prices	2,000----------$648.00 3,000---------- 74[illegible].00
Other Specifications	

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October 27, 1966

Quotation to	Southern Regional Council
Description	Reprint "New South"
Quantities	1,000
Size	6-7/8 x 10 page size 96 pages plus cover
Paper and Materials	Body Metro Offset - Cover Kilmory Cover
Art Work	Copy camera - ready
Engravings	None
Composition	Camera - ready copy
Process and Colors	Body one color cover three (3) colors
Binding	Side stitch drawn on cover
Special Packing	Bulk
Delivery	
Prices	1,000----------$1,428.90
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Vol. 21 No. 3 Date on copies Summer, 1966

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Joint Planning for Health, Welfare and Recreation

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AH
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November 2, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Your special report, "A City Slum - Poor People and Problems", was exceptionally well written. I regret it didn't show the writer's name. Not only was the report readable, but the content presented useful information and analysis to the technical reader.

Sincerely,

Carl Martin

Carl Martin,
Executive Director.

CM:vb

E.V. - Letter - BA

File

National Education Association

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December 12, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
Southern Regional Council Publications
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Enclosed is a reprint of the article in the summer 1966 edition of the New South. On the last page you will find the acknowledgement as suggested in your letter of October 6.

We are most appreciative of your letter giving us permission to reprint this article and to Dr. K. U. Smith who wrote it. Thank you again for taking care of this matter for us.

Sincerely,

Bernice C. Brigham

Bernice C. Brigham
Administrative Assistant

BCB:bkg

Enclosure

THE TESTING HOAX

BY K. U. SMITH

Dr. Smith, Director of the Behavioral Cybernetics Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin, has been involved in the field of psychological testing for more than twenty years, at Brown University, from which he holds masters and doctorate degrees, the University of Rochester, the University of Wisconsin, and the U.S. Armed Forces. Between 1959 and 1963 he worked with a Ford Foundation research award. Since 1954 he has held research awards from the National Science Foundation and the National Institute of Health. He is the author of numerous scientific articles and co-author with a colleague, M. F. Smith, of CYBERNETIC PRINCIPLES OF LEARNING AND EDUCATION DESIGN, published in 1965. The article that follows formed the basis for testimony that he recently presented before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights which was investigating the misuse of personality tests in government employment.

. . . Nor shall it be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to give and to act upon the results of any professionally developed ability test provided such test, its administration or action upon the results is not designed, intended or used to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. —Title VII, Section 703, Civil Rights Act, 1964.

Undoubtedly many of the members of Congress who voted in favor of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 thought the above quotation entirely harmless. In fact, some of them likely considered the paragraph an important safeguard against discriminatory hiring practices. Employers, after all, do administer such tests. It's common practice just about everywhere. Everyone accepts their validity, and so let us be absolutely certain that the results aren't abused. What could be more in keeping with the spirit of the new law? How could anyone sympathetic to the rights of minority groups possibly object?

Yet one extremely vital objection has been raised. Are not pre-employment ability tests unfair, *per se,* to Negroes as a group because they are based on cultural and education levels unfamiliar to many Negro applicants and thus underestimate Negro learning ability? The question was discussed in a policy guide published by the Bureau of National Affairs in 1965. The attitudes of a representative panel of industrial and personnel relations executives were examined in the report. By a ratio of eight to one the group rejected the idea that environment had any relation to test results.

Comments from the men are interesting for what they say about the average

American's ideas about testing in general. One, for instance, replied that his company's tests were tailored to deal equally with all, regardless of race. Another recognized that environment and educational backgrounds could be a factor in how Negroes scored on the tests, but then he begged the question entirely with the observation that there had to be some yardstick with which to measure individual ability. Regardless of color, said one executive, people have to rely on their innate abilities. Changing the test standards for one would be unfair to the majority, he said. Yet another businessman said his company realized that tests weren't perfect barometers and so it relaxed its standards for Negroes.

To all who were quoted, the basic validity of such tests and their predictive ability were seemingly beyond question. This attitude is also reflected again and again in the literature of racists seeking to prove Negro inferiority on the basis of comparative IQ scores. By the same token one even detects a certain defensiveness from liberal whites presented with the results of such tests.

This sort of attitude is hardly surprising in view of the fact that throughout this century the testing movement has been expanding in education, industry, business and government. This movement originated in the 1890's with attempts by Jastrow to measure scholastic aptitudes and by Cattell and Binet to measure intelligence in children. However, the main impetus for widespread testing came when Yerkes, Hunter, Woodworth and others created general intelligence and personality questionnaires for military selection purposes in World War I.

Today, psychological testing has grown into a tremendous commercial, industrial, and educational activity. The sale of tests alone exceeds twenty-five million dollars yearly. But even more significantly, tests are used extensively by educational and industrial consulting firms, which sit astride the personnel organization and executive appointment programs of every major industry and many major school systems of the United States. The implications of such a situation are frightening. Without regard for human elements or for environmental factors, without regard for the effects that industry, school, or institutional atmosphere have upon those subjected to tests, or the ways that one administering them can influence and control what he supposedly is measuring, the testing movement seemingly has convinced the American people of its total, complete authenticity.

Yet based on more than 30 years of professional experience in the field of psychological and personality testing and extensive research at the University of Wisconsin Behavioral Cybernetics Laboratory, it is my firm conviction that all such tests which purport to predict individual ability, personality, or intelligence are simply elaborate hoaxes.

I do not make the statement capriciously. In the three decades in which I have been involved in the testing movement I have participated actively in planning, construction, validating and statistically analyzing verbal, paper and pencil performance, and psychomotor tests for such diverse purposes as the testing of general intelligence, English aptitude, radar operator aptitude, radar night-fighter aptitude, flexible-gunnery aptitude, supervisory ability, occupational aptitudes of convicts, adjustment of tubercular patients to the sanitorium environment, salesmen aptitude, and aptitudes of industrial workers. Tests from some of this work have been used in the military and industrial fields. Since World War II the writer's major interest in participating in test construction and validation activities has been in evaluation

of the extent to which test procedures can be reduced to or related to experimental and scientific methods.

The material from which I base my evaluation of the testing movement consists of a report which embodies two special studies. These are entitled "Cybernetic Analysis of Personality Assessment Procedures," and "Cybernetic Analysis of Psychological Testing and Test Prediction."[1] The term "cybernetic" is used in this connection to mean system study, feedback study, study of the interactions of tests and people, of tests and institutions. As applied to the testing field, we study the way in which the tester himself controls situations in order to arrive at what he considers predictions, the way in which the institution affects the testee and causes him to display certain characteristic forms of behavior that might be probed by the tester and which may be set up as a standard of performance for development of the test.

Just after World War II, serious investigation in psychology began to examine for the first time many of the activities of psychological testing. Some psychologists recognized that the use of tests during the war had been a failure and that the predictive significance of most tests was very near or below chance level. Evidence indicated that none of the tests had predictive efficiency beyond that of differentiating between extremes of intellectual and occupational competency. After the war, a number of psychological research programs on testing and training in the Air Force failed spectacularly. One of the most ambitious of such projects—possibly one of the most ambitious of all time—was established at Lackland Air Force Base in the 1950's to investigate related procedures of military test selection and training. Seven years and approximately fifty million dollars later, this project was summarily discontinued by the Air Force without warning. Although the project drew on the services of some 200 psychologists and educational psychologists, it produced not a single significant positive contribution to psychological testing and military selection. A comparable project in the medical branch of the Air Force had an almost identical outcome.

A similar failure occured in an almost equally ambitious project conducted by a group of the country's most outstanding clinical psychologists. Using a large battery of the most advanced intelligence and personality testing procedures known to them, they could not predict significantly the performance of their own students in graduate school courses, in research, or in hospital therapeutic activities. This study proved not only that professional psychologists are limited in their ability to use tests but also that their test and interview procedures provide no means of discerning why and where they fail.

Psychological testing has never had a meaningful scientific theory. Testing theory assumes the existence of certain general or specific traits of intelligence, personality, or aptitude which are held to be intrinsic to the makeup of an individual, and to persist relatively unaltered throughout most of his lifetime. These alleged traits are comparable to the mental faculties assumed in prescientific psychology, although they are referred to as behavioral features of aptitude or personality. These traits presumably can be measured by means of sample questions which are scaled statistically according to performance of some selected social

1. Published by the Behavioral Cybernetics Laboratory, University of Wisconsin, June, 1965.

group. This concept of measuring deviations of performance from a socially defined norm is basic to all testing activities, but the use of such statistical measurements for predictive purposes is not verifiable by experimental procedures.

At best, testing is a process of selecting test items that seem to resemble the assumed trait in which one is interested in order to measure that same trait. It is thus a process of proving that an unknown X equals another unknown X. Such processes and the assumptions that underlie them are not susceptible to checking and refinement by means of the experimental methods of science.

The giving of a test or the validation of a test is not an experiment, as is sometimes claimed. Experimental procedure requires concepts and hypotheses which have objective operational meaning, the controlled variation of known and objectively defined variables, and the use of measurement scales whose units and references base can be shown to be equally applicable to all instances of their use. Testing and test validation have none of these characteristics of experimental procedure.

Testing concepts and methods were devised largely before Hull (1928) wrote his book on aptitude testing and have not changed significantly since Hull's early days. Most of the tests in use today and the criterion measure on which they are based were set up before 1940.

Because tests have no real scientific or experimental basis related to individual behavior, their scaling procedures must be based on estimating deviations from socially defined norms. In establishing such group norms for validation studies, test specialists never have followed the minimal rules governing representative population sampling. Their population groups, on which the validity of the test depends, typically are pre-selected groups favored in one way or another. No test in use today is based on a representative population, and few if any tests have ever been checked for their degree of discrimination against people not represented in criterion groups. Further, testers have not investigated the social effects of such test discrimination in the different classes of people affected—that is, children with educational differences, children with histories of childhood diseases, injured children, children of the foreign born, Negroes, children from broken homes, the underprivileged and disadvantaged children from homes of the unemployed and disadvantaged, farm children, children from deteriorating industrial areas, in general, those children and adults who are not easily accessible to the tester in his limited validation studies.

As a result of the bias of their validation groups, psychological tests amount to socio-economic discriminative devices. They are a superficial prop for institutionalizing social, economic, job and educational discrimination processes in the guise of being "scientific instruments." They are used widely in schools to establish special classes, privileges, activities, opportunities and rewards for "bright" students and to depreciate the activities of students labelled "dull" by the tests. Test labels and the test-related class records are attached to students for their entire educational careers. The influence of the testing process on the student's grades often is very direct, for students in a "bright" class automatically receive A or B while those in a "dull" class can never make an A even with outstanding talent and effort.

The use of intelligence and so-called ability tests in schools discriminates

particularly against children who have suffered illness, or injury, and those with reading, writing and speech disabilities. Testers in public hearings claim that their procedures help the children with educational difficulties, but those are the ones who are hurt the most, both in school and in their subsequent occupational activities. In dealing with individual problems, the testing approach is largely negativistic, except in the use of vocational interest inventories. Intelligence, ability, and personality test scores are used universally to justify negative actions—sometimes custodial actions—against workers, but they are used only rarely to provide positive help in making decisions or solving problems.

Test psychologists try to give the impression that the field of testing is continuously engaged in research activity to improve the design of tests and their accuracy, but available evidence indicates no really successful research on testing has occurred in the last quarter century. Students of the writer have obtained data from some of the country's most advanced industries indicating that no meaningful research has been or is being conducted by those companies in regard to the accuracy of their college-student recruitment and selection programs. Companies that claim test studies are being conducted cannot describe the nature of the research or give any data whatever on the results.

The situation with respect to test validation in education is somewhat different. Research on psychological testing constitutes a major activity of graduate students in educational psychology. Using sample tests which can be obtained cheaply or without cost, such students can obtain a series of measurements, assemble the data and present them toward a degree. Researchers and students in this area conduct their studies on the assumption that the general procedures of testing are highly valid and scientifically founded. They add a few more data to the general body of testing knowledge, but do not probe the basic assumptions or validation procedures of the testing movement. Thus current testing research in the academic domain is no more scientific than its parent field.

One feature of the so-called validation research in education is disreputable by standards of scientific honesty. Testing firms and test agencies claim to validate their tests by receiving performance data and test scores from selected educators and teachers located in different institutions around the country. However, these academic representatives of testing firms sometimes are paid consultants of the firms and thus have a vested interest in the activities they supposedly are subjecting to scientific verification. While this situation is not true of all test researchers, where it exists it raises questions concerning honesty of intent and practice.

□ □ □

Let us now describe what we believe to be the first systematic cybernetic (feedback) studies of the effects of institutional environments on emotional manifestations in behavior and on behavioral criteria used in test standardization procedures. Such study amounts to investigation of the feedback effects of the institutional environment on individual and group behavior. Testing theory assumes that sampling behavior will reveal the intrinsic trait make-up of the individual. The purpose of this research was to determine whether the so-called traits that testers sample actually are produced by the social and institutional conditions under which people live.

This research was conducted during a period of over two years when the writer directed a program set up by request in a state prison to develop vocational testing and guidance procedures for prisoners. The prison authorities agreed that graduate research could be carried out on all aspects of behavior related to the program, and the writer agreed to serve on the Assignment Committee of the prison, a committee of five or six major prison officials who decided the educational, vocational, and custodial assignments of the inmates.

From the vantage point of a research facility located inside a prison, an attempt was made to study the prison as a mechanism of behavior control, including control imposed by testing and allied psychological techniques. Observations were made on prison officials from the warden down, relative to their attitudes, modes of behavior, and avenues of influence in imparting certain standards of performance and pressures of response control on the inmates. One of the most important aspects of this research was that prisoners could be observed for months or even years in order to note any changes in behavior that occurred after their first entry into the prison. Tests and lengthy interviews were given the prisoners two or three days after they entered prison and again some three to six months later. In addition, the writer talked informally with nearly every prisoner without disclosing to him that the intent was to make systematic observations on his behavior.

The theoretical idea behind our prison research is that an institution is a feedback system characterized by certain features which influence behavior and emotional patterning of its inmates. This idea conforms with our general cybernetic notion of feedback control of behavior in closed-loop systems. Research strategy is to discover the variables in the system which define the pattern of control and to establish relationships between feedback variables and behavior variables.

From the first, our experiences in the prison led us to believe that features of prison life have direct repercussions on patterns of behavior and emotional expressions of the prisoners particularly but also of prison guards and officials. The dominant theme of prison management is custodial control through threat of punishment, social isolation, or restriction or change of activity. The dominant patterns of behavior can be described as withdrawn, surly, regressive, suspicious or paranoid, secretive, depressed, repressed, and so on. We observed that these patterns become more noticeable during the first year of prison life, especially in younger prisoners.

Inasmuch as these features of behavior are closely related to the so-called personality traits which are said to be measured by many tests, we attempted to obtain data showing progressive changes in test performances during prison life. Such changes would indicate that the measured characteristics of behavior or personality are not necessarily intrinsic traits of the individual but are generated in him by the control pattern of his environment.

The results of the studies show that the institutional environment: (1) can affect behavioral criteria used to validate personality tests (2) can influence test scores, (3) exerts these influences in a negative or inverted direction relative to normal standards of social and emotional adjustment and (4) can institutionalize these effects so that all individuals in the system are affected. The traits generated in people by institutional environments thus *are not an expression of individual makeup as much as they are a reflection of environment design.* The criteria of abnormality which have been used to validate personality tests are not bona fide

intrinsic behavioral standards but reflect the inverted human control standards that are characteristic of custodial institutions.

The question may be raised as to whether school and industry environments also are characterized by control features that influence the behavior and emotional adjustment of students and workers. We believe that in many cases they are. It follows that test criteria performances and test scores made by individuals within these environments are contaminated by the characteristics of the environment. We have seen workers in industries and students in universities whose behavior patterns obviously were modulated and constrained to conform to the demands and pressures of their institutional environments. Sampling such behaviors by means of psychological tests is a poor way to predict individual performance outside the institutional pattern of control.

Our industrial studies reveal many direct and indirect ways in which psychological consultants and clinical psychologists mix personality test procedures causing an influence on job performance factors or the behavioral status of the testee. These include: (1) suggesting to the testee that he has personality difficulties; (2) influencing promotion and social status of the testee by recording test scores in relation to test potential; (3) revealing the judgment that the testee has a personality problem; (4) relating test scores to potential development of the individual in special training programs; (5) defining special job specifications in terms of the personality test factors; (6) influencing and pressuring testees on the basis of test results while serving in the role of personnel counselor; (7) relating test results to need for special training, counseling, psychotherapy, or psychiatric treatment; (8) influencing the adjustment of wages and fringe benefits to correspond to test factors; (9) participating in actual rating or grading of testee performance on the job or in school; (10) setting up special classes which lead to grading or assignment of testees in relation to test-dominated class standards; and (11) serving as a personnel officer who provides references and recommendations for promotion, transfer, or job seeking of the testee.

Test psychologists, clinical psychologists, and consulting psychologists attached to industries, schools, and institutions carry out these practices of mixing their test programs with personnel control processes in the course of doing their jobs. The inevitable result is to increase the apparent validity of the tests. When testing programs are challenged, psychological counselors and consultants have plenty of data to show correspondence between test results and subsequent performance. What is not made clear is that the correspondence is due for the most part to the control activities of the counselors. The industrialist or school official or director of an institution accepts the activities of the psychologist in the belief that they are scientifically substantiated, not realizing that the mixed bundle of psychological services serves to substantiate itself.

The main conclusion from our cybernetic analysis of testing as an institutional control operation is that tests become predictive devices only insofar as the tester is permitted to control or influence the status of the worker or of the work performance to be predicted. There is no evidence which shows that a pure, unmixed testing program provides significant predictions of human ability or performance.

But the apparent validity of tests is enhanced by the way they are used in selection or screening procedures. Tests, as we have seen, are not scientific instru-

ments for measuring individual behavior, but a means of estimating statistical deviations from group norms. Thus the claims that testing is directed toward understanding individuals and their behavior cannot be verified. The statistical socially defined measures of tests are in no way comparable to operationally or experimentally defined individual behavior variables.

Tests are used widely today in the belief, fostered by test specialists, that indications of superiority and deficiencies in specific behavior factors can be read from the test scores. However, the individual items of tests do not disclose anything meaningful about the dimensions of individual response because the items do not represent objectively defined variables and dimensions in behavior. This fact lies behind the widely recognized dilemma of the testers: no two psychometricians can agree on the meaning or definition of personality and intelligence or of their supposed sub-traits, and no two scales of the same name in different tests mean the same thing. The reasoning of testers and their claims that tests can be used both to scale the social deviation of individuals and to probe their individual response systems are neither scientific nor logical. The failure of tests to measure individual factors must be recognized in order to assess their use in selection and screening.

The use of psychological testing to set up classes of students in our schools is not only unscientific and inaccurate, it is undemocratic and jeopardizes the opportunities of individuals both in education and future work. Further, the test classification procedures in our schools obstruct truly scientific advances in understanding behavior and its disturbances and deficiencies. Tests never have yielded any information about the individual behavior mechanisms underlying writing, reading, spelling, speech, and other skills or deficiencies in these skills. The nearly universal use of test selection programs in our schools has had the effect of obscuring the need for and of frustrating any attempt to do direct research on educationally significant skills and behavioral deficiencies of school children, including their emotional deficiencies. The main feedback effects of testing programs are to obscure the needs of the individual child by classifying him arbitrarily and inaccurately, and to distort the design of his educational environment by substituting test-oriented objectives for individually oriented schooling.

The effects of such "testing-caste" processes in industry are equally dangerous. There is clear evidence that one of the feedback effects of the psychological testing movement in industry is to impair motivation of the lower uneducated and economic groups in seeking employment. By the artificial elevation of employment requirements as determined by test cutting scores, test selection methods have raised the stated qualifications for jobs beyond the level required in the job itself. Evidence shows that the general educational level of applicants tend to shift upwards in any industry which adopts testing procedures to cover all types of employees, even though the job requirements in the industry are not scaled upwards.

We believe that one of the main effects of test selection procedures has been to create an artificial management philosophy toward work demands in American industry and thereby to magnify the effects of the tests in creating a caste of unemployable persons. Management has been led to believe that work success and training can be predicted in terms of quickie tests and personality estimates, and that responsibility of industry and government for creating work is confined only to those who pass these tests. We are just beginning to learn the costs of an un-

employed caste society. Our view is that much of the underemployment in this country is due in part to the direct and indirect feedback effects of test selection programs in inflating employment requirements and in degrading the value of nonverbal skills in industry.

□ □ □

Psychological testing has mushroomed into a multimillion-dollar industry in which a few organizations and a relatively few individuals go far toward defining the primary machinery of educational and job assignment of the American people. We have presented evidence to show that testing has no basis in objective science and that its presumed predictive effects are feedback effects of the testing activity itself. To use such dubious apparatus to control the status and behavior of students and workers is unethical and illegal even when the activity is carried on by well-meaning people. It becomes immoral when combined with certain other charlatan procedures sometimes indulged in by psychological consultants, including secret psychiatric analyses of unsuspecting applicants and employees and using data as props to justify workers at all levels. If an unscrupulous management wants to cover up some devious program of depriving people of educational opportunity or their work rights or jobs, the testers and the clinicians are called in. This process apparently has come to full bloom in several government agencies which use clinical psychological testing and psychiatric intrusions in order to make periodic checks of employees and to fire them if their personality readings do not satisfy the tester. Rather than promoting educational and work opportunities which will expand basic liberties, agencies and industries which rely on tests and clinical practices are depriving people of their constitutional rights, constraining freedom of thinking, and thus are undermining the democratic process.

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October 6, 1966

Ms. Bernice C. Brigham
Administrative Assistant
National Education Association
Commission on Professional
Rights and Responsibilities
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Ms. Brigham:

Thank you, indeed, for your request for reprints of Dr. Smith's article. We will be delighted to cooperate however you wish. The cost to you would be no more than the printer charges us. Their estimate of this is approximately $100. As for our granting you permission to reprint it with your own facilities, we are happy to do so. All we would ask would be normal copyright acknowledgement, a statement something to this effect: "Reprinted with permission from NEW SOUTH, Summer, 1966. Copyright, 1966, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

cc: Dr. K. U. Smith

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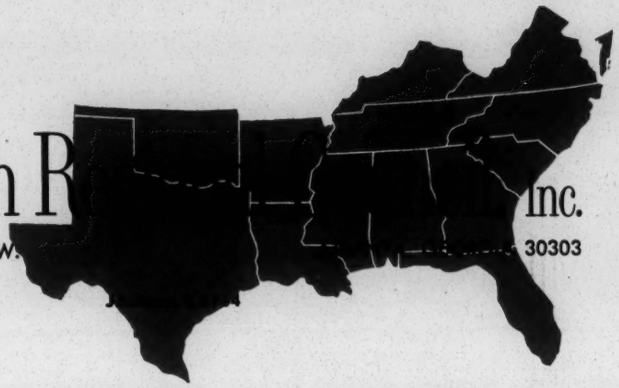

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Rec'd 10/6/66

September 30, 1966

Dr. K. U. Smith
Director
Behavioral Cybernetics
Laboratory
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Dr. Smith:

We have a request from the National Education Association for permission to reprint your article on testing. Since this seems to afford an opportunity to present your views to a far wider audience, we will let them do so, unless you should have some overriding objection. Let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Dear Bob,

Fine, it is now just about a half century since "scientific management" generated the testing game in the program of the NEA. Maybe we can reverse the trend.

K.U.S

September 30, 1966

Dr. [illegible] U. Smith
Director
Behavioral Cybernetics
Laboratory
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Dr. Smith:

We have a request from the National Education Association for permission to reprint your article on testing. Since this seems to afford an opportunity to present your views to a far wider audience, we will let them do so, unless you should have some overriding objection. Let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Janet:

National Education Association

1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
ADAMS 4-4848

COMMISSION ON PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

September 27, 1966

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DOROTHY C. MASSIE
Technical Writer

PATRICIA K. VEGUILLA
Technical Writer, Jr.

Editor
New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly quote as a price on 200 copies of a reprint of "The Testing Hoax" by K. U. Smith. This article begins on page 47 of Vol. 21 No. 3, Summer, 1966.

If it is not possible for you to sell us the reprints of this article, may we have your permission to reprint, identifying it by whatever expression you wish us to use for your permission to reprint.

Sincerely yours,

Bernice C. Brigham

Bernice C. Brigham
Administrative Assistant

BCB:jpy

File: Copyrights

CROSS REFERENCE

RE: Mention of having August Meier's article for NS/copyrighted, spring issue

SEE: NEW SOUTH: Articles completed.

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, SOUTH CAROLINA

May 6, 1959

Dear Leslie:

This is to remind you of two things:

1. You offered to send me report of president's committee on something or other which had some reference in it to SRP and anti-discrimination work done there. I need only the small passage you spoke of.

2. I am interested in doing editorial work for you. Will You send me copy of Kytle's pamphlet on southern newspapers & their treatment of racial news?

It was good to see you and talk with you.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Mailed 5-12-59
stamped mga
env. enclosed

LWD
Personal

June 5, 1959

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

This is in answer to several letters.

Your comments about the "Race and News" subject are excellent; at any rate I agree with you fully and have been acting upon the same line of reasoning. I think I mentioned to you when you were here that we had invited Walter Spearman, of the Journalism school at Chapel Hill, to do a study for us of news treatment since 1954. He has since agreed and is currently at work. He seems to be a very able fellow and a man who knows what the requirements of our sort of communication are.

Much as I would like to, I could not possibly get your help, editorially or in a re-write capacity, on the Voters Survey. As a matter of fact, Margaret Price seems more than a little touchy about my editorial perogatives. She will have to put up with that. But I could not get away, or even begin to, with the suggestion of calling in another professional writer.

These responses to your welcome indication of interest in working with us are discouraging and not the ones I would like to offer. George, be patient with me. I am terribly eager to recruit the best people I can to write for the Council. I have the feeling that in past years, particularly since the going got rough, the quality of the Council's publications has been influenced too heavily by accident. With the few things that

I have got underway so far, I have endeavored to turn up the ablest person available--the right economist, the right professor of Journalism, the right professor of Education. It is our loss that you are not doing something for us, and if you will give me time I hope to remedy that; at least to give you a chance to say "no". Harold, you will be interested to know, is interested also in putting you to work.

Sand on your chapter for me to read (although I resent your statement that I am better qualified to comment on this one, whatever it is, than on the one you did on churches. I don't like my competency on matters clerical and religious to be impugned).

Peggy and I are thinking about your suggestion that we rendezvous in North Carolina. Peggy will write to Virginia sometime soon.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

M E M O R A N D U M

May 12, 1959

TO: Leslie Dunbar, Southern Regional Council

FROM: George McMillan GWM.

SUBJECT: Possible revision of pamphlet, "Race in the News."

I agree with you that the tone and style, as well as the approach and the overall organization of the pamphlet are excellent.

I do not wish to knock myself out of even the remote possibility of a piece of work, but I do wonder whether this pamphlet should be revised at this point?

I am guessing that a revision could not be expected to serve the same purpose and bring off the same results as did the original.

The mood of the South is different now. I am guessing that the kind of accurate analysis coup;le diwth suggestions that were both reasonable and specific -- the two qualities that marked this pamphlet -- would not fall on such willing ears today. I remember that one of the happiest aspects of this pamphlet was that it actually achieved something. Many editors did revise their policies as a result of it.

But would they do so today?

My own suspicion is that an analysis of race usages in the southern press in the time since the orginal pamphlet was published would show relatively little improvement. In fact, I suspect that, on balance, the Negro is being less fairly treated, taking the whole questionof race in all its aspects -- the handling of national and regional racial news, as well as the handling of local racial news.

If I had the choice mine would be to do a new pamphlet, one that measured (for its fairness and objectivity) the treatment southern newspapers are giving to the whole racial struggle. One of the current tragedies seems to me to be that the ordinary southern moderate probably finds it impossible to get an unbiassed picture of the struggle. I know this would be so if he had nothing to read but the metropolitan paper I see every day -- The Augusta Chronicle.

In other words, I am guessing that, taken as a whole, southern newspapers are giving a less objective picture of racial news today -- and are less willing to give such a picture j--mthan they were at the time Kytle wrote his excellent study.

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, SOUTH CAROLINA

May 11, 1959

Dear Leslie:

It occurs to me that one way in which I might prove, demonstrate, my usefulness to you is by making some spcific editorial comments and suggestions about the Negro voting mss you discussed with me, the one written by Mrs. Price.

You need not worry about any pay. I'll be perfectly willing to do this much on a speculative basis. But with the understanding, of course, that you would give me the job of executing my own suggestions.

If you decide to send The mss to me, I will of course keep its contents and everything about it confidential.

Sincerely,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 14, 1959

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

The more I have thought, the less sure I am that I can do well what you have asked; i.e., to suggest the main points whi which your article on southern industrialization ought to include. I was delighted in talking with you to learn that you have your own slant (as I knew you would have) toward the subject; but that makes all the more uncertain my efforts to help.

For better or for worse, anyhow, here are some thoughts, arranged in more of less schematic order:

I infer you want to inquire whether the "New South" is more fiction or fact, and that you are skeptical of the thesis that southern mores are being changed because of changes in the South's economy. I should think you would want

(1) to indicate the measure of southern industrialization; this is easily and abundantly documented, and we can help you with it. Industry has grown tremendously, but not at a greater rate than the post-war national growth.

(2) You might discuss the sort of industry which the South has received. You yourself had shrewdly observed that much of it was of traditional types and therefore presumably adaptable to southern custom. Perhaps more important, however, so much of it isn't. This latter is the kind of industry which has come into the cities (principally), and is almost invariably northern owned, controlled, and (to a considerable degree) staffed: and on the social implications of <u>this</u>, <u>you</u> are <u>the</u> authority.

List of thermafax clips:
Arkansas Gazette, June 21, 1959 "Unions Censure Labor Editor's Role in STOP"
Atlanta Journal, July 12, 1959 "Tech and State Experts Study Scared Counties"
State and Area Hours and Earnings, Table C-8
Arkansas Gazette, June 26, 1959, "Labor's Progress in Dixie"
" " " "Something Has Changed--and for the Worse" ed.

(3) All of this complicates and exacerbates in many ways the urban-rural dichotomy. What if industry changes people's views, and the depopulated country still controls state politics? We have all sorts of migration figures (though at the tag-end of a census period any population estimates are suspect).

(4) The schools' controversy forces self-examination on the South because a defense here of southern customs conflicts with two demands of modern industry: good community services, and public order.

(5) Yet it runs afoul of another businessman's article of faith: non-involvement in "controversial" matters (and I still think you could do an effective piece pitched to why businessmen stayed silent so long, and why they are now beginning to speak).

(6) Even so, businessmen are often flushed out of their cocoons sooner, it would appear, than labor unions are from their rank and file prejudices.

The materials which I am enclosing are selected to typify the kind of materials we could supply you on the points above. Let me know, as specifically as you can, what you want, and we can send you fairly ample documentation. And if you can get some expense money from the Times, come over to Atlanta and pick our files and our alleged brains.

Will write to you soon with suggestions for other articles, and also - even sooner - will send back your manuscript with comments.

Best wishes, and let me know what we can do.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: New South, June '59, "Chamber of Commerce Seeks Open Schools"
" " Feb. '59, "Virginia Education Crisis"
Wall Street Journal reprint
Accent on the South
N.E.A. Research Report
Nashville Tennessean reprint
news clips

July 29, 1959

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I am sorry that the Times decided against your piece. I hope you will try elsewhere, and the magazines you mentioned in your July 25th letter would be excellent outlets; this is the sort of thing which the Progressive might also be interested in, though perhaps it does not pay enough to be interesting to you.

I did not comment on your outline because I did not gather from your letter, which came with it, that you were asking for any. I thought the outline was good, so far as it went. Being inexperienced with these matters, I assumed that it was lengthy and comprehensive enough for the purpose. Actually, I would not have thought so. It seems to me that you suggest in it a sufficiently solid theme and I have no changes to offer. I did ~~would~~ think that your outline was scant, maybe a little thin, and that as it stood would not give an editor an adequate enough idea of what you planned to write and your point of view. To sum up, your approach seems to me all right, even good, but you might consider outlining it more fully, along lines similar to those I sketched in my last letter to you. Your judgement, however, about these ~~matters~~ things is much more experienced than mine.

The reason I have been a little slow in replying is because of the furious pace around here the past couple of days. We are working to get out a background report on school openings; we gave ourselves an August 1st deadline, and though we will miss it we still hope it will not be by much.

Best wishes, and let me hear what happens next.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:a

Director of Research

July 30, 1959

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

This is the rest of the letter that began yesterday. You asked me once to suggest a couple of notions suitable for articles. Here they are:

1) As I said to you on the telephone, I think somebody, and you would be the prime person, should write a piece about Governor Collins. Considering his stature and his unique qualifications, he has got very little national publicity. I may be wrong, but I cannot recall anyone writing him up in one of the magazines, although he himself had an article in Look about May, 1958. He is the only southern governor who has made an attempt, even if as yet frivolous, to lead his state towards successful desegregation instead of resistance or as little desegregation as legally possible. He is almost the only public figure of prominance to have advocated a plan for taking this whole problem out of the hands of the courts and off the level of legal rights, and to place it instead in administrative framework. He hasbeen successful in out-maneuvering his own segregation dominated legislature and has frustrated every attempt it has made to carry Florida to an extremist position. Moreover, he got re-elected. I am enclosing a couple of clips which will refresh your recollections in the matter.

2) Another suggestion, a piece about what has happened to Alabama. Even Mississippi has not got worse; Alabama has. Here is a state which gives every appearance of having been captured in its whole state administration and in the government in several of its principal cities, including Birmingham, by the most extreme sort of white supremacists. For some

documentation of this you can look at our Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence report and take note of the number and nature of instances in Alabama. Fantastic as it may seem, in this day of the Citizens' Councils, the Klan has a notable measure of influence; the state leader has been a close associate of the present governor. There are repeated flare-ups of anti-semitic feeling. Probably not even Mississippi is less tolerant of dissent or even public discussion on the segregation issue.

3) The piece I would really like to see you write, which you can do simply by sitting on your duff in that sweltering hot-box where you work and drawing impressions out of your own experience, is an essay on the Negro's new image of himself. This, I happen to think, is one of the basic determinative factors in the present situation. This kind of thing has been done before. The best efforts, however, have been embedded in pieces or books of larger content (from which I can furnish you a number of suggestive quotes). The Negroes are refusing all along the line to acquiesce any longer in segregation, and this fact renders much of the program of the state governments irrelevant. I give you, as a matter of fact, permission to use my own copy-righted title: "Jim Crow Can't Life Without Uncle Tom" - and Uncle Tom is dead.

We can help you, George, with materials on these or most any topics that you work up.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: clippings on
Gov. Collins

GEORGE MCMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, SOUTH CAROLINA

file

July 31, 1959

Dear Leslie:

I want to acknowledge at once your excellent and suggestive letter of July 30. Whether you know it or not, you have written very good magazine synopses. I will let you know what I do about them. I hope that I can get at least one or two off this weekend.

My hasty impressions are these. The Collins piece looks so good and so obvious that I am going to check READER'S GUIDE to make sure somebody hasn't done it within past 12 months.

I'm a little leery of the Alabama piece. It looks like plenty work, perhps too much of a diversion from my book, on which I am rolling again.

I very much like and want to do the Negro's image of himself. It is not, however, a piece that can be written off the top of my head.

Now we're cooking. You're being very helpful. And it is up to me.

Thanks,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 14, 1959

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

The synopsis for a Collins article looks good and I have nothing to add to it. Best of luck. I shall get busy on the other things within a couple of days and you ought to hear from me next week.

Mozell Hill has left Atlanta to accept an important appointment at Columbia. His address is:

Dr. Mozell Hill
Professor of Education
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York 27, N. Y.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

September 4, 1959

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

STILL HOPING.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

September 18, 1959

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Sorry I must write such a long letter.

In the first place, we hope that the Little Rock police story is only sick, not dead. If you are still interested, use your sense of timing to make another approach to Smith. I have tried to keep the thought alive by a letter (see enclosed); earlier this week, we heard from Ashmore that Smith, since the bombing, was not talking to any reporters, including him. I have been saving clips for you, and am sending them on just to get them off my desk; some may be duplicates.

Second, your third chapter arrived and I shall get it back quickly.

Third, the sort of thing which you propose in your memo of September 8 was done, with varying skill, in a series of pamphlets put out by ADL a couple of years ago: one on Clinton, one on Sturgis, etc. We can be wrong, but I suspect there isn't much to be gained from this, and the reception of the ADL pamphlets would substantiate that belief. Not that it isn't worth doing; it is. But I think every SRC publication has to be designed with the hope and intent of reaching some of the people or groups or media which can have a decisive influence on the move of events. You may think that reports in depth on episodes, as you suggest, would do so, and you may be right; as of now, we can't agree.

Fourth, I have a counter proposal. You have seen our new voting study. You know also that the Commission on Civil Rights has reported, and that Congress will take up civil rights legislation in February. We would like to hit again on the voting issue before then, have out fresh documentation. We are thinking about some longer-run things; for the immediate purpose, I think the most feasible and effective thing is another (or even two) case study of local situation, along the approach of the three which were published in our voting report: of those, the Vines piece on Ouachita parish is the best model, though it, of course, could be improved. Are you interested?

On page 13 of our report, there is a list of "no-vote" counties. What we would be thrilled to have is something on a Mississippi county. This is virtually unknown territory; not even the Commission was able to get into there.

If Mississippi causes you to shudder "no thanks" (as it well might), Alabama seems to us the next most interesting state. But I am confident that with your conversational skills and diligence after facts, you could go into a Mississippi locale and come out with a great story.

If you can do it, I think (on this one) it would be best for you to come here for a day or two of file reading and discussion, and then proceed. There is not much we could do to set up contacts, though we would do the little we could.

Fifth, I have had for some time an ill-formed idea about a portrait of Richmond County, Ga. Harold is sympathetic, but has posed some practical questions that I haven't yet thought up answers for. This letter has got too long already, and I won't go into more, especially as my own thoughts are so tentative. But is (I hope, when) you come through on your way to Mississippi, or on your way back from Little Rock, we can bat it around.

Give my best to Ginny.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures

September 18, 1959

Chief Eugene C. Smith
Little Rock Police Department
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Chief Smith:

George McMillan informed us that you had decided the time was not ripe for an interview on the work of your police force in the school-opening excitement. The events of the last several weeks have certainly proved your judgment right.

We hope, however, that you will be willing to see Mr. McMillan when your problems have quieted. What you have been faced with in Little Rock can happen in cities anywhere, particularly in the Deep South, and all over the South there is interest in (and admiration for) your accomplishment. What we would like to publish is a straightforward account of the performance of your department, emphasizing — employing the professional police methods which you have employed. We are sure that this would be of benefit and interest to other police and municipal officials, and it would be to them that the pamphlet would be principally distributed.

Mr. McMillan is well qualified for this assignment. Besides being a southerner and deeply familiar with southern societies, he was the official historian of the 1st Marine Division during World War II, and his book, titled The Old Breed, was widely applauded and respected. He has written for many magazines, such as Harpers, Colliers, Holiday, and Sports Illustrated.

I suggested to Mr. McMillan that he write you or call you again in a short while. We hope that the situation will then be calm enough for you to feel that you can talk with him.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunber
Director of Research

lwd:a

Original letter re-typed

September 25, 1959

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, S. C.

Dear George:

I have been down since Sunday with the flu or something, and that is why your letter has lain unanswered. Also why you haven't my comments on your last chapter, which I read several days ago but have not been up to preparing a letter on; will do this week-end.

Have thought a good bit about your letter, which was read to me over the telephone. One of the practical advantages (I know there aren't many) of your independence is that you neither have to adjust to Policy, nor concede the monster's right to be. So I won't display its pretensions, only its conclusion. Our fee is, as you suspect, $300, plus transportation, plus a $15.00 per diem while away from Aiken; any needful expenses over and above keeping your body together could be separately reimbursed. We would not expect you to do any preliminary planning prior to coming to Atlanta, where we would provide for you sufficient (I hope) background reading. If for any reason you are prevented by circumstances beyond your control from completing the assignment, we would pay a fair and mutually satisfactory fee plus expenses to that point; frankly, however, I can't see what would stop you: in the extreme, if you found an iron curtain and were chased out of the state, that would be a story worth writing.

No point writing more unless you can see your way clear to undertaking it.

Any hope?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
dictated over telephone;
not read or signed.

October 2, 1959

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I am disappointed about the Collins proposal. Let's hope Harpers may still come through.

I want you to know that I have not forgotten the materials, etc. which I promised on the Negro's image of himself. Two things have intervened. One is that you and I got involved in other matters. The second is that I had hoped to handle it with more care in the course of some work of my own. I am committed to one of the journals for an article close to that subject, and my thought was that as I put my head to my own writing I would come up with more fruitful things for you. I had promised the article by the end of September; but it got side-tracked, and I'll be lucky to have it finished by the end of November. So I'll get back, next week after our Executive Committee clears out, to your interests; I assume you still would like something.

This letter contains already two "sorrys", and so we may as well have a third. I wish it had all worked out differently. I am especially bothered because some bad feeling seems to have developed. I assure you there is none on this side. I have re-read my letter of September 25 and I will say that I find nothing in it which precludes you from making a counter-proposition; nowhere did I say "there is no point in my (i.e. you) writing you (i.e. me) any more on the subject of money." I did say, "no point writing more unless you can see your way clear to undertaking it." I can realize now that this was ambiguous, and I apologize. In all candor, I meant that there was no point in my letter going into the substantive nature of the project unless our terms stirred enough favor in your breast to make further discussion seem realistically worthwhile.

This miss-understanding corrected, I am willing to go back to the point where it occurred.

I don't know what to say about your protest against your loss of time (and I certainly don't want to trespass on it further). I had hoped that in my original call to you I had made clear that the Little Rock assignment was contingent on Smith's willingness. When it seemed to be collapsing, I did try to move quickly toward another idea. Considering that we don't make money out of publications, and that even so we pay fees which are in line with those of many magazines, I think we pay about as much as we can fairly be expected to do.

I singled out the Ouachita piece for two reasons: I have a better opinion of it than you seem to have; I was hesitant about proposing to you an approach which would consume more of your time. Certainly, if you were interested in doing something deeper and more detailed that would change the dimensions of the job, and we would be glad to listen.

And, to add another "sorry", I cannot agree that the Little Rock assignment has changed at all in scope, or would require any more research.

However, if you don't believe it is worth any more speculation of your time, I can understand that and accept it. Also, George, this letter is not intended to draw you into further correspondence, though we are always glad to hear from you. We do value your good opinion, and so I simply want to make our thinking clear to you, and hope that I have succeeded. In the meantime, I shall file all the correspondence on the assumption that you want your letters of the 27th and 29th to be your last word.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 8, 1959

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

The Federal Grand Jury is to convene January 4 in Biloxi. One report has it that the convening possibly may be shifted to Jackson.

Good luck to you on the Harris story. I thought it was worth doing when you told me about it, and this may very well be the ripe time for writing it. One stray thought occurred to me; if you run into a blind alley with the magazines, it is barely possible that ADL could be interested in it for their Freedom pamphlet series. I would, of course, go all out in endorsing it. I have no idea what they pay.

We enjoyed your visit tremendously, and hope it can be repeated. Peggy is getting enough out of the burned couch so that, as a matter of fact, it was practically cost-free... which doesn't mean that we would not have enjoyed it anyhow.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

George McMillan Box 299 Aiken, S. C.

Dear Leslie:

I received the second batch of clippings on Little Rock this morning. Thanks for the careful consideration you gave my suggestion about recent events in North Carolina. I quite understand your position. I will give you a definite date on the trip in a few days.

February 17, 1960

George

AFV
MA

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, SOUTH CAROLINA

February 11, 1960

Dear Leslie:

Isn't it amazing? As surely as we start talking about Little Rock just as surely do the bomb throwers go to work. But this time I don't think it will make too much difference to us, nor to our purpose.

If Chief Smith is going to talk with me, he will do so despite this latest incident reported in this morning's newspaper.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3
Georgia

HF
MA file

GEORGE McMILLAN · box 299 · aiken, south carolina

February 10, 1960

Dear Leslie:

I have received your letter of February 8 about the Little Rock assignment.

I accept the assignment on the terms you outline. Give me a few days to review the clippings you are going to send, to plan my schedule, and I will write you a more detailed proposal for carrying out the assignment.

I am glad that you have provided for the possibility that the Chief of Police may not cooperate. Knowing that, I feel much better.

When it comes down to it what we mostly need from him is the story of the planning phase,- the kind of thing that would not have been made public at the time.

Otherwise most of what we need is on the record, although all of the events would profit (for our purposes) by his comment and analysis.

I accept the money arrangement as fair.

Ginny got up too soon after the flu and has been quite sick with a high fever for a week. She's better now but still not strong. My sister, Martha, is here. She's doing a book on gardens for HOLT. Kit made straight A's.

You'll be amused to know that Ginny, who had applkedfor a Fulbright teaching fellowship for either France or Greece for the coming year, got yesterday a query asking her whether she'd be willing to go to Guinea, in Africa. She's going to turn it down.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

February 8, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

We are awfully glad that you can see your way clear to take up the Little Rock job again. Because I felt a need to clarify the project in our own thinking, I jotted down some notes. The notes are attached and are incorporated with this letter. I think they deal with all the points you raised in your letter of February 4, and I hope you will find them satisfactory.

The outline of the story is, of course, meant to be only suggestive to you, and to give you a more detailed notion of what we would like the pamphlet to contain. The list of people in Little Rock is also only meant to be suggestive. I think you would agree that these are the natural persons you might see. We have had, incidentally, cordial relations with everyone on the list except Dauley, Powell, and Patterson; these three we do not know. As to the appointment with Chief Smith, our guess is that the interview will be most readily granted if you are out there in person asking for it. At the same time, our instinct is against trying to set up the interview from here: I think this is where we may have gone wrong the last time. I suspect that Smith would feel more free to talk if the thing is not handled like a big deal with long-range negotiations back and forth. As a matter of prudence, we would try to ascertain that the Chief would be in town when you get there and I shall do so whenever you give me your schedule. As I say in my notes, you might want to drop him a line and tell him you are coming, referring to my

letter of September 18, a copy of which is enclosed. Because we are are agreed that the job can't be done without talking with the Chief, I have indicated in the notes that if you cannot get to him, your commission will be reduced and your responsibilities, of course, ended. The terms seem to me to be fair, and I hope acceptable to you.

I can't remember that you did send back the clippings. I hope not, for we don't seem to have them here. At any rate, I think that what we will do is pull a highly selected group of clippings--enough simply to give you the outlines of the story, and send them on to you. The girls are awfully busy at the moment and probably won't be able to get to this until late this week; look for a packet, then, the first of next week. I believe you should come over here on your way to Little Rock, at which time you can browse to your heart's content in our files.

As I indicated in my last letter, it is our thought that the maximum effect of this would be lost if we got it out before July 1st. I think, on the other hand, it ought to be out not later than early August if it is to get any circulation before next fall's probably turbulent days. We leave, therefore, the schedule to you as to your travel, etc., but can we aim for a May 15 deadline? That would give us a good margin of time for reading, printing, and mailing.

I am enclosing a copy of the little police manual which the Anti-Defamation League finally got out a few weeks ago. Our understanding is that it was done by the Herald Tribune's police reporter. I thought it was a fairly good job when I read a draft long ago; I haven't reread it to confirm my opinion, but hopefully it is all right. What we would like to see your Little Rock thing do is to reveal, out of a concrete situation, some of the same principles which are set out in the ADL pamphlet.

Best wishes. I'll need to know your schedule when you have figured it out.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: copy Sept. 18 letter, Chief Smith
notes re story and details

With Justice for All

GEORGE McMILLAN • box 299 • aiken, south carolina

February 4, 1960

Dear Leslie:

Yes, I want to do the Little Rock job, and I am ready to get at the planning and initial research immediately. Here, then, are some points:

1/ I still look upon the assignment as that of researching and writing a narrative account of what the City of Little Rock and its police force did to handle the mob when schools were integrated in 1959 -- with necessary background sketched in as the narrative moves along.

2. For this, the cooperation of the police chief is necessary. I don't need his overt help, but I don't see how the job can be done if he refuses to talk to me. I notice that you say the piece is to be "based primarily on an interview with the Chief." Well, I don't think that's absolutely necessary.

3. Are you going to contact the Chief? Or, am I? I would prefer that you did it. It seems more legitimate and appropriate. You must remember that I am not even an official of your organization. Let me know about this.

4. I believe I returned all the background material you sent me. If so, please send it back to me now with anything else you have.

5. I would like more money and believe the job rates it. You'll recall, for one thing, that I've already invested some time in the false start we made. If I asked for $400 plus expenses would you feel I was gouging?

6. It would be useful if we could talk before I went to Little Rock. Is it your idea that I should come to Atlanta first? If so, I agree.

Thanks for thinking of me.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

February 3, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

We seem to have dropped the habit of exchanges of personal letters in favor of these business-type communications. A poor swap, and one which I propose to abandon.

But here is one more.

We are thinking again of the Little Rock police story and have decided that it is something we ought to do if possible. We would like to have it in print not earlier than July 1, and not later than early August. Although I understood clearly that you did not want to undertake it after the initial plans fell through, I thought that I would, because we don't have anyone else clearly in mind, write to see if it had become convenient for you to accept the assignment. The piece would still be a discription of how the Little Rock police force handled the riot last September, based primarily on an interview with the Chief. In addition, at this date, the article ought also to carry the story through its denouemant by a relatively short summary of the outcome of the trials of the dynamiters (which have now been concluded).

As I recall, we agreed last fall on the $300 plus travel expenses. If you feel like resuming interest in the job, we would of course want you to do so on the basis of mutually satisfactory terms.

Give my best to Jean.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

COPY

September 18, 1959

Chief Eugene G. Smith
Little Rock Police Department
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Chief Smith:

George McMillan informed us that you had decided the time was not ripe for an interview on the work of your police force in the school-opening excitement. The events of the last several weeks have certainly proved your judgment right.

We hope, however, that you will be willing to see Mr. McMillan when your problems have quieted. What you have been faced with in Little Rock can happen in cities anywhere, particularly in the Deep South, and all over the South there is interest in (and admiration for) your accomplishment. What we would like to publish is a straightforward account of the performance of your department, emphasizing the professional police methods which you have employed. We are sure that this would be of benefit and interest to other police and municipal officials, and it would be to them that the pamphlet would be principally distributed.

Mr. McMillan is well qualified for this assignment. Besides being a Southerner and deeply familiar with Southern societies, he was the official historian of the 1st Marine Division during World War II, and his book, titled The Old Breed, was widely applauded and respected. He has written for many magazines, such as Harpers, Colliers, Holiday, and Sports Illustrated.

I suggested to Mr. McMillan that he write you or call you again in a short while. We hope that the situation will then be calm enough for you to feel that you can talk with him.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

What should story contain?

1. A brief recap of situation Summer 1959: its dramatis personnae, world-wide spotlight, its show-down atmosphere, etc., recall fiasco of Sept. 1957

*2. The riots, and the police tactics

*3. (Following description of rioting as a sort of flash-back, or preceding it, as seems best.) Preparation for trouble: within police department; between police and city government; liaison (was there any?) with school administration, with local power structure people

*4. The bombings, and police work in apprehending those responsible

5. Attack on police force: by governor; by WCC spokesmen; during trials of bombers

6. Vindication of police force: by public opinion (examples); by convictions of bombers

How long?

From our viewpoint, 5-6,000 words would be best. Can it be done? I don't know. Can we set that as the target, and see where it naturally comes out?

Interview with Chief Smith?

1. Story need not be derived primarily from Chief's account.

2. A leisurely, thorough interview with him is necessary.

Other Sources?

1. Newspaper files - SRC

2. See all or some of the following:

Everett Tucker, President of School Board
Dean Dauley, City Manager
Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, head of Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools
Nat Griswold, Director of Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Mrs. Daisy Bates, NAACP head (board member SRC until last Fall)
C. S. Cartwright, pastor of Pulaski Heights Christian Church,

* These three parts should be about 80% of the article.

frequent Little Rock reporter for The Progressive, Nation, and other magazines, (SRC board member)
Boyd Ridgeway, Executive Secretary Chamber of Commerce
Terrell Powell, Superintendent of Schools
Hugh Patterson, Arkansas Gazette, or someone else on Gazette staff

Appointments

I am afraid of another snafu like the last one. All things considered, I think it best for McMillan to go out to work up his interviews when he gets there. There is, of course, a risk in doing so, but it is not more than the normal risk. Two things could be done in advance:

1. I can have Griswold or Mrs. Brewer ascertain that the Chief (and city manager too) will be in town during the time McMillan plans to be there;

2. McMillan could write to the Chief, just before leaving, referring to my letter of September 18, and telling him he is coming.

Fee

$400 plus transportation, plus $15 per diem while in travel - OK. However, because interview with Chief essential, if it is not granted the assignment will terminate, and commission will be $40 per day worked, plus transportation, and per diem while in travel. McMillan should spend one full day here before going to Little Rock; one day should be enough - another if necessary.

HFV
LWD

MEMORANDUM

March 20, 1960

file

TO: Leslie Dunbar

FROM: George McMillan GMcM

SUBJECT: Little Rock trip.

I first heard the news about Police Chief Smith yesterday, and I have been thinking about it and how it affects our project ever since.

My conclusion is that I can still bring it off without him, and I herewith suggest that we agree that I go ahead on the project.

It seems to me that what we have always meant to do is create a re-construction of his methods and his actions in the event. We had never meant to do a personality sketch nor a glorification of Smith as a man.

In some ways I believe I can probably do it better without him -- although I of course do not mean this to sound as callous as it perhaps does. That is, there will no longer be the element of his own prestige and reputation -- and preserving it with certain elements in Little Rock -- for him to protect.

In fact I think I can do a perfectly good job if I simply approach it as a typical research piece of work, going to Little Rock, interviewing newspaper men, the people SRC knows, some policemen, city officials, etc.

OK?

Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
March 23, 1960

Dear Leslie:

Earliest plane I can get arrives in Atlanta at 11:06 Monday morning. It will probably be 11:30 or 12 before I can get to your office.

I like this new idea so much better than the Little Rock idea we had been working on. The more I think about it, the more significant it seems.

Look forward to seeing you & doing the job.

Best,

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 28, 1960

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Mr. George McMillan is working on an assignment from the Southern Regional Council and your cooperation with him is requested.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 14, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I have read over a couple of times your memo, and I think it is better than you find it on your second reading. With one or two specific points I have trouble:

what do you mean by "gradualism" ?
when does governmental action lose the character of gradualism and become something else (e.g. is the district court's involvement gradualism) ?
has the situation "deteriorated" since 1954 ?
what do you mean specifically by "the time has come to enforce the decision of 1954"? enforce how?

You said you found the piece lacking in logic. If there is any illogicallity in the statement which I questioned above, viz. that the situation has deteriorated since 1954. I don't believe this is true. I believe it is true that race relations have since 1954 become much more raw, more tense. But I think a great deal of hypocrisy, deviousness, ambiguity (on both sides), and illusion have been abandoned. I think we are seeing some realignments of people and ideas necessary to the finding of new social patterns. I think your memo does court inconsistency by saying on the one hand that things have gotten worse and saying on the other hand that the Negroes have won the strategic battle, when you make it clear that you think they ought to win.

If I have any suggestion, it is this: hold on to your general theme -- elaborate it chiefly by reference to the issues of voting and the usefulness of the civil rights acts. You will not, of course, overlook the sit-ins, but I think you would be on surer ground to emphasize the political rights. This is because your whole proposal relates to the success of government action to date and the need for more of it.

I am looking for you over here whenever you can come, and a chance to talk all around the subject. If I get any more thoughts I will send them to you and we'll keep on picking up things from our file that I think you may be interested in.

How comes <u>our</u> piece?

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: memorandum
news clips

Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
March 18, 1960

file

Dear Leslie:

You may be interested to know that I have sent the attached memo to my agent with the suggestion that she try it on a couple of magazines.

If I cannot sell it there, I will go back to Friendly at th4 Washington Post. For him, I'll do an outline, breaking the ideas up into a series of articles. Etc.

I'll let you know what happens.

Best,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3
Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, SOUTH CAROLINA

March 17, 1960

Dear Leslie:

Al Friendly was out, expected to be back today sometime from a vacation. I talked with Ben Gilbert, city editor, and a closer personal friend of mine than is Friendly.

Their problem would be that they have a woman reporter to whom they promised the integration cridis reporting job when Baker left. But she got caught in covering Virginia legislature and De Shaw (sp?) was thrown in the breach. However, if "big" series was to be done, Gilbert and Friendly might feel that she would have to be given the assignment.

My reply was that I wanted to do only background: that I did not want to do spot coverage. And, couldn;t he and Al make that distinction with their staff? But, it was not of course appropriate for me to tell him how to run his newspaper.

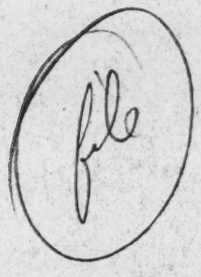
We left it that I will call Al tomorrow unless Al calls me sonner. Coverage, more thorough coverage, of the sit-down demonstrations was, and is, to be one of the first things discussed when Friendly returned.

I'll let you know what happens, and thanks for calling me & sending me the piece.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia



Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
Monday, May 2, 1960

Dear Leslie:

I'm enclosing carbon of the LOOK piece. I mailed it last night. I learned from a phone conversation with the managing editor last Friday that he intends to use it in the next issue. That means it will be on the stands July 5, he said. This of course depends onwhether they like the piece; they hadn't seen it when he said that.

I'll let you know their reaction when I hear from them.

Meanwhile, assuming the piece will -- even if it must be edited or rewritten -- eventually make a piece for LOOK, will you read it carefully for mistakes? And for false impressions I have left behind me? The most reassuring thing is that the liked the memo, and the piece is down the line on the memo.

I am ready to take up our pamphlet where I left off. Will you return the manuscript to me?

I think your friend Collins used you a little bit; I'm enclosing clip of interview with him from Augusta paper.

Don't publish this to the Dolinskys yet but Kit got a letter this morning from Swarthmore turning him down. I don't think they knew he was a merit scholar. That notification went only to Harvard. It might have made a difference to Swarthmore to know that they did not have to give him a scholarship themselves. And it might not have.

Sincerely,

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
May 3, 1960

Dear Leslie:

You will find enclosed what is probably the most honest expense account I every submitted.

On the five-day trip my total expenses were: $225.43.

You advanced me $150.00

The difference now owing me is $75.43.

As the business letters say, I will appreciate your early attention to this matter.

I hope by now you have sent me back the unfinished manuscript.

Sincerely,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Duhbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta
Georgia

May 6, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I have thought more about the other Dunbar's idea that you use our name in your opening. I will, if you wish, speak to Harold about it, but I won't recommend that we approve. We are pleased for Look to associate you with us in whatever biographical or identifying note is carried. And I, at least, would have no objection to a reference at some late point in your piece, something like say, "Recently, while in Little Rock on an assignment from the SRC, I was told....." This I would be willing to ask Harold to concur with though, frankly, it is a little like name-dropping. But to introduce the article by a reference to your work with us is not, I think, in the best of taste, and I hope it won't be done.

Sorry about Harpers; are you going to try elsewhere? Why not Reporter?

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

file

Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
May 9, 1960 (Monday morning)

Dear Leslie:

You'll find enclosed the revised version of the LOOK piece about which I have just talked with you on the phone.

Everything up to the middle of page 4 will be new to you. It represents my attempt to fill an editor's request that I make the threat of violence more explicit.

From there on, the principal changes represent either (1) additional documentation in quotes, statistics, etc of some of the general statements I made, or (2) changes of fact, mostly made at your wise suggestion.

You will notice, for example, that I have changed the descript of the Wilkins-King summit meeting.

Asit stands, the piece is quite long. I suspect that it will be cut in New York, but I decided to let them take the 500 or so words of overage out.

What I want you to do form me, if you will, is go over the whole thing with a fine tooth comb. Call me znd tell me about any inaccuracies, or even suspicions of inaccuracies, you may have!

As I told you on the phone, the last word I have had about its use came from my agent who said the piece would appear as the lead piece in the issue of July 5 which hits the stands June 21.

A personal note: Ginny learned the other day that she has been turned down on her application for a Fulbright exchange teaching post. We think it is probably just as well that we're in the country at least during Kit's first year in college.

Best,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

are allotted to the teacher for classroom use. There is no provision for funds for elementary school libraries. A teacher may thus have as little as $30.00 per year for all the materials mentioned.

Junior and Senior High schools in Aiken County have libraries. Kennedy Junior High School has 1,200 books serving some 500 pupils. Aiken Junior High library consists of 2,158 books serving 543 pupils. The Senior High School has 6,000 volumes for 800 students.

ALA standards state that 6,000-10,000 books are minimal in schools having 200-999 students. ALA standards emphasize, however, that a book collection is qualitative and that the range for size is not necessarily proportionate to the size of enrollment. 200 pupils could effectively use a stock of 10,000 books.

* * * * * * * *

The writers recognize that this report is an oversimplification. Perhaps it is unfair in spots. Because the survey was conducted by volunteers, there was insufficient time for an exhaustive study.

However, the study does suggest that a more thorough investigation of Aiken's library facilities should be made. The existing resources are obviously deficient for effective service to the people of Aiken County.

Mary Kinard
Donald C. Sanders

Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
May 11, 1960

file

Dear Leslie:

I talked with Ernest Dunbar, senior editor at LOOK, about the question of using SRC's name in my piece. He said, when I talked with this morning, that he understood, and that it would be OK not to use the name.

In fact, he said that the "big people" there really like the first version best. The change they wanted waw to have the piece geared even more closely into the sit-down strikes.

Incidentally, it appears that a final decision has not yet been made to use the piece. All the big shots are in Florida this week at some kind of publishers' convention. The final decision will not be made until they return -- actually it is to be made at an editorial conference next Monday, May 16.

~~I'll let you know what happens~~.

He said they all liked it very much. I'll let you know what happens.

Best,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

are allotted to the teacher for classroom use. There is no provision for funds for elementary school libraries. A teacher may thus have as little as $30.00 per year for all the materials mentioned.

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* * * * * * * *

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However, the study does suggest that a more thorough investigation of Aiken's library facilities should be made. The existing resources are obviously deficient for effective service to the people of Aiken County.

Mary Kinard
Donald C. Sanders

Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
May 14, 1960

Dear Leslie:

I thought you might be interested in the following exceppt from a letter I received this morning from Ernest Dunbar at LOOK:

"Bill Arthur, our Managing Editor, has just returned and assures me that the Board likes the article, and it will run with the changes we have discussed, and minus the "Balance."

The "balance" he refers to is some stuff he had intended to add, along with the revisions in my second draft. Now, presumably the piece will resemble my first draft very closely.

And, as far as I know, there is no longer any ~~concern-about-the-mention-of-SRC,~~ reason for concern about the mention of SRc. Dunbar (Ernest) has agreed, however, to send me galleys, and I will check them carefully to be sure that SRC's name is not used in vain.

We are all in a pit of gloom about Kit and college. We are making applications today to Columbia (New York City) and Haverford. I've talked with both long distance, and both are ready at least to look at an application from Kit. Our choice of these two is Haverford. But we have no assurance that he will be accepted at either. Anyway, if you have any suggestions, please let us know.

Sincerely,

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

May 17, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, S. C.

Dear George:

I am enclosing a clip which documents your Little Rock point and also Dan Wakefield's recent article in The Nation. The record of the number of Negro children in white schools in North Carolina is as follows:

	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60
Charlotte	4 *	4	1
Durham (Durham Co.)	-	-	7
Greensboro	6	5	5
Goldsboro (Wayne Co.)	-	1	14
High Point-Guilford	-	-	2
Havelock (Cherry Point, Craven County)	-	-	17
Winston Salem	1	4	7
Total	11	14	53

* One withdrew after harassment

Give Kit my best and tell him he has been through worse than this before. Either Columbia or Haverford would be excellent. If Tony were college age now, I would be encouraging him to think seriously of Chapel Hill; and Brandeis is one of the places which I expect

to take Linda to first next month: I suspect there is not a more interesting faculty anywhere, expecially in the social sciences.

This reminds me of another matter. I am expecting to get away beginning June 10 and will be gone two weeks. I would like to have your peice ready for printing before I go. This would mean having it here by about May 27, or earlier if possible. Do you think it can be done?

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

file

June 3, 1960

Dear Leslie:

Thqnks for sending me copies of the NATION. Although I vote against letting that magazine print my law enforcement report first, I feel I should report the following extract from a letter I received today from Carey McNilliams, the editor:

"Do keep in mind the possibility of letting us do all or a part of the report on law enforcement. After all, this would be a way of bringing it to the attention of an important audience before the Southern Regional Douncil did it as a pamphlet, and we would of course release rights to them, or if they wanted to they could save themselves some money and buy reprints directly from us."

Would you like to write Mr. McWilliams about this, or would you prefer to ~~give me some~~ measage to relgy to him?

Best,

George

333 Sixth Avenue
New York 14, N.Y.

Leslie Dunbar, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Original in LWS - personal

June 5, 1959

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

This is in answer to several letters.

Your comments about the "Race and News" subject are excellent; at any rate I agree with you fully and have been acting upon the same line of reasoning. I think I mentioned to you when you were here that we had invited Walter Spearman, of the Journalism school at Chapel Hill, to do a study for us of news treatment since 1954. He has since agreed and is currently at work. He seems to be a very able fellow and a man who knows what the requirements of our sort of communication are.

Much as I would like to, I could not possibly get your help, editorially or in a re-write capacity, on the Voters Survey. As a matter of fact, Margaret Price seems more than a little touchy about my editorial perogatives. She will have to put up with that. But I could not get away, or even begin to, with the suggestion of calling in another professional writer.

These responses to your welcome indication of interest in working with us are discouraging and not the ones I would like to offer. George, be patient with me. I am terribly eager to recruit the best people I can to write for the Council. I have the feeling that in past years, particularly since the going got rough, the quality of the Council's publications has been influenced too heavily by accident. With the few things that

I have got underway so far, I have endeavored to turn up the ablest person available--the right economist, the right professor of Journalism, the right professor of Education. It is our loss that you are not doing something for us, and if you will give me time I hope to remedy that; at least to give you a chance to say "no". Harold, you will be interested to know, is interested also in putting you to work.

Send on your chapter for me to read (although I resent your statement that I am better qualified to comment on this one, whatever it is, than on the one you did on churches. I don't like my competency on matters clerical and religious to be impugned).

Peggy and I are thinking about your suggestion that we rendezvous in North Carolina. Peggy will write to Virginia sometime soon.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

June 9, 1960

Dear Leslie:

Can you see and talk with me if I come to Atlanta next Wednesday or Thursday, June 15 or June 16? I've reached an agreement with The Nation and I want to do some research -- pick your brains on what the south is going to do at the democratic convention.

The trip will also give us a chance to talk about my law enforcement report -- which I hope to have in your hands on Monday or Tuesday.

Let me know if Wednesday or Thursday is OK.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

June 10, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, S. C.

Dear George:

I am glad you are in a position to see a definite date for the conclusion of the law enforcement report, and am looking forward to receiving it Monday or Tuesday.

With this behind you, I am glad too that you will stay in the lists. The Nation is a good outlet, provided it makes things worthwhile for you, which I assume is the case. Come on over.

However, Peggy is pushing me to take off from here next Thursday, instead of Friday as planned, and though I haven't yet agreed I expect at this stage my agreement is a mere formality, unless I can't get away from the office. So, could you make it Wednesday?

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 15, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

In the interstices of a hectic day I have tried to think of names of people whom you might see in Atlanta. Frankly, I doubt that it is worth your while to go to the expense of coming over here. I think it unlikely you will learn anything you don't already surmise. Possibly you could best use your time, if you came, not by talking but by digging through our clipping files on politics.

In addition to Harold, the only names that I can suggest to you are Ralph McGill and Peter Zack Geer, the governor's administrative assistant. It goes without saying that we can't pave the way for you to the latter.

B Best of luck.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. George Mitchell's address is: c/o Mr. Morris Mitchell, Putney School, Putney, Vermont.

For MA, on return

Yeah? Having spent about 2 hours selecting them and copying this ramble. 1/2 P.A., where were you?

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

June 24, 1960

Dear Harold:

MA was so kind

Will you please give my thanks to the member of your staff who so kindly sent me a fine collection of clippings having to do with pre-convention political activity?

They arrived the morning after I called you.

Thanks again,

George

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

July 25, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Your article in Look came out while I was away, and I advertised it to everyone I saw. I think, as you must have inferred from my earlier reaction, that it is first-rate, one of the very few incisive, truthful evaluations which have appeared. You ought to be fully satisfied with it.

I also read with interest when it was published your Nation piece.

I am disappointed that your manuscript is not yet in, though I don't know what your situation may have been. As you can well appreciate, the reader interest which was available for this report has now probably slipped, and when it finally comes out we shall have to be pretty skillful, if we can, in relating the three reports to general, on-going issues.

Our original understanding with you was that you would do the three local reports, and that we would supply the introductory interpretation. Although I was delighted when you said you wanted to essay the latter too, perhaps it would be better now to return to the first plan. What we have in hand is a good report on Chattanooga; a story on Little Rock which seems not quite finished; and nothing on Montgomery. As soon as you can write up Montgomery, and make whatever changes and additions to Chattanooga and Little Rock you want, we can begin to move. I am afraid that at the speediest, no publication before school opening is possible; I would still like to see it out early this Fall.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:a

Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
July 26, 1960

Dear Leslie:

I am terribly sorry to have let you down so badly about my law enforcement manuscript. I am going back to work on it tomorrow morning. If you will allow me just a few more days' grace, I want to undertake the interpretation. If that seems to be something I really can't handle, then I will pass the script back to you.

The difficulty with the piece has been to get back to it once I put it aside. It is a victim of the LOOK piece. This does not mean that I cannot do it now. In fact, I am getting somewhat steamed up about it. I think the sitdowns -- which have never really stopped if you read the papers carefully -- are going to start up again. Only a few minutes ago, on my way back home from the postoffice, I head a long radio news account about sit down riots in Greenville, South Carolina, last night in which 500 white and Negro "students" were involved.

I think, in other words, the pamphlet is still timely, and I do not believe you've lost any readers.

In fact, Leslie, I have been very busy. I did the work on the pamphlet for you, I did the LOOK piece, I did the NATION piece, and then, suddenly, I had to do a piece about which I had forgotten.

Months ago I talked with George Rice, United Fund man in Augusta who once wrote the "Rice Report" on Aiken at request of local United Fund, about my book. As result of that discussion he asked me to present the chapter I was writing -- the company man and private charity -- to a regional conference of which he was program chairman. It is called something like the Blue Ridge Institute of Community Fund and Social Work Executives.

When Rice prodded me three or four weeks ago about my "paper" I was going to deliver, I went back to look at the chapter I had written, was dismayed at it, and set down to re-do it. This took two weeks.

And the job itself caused me to reflect. My writing had gone absolutely to hell. The parts of the book I took up again a few weeks ago were simply awful, discursive, badly-organized, unfocussed and often precious and affected. This depressed me in a way, and pleased and encouraged me in another way. It was depressing to realize what a funk I had allowed myself to get into, and it was heartening to know that I was showing signs of being out of it.

I did something for Rice and his conference -- and am enclosing a copy which I hope you will find some opportunity to read.

(more)

It is not a chapter for my book; it is not yet satisfactoryily focussed. I wrote it for what it says it is -- a case history of a United Fund for the edification of professional United Fund people. Considering that I wrote it -- from scratch -- very hastily, without any chance to rewrite at all, I think it is rather well done. As a piece of writing, it encourages me.

My reception athe conference was absolutely fantastic. I did not read my "paper" as a paper. I simply got up and talked to the some 150 people -- the meeting was at that Blue Ridge Assembly, Black Mountain, North Carolina. I let the c ompnay man have it; I let reactionary corporations have it; I let private charity have it. And, by God, they stood up and cheered! Rice has asked me if I would be willing to speak to other conferences. I have received several fan letters already, although I've been back only a few days. And I could hardly leave the place for people who surrounded me and wanted to talk with me, many to tell me that they had run into the same kinds of things in their own communities.

This encouraged me about my book and its material. The audience was really most interested in the company man stuff I told them. I am very eager at this moment to get back to it, to sharpen it, and to pull together a tight indictment, without too much social "detachment".

This makes me all the more eager to dispatch the pamphlet. I do, however, have other freelance assignments in various stages of work. HOLIDAY, for example, has shown interest in a little outline I did on a part of the Caolina Coast -- Hilton Head, and has asked me to do a "Shunpike" tour of the area. They pay well. As Harold may have told you, I submitted an outline to my agent called, "The Pivot: The Negro Vote in the 1960 Election." I've had word that LOOK has turned it down ("loaded with election material") and that LIFE is considering it. I suspect I'm too late with this idea. READER'S DIGEST is considering my LOOK piece for possible reprint, but I don't count on that one! Etc.

Please!

I am thinking of suggesting to someone that I go to the CORE school in Miami to be held, as I recall, sometime in August. Can you tell me the date? Can you give me the name of someone to whom I might write about it?

One evening I wandered away from my own conference, picked up literature about some "Ecumenical" meeting being held there at the same time, noticed the name of a Negro leader in the National Council of Churches, looked him up, and started to talk with him. Beside him at the time was this tall, blue-eyed fella I would have taken for a folk singer, or perhaps the minister of a rural church -- very sincere, very prosaic. He told me his name was Stokely, but it wasn't until we talked a long time that I connected. It turned out that Stokely and his wife were to address the Ecumenical conference that evening. I went. I met Wilma Dykeman, and afterwards we had a big, BIG discussion in which your courtly Mr. Dabbs joined. In fact, somebody came along and took a picture of the Dukemans, Dabbs and McMillan all together.

(more)

As you will suspect, I was much more radical than Dabbs or the Stokeleys. As I talked the Negro leader joined up, and then so did a couple of other Negroes. As so often happens, when they began to believe that I was really on their side, they jumped in to help. What the Negroes said was far more convincing than anything I said about the failure of gradualism. They had obviously had it with moderation!

I saw again up there a fella named Jim Fogarty who in the 1951-52 period here was regional director (out of Atlanta) for United Community Defense Services. He asked about you particularly. He is now dean of the school of social work at Fordham University in New York City.

This letter has gone on far too long, but I might as well finish my budget of news....

Virginia received a telegram something like two weeks ago asking her if she would be willing to go to Turkey to teach. Since then, she learns that she has been recommended to the Turkish government and that she will probably receive an offer. There are many difficulties. The biggest is that she must let her people know here in Aiken before August 1 if she is to be able to resign without prejudice. And the pace of things doesn't lead one to think that the whole situation will be worked out by then. Other difficulties arise out of the fact that, as we've learned from friends, only a couple of cities in Turkey can be comfortably lived in by Americans, Ankara and Istanbul. Anyway, it is perfectly possible that she may take off in a couple of weeks or so. I am going to stay behind for a while, to finish my book and get Kit settled in college. But it may not work out at all.

Kit has been working very hard as you know.

That's it, for now.

Best,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta Georgia

July 27, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, S.C.

Dear George:

Many thanks for your long and most interesting letter. I'll reply at more length when I have a chance to read your paper. In the meantime, I am glad you met Mr. Dabbs as well as the Stokleys, whom I don*t know very well.

Your plans for manuscripts are appealing.

I don't know much about the CORE Miami meeting, except that it was scheduled for August 14 to September 5., CORE's address is 38 Park Row, New York 38. Gordon R. Carey is field secretary, and James R. Robinson is executive secretary; Marvin Rich is Community Relations director. Which one of these people would be your best contact I don't know. The fact is that we have had very little communication with CORE; there is a small chapter here but we know little about it. Maybe your easiest contact would be with James T. McCain, another field secretary; I don't know him myself but others here do, and he is close by you. The last address we had is 317 W. Bartlette Street, Sumpter, S.C.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

file

August 21, 1960

Dear Leslie:

It is Sunday night and I do not have the script completed. I do have a complete draft and I am about half through editing it. I have not stewed, nor have I been going in circles. It is just that the damned thing seems to go so slowly! I cannot refuse to go to the mountains tomorrow with Virginia and Kit, but I am going to take the script and my typewriter with me, and work up there. Perhaps the mountain air will help. I am very sorry & as eager to be through with it as you are to have me through.

Sorry,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

P. S. I'll call you midweek or so from the mountains to let you know how I'm getting along.

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

file

August 30, 1960

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for sending excellent speech. Very simple, and very explicit. I had hoped to finish script for you today, but I was interrupted. Du Pont sent publicity man down from Wilmington to talk with me. He was of course most pleasant, etc, etc. But he did stay a long time -- with a bottle [redacted] of bourbon he pulled out of his brief case. Nothing came of the talk; he was just snooping I think. Anyway, I'm hard at work and with renewed spirit because of the immediacy our script has now, what withincidents at Jacksonville. May I consier the job for Kit for a couple of days? Thanks very much for thinking of him.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

September 8, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

NEED MANUSCRIPT URGENTLY. WHAT CAN YOU DO?

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
September 15, 1960

Dear Leslie:

I am writing this at 10;45 p.m., and I still must pack to leave early in the morning.

I am enclosing the study of law enforcement manuscript, 38 pages of it. I have not written the summary of conclusions at the end which I discussed with you a couple of times. I have run entirely out of steam. I am numb.

I have some good notes for that section at the end; I am simply too exhausted to organize them and put them in forceful shape. I do not think it will be too late to do this when I return to Aiken at the end of next week.

What's more, I have said a great deal of what I have to say in the sections themselves. As you see, the thing is organized now into three sections, three city narratives, with a comment section at the end of each.

I really think the thing tells it own story now. There are just one or two things I think might be said. Perhaps you would like to try to make some comment at the end. Or, get some prominent southerner, or lawyer, or somebody like that to make a comment.

Znyway, you've got a pretty good hunk of manuscript here to work on. I am sure it must be wordy in places. I have not had the time (?) to go back over it and edit it for hay. I have been careful with facts. I'll stand on them.

I am not sure yet where I'll be staying in New York. I don't have a firm reservation. I'll let you know the minute I unpack my bags.

I know how discouraged you must have been at times about this project. I am terribly sorry, and hope all the more, therefore, that you like what you are now going to read.

Warmest,

George McMillan

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Hotel Delmonico
PARK AVENUE AT 59TH STREET
New York
TELEPHONE ELDORADO 5-2500

402

Sunday Morning
Sept 18, 1960

Leslie —

After 48 hours' reflection — and after a talk with Ben Gilbert, city editor of Washington Post — I now definitely believe I should do a summary at the end of the points about law enforcement which may or may not be implicit in the script.

You can reach me here, at the Hotel Delmonico

George McGill —

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

file

September 25, 1960

Dear Leslie:

I am back in Aiken and ready to make whatever revisions are necessary in the law enforcement pamphlet. I saw Oscar Cohen, among a great many other people in New York, liked him, but wasn't able to work anything out with him at this moment. He says he's glad to know about me. Had much good luck elsewhere, however.

Let me hear from you.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

SENDER WAITING

TELEGRAPH ANSWER

TERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

Chg

1960 SEP 26 PM 5 11

A AKA026 17 NL COLLECT=AIKEN SOCAR 26=

LESLIE DUNBAR=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNSEL 5 FORSYTH ST ATLA=

CANT DO SUMMARY AND ADDS WITHOUT SCRIPT BEFORE ME AND YOU HAVE ONLY COPY PLEASE ADVISE=

GEORGE MCMILLAN==

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

September 26, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

AGREE WE NEED CONCISE SUMMARY. ALSO A PARAGRAPH IN LITTLE ROCK DEFINING AND SUMMARIZING THAT EPISODE. PLEASE RUSH. I WILL BE CALLING WEDNESDAY OR THURSDAY TO DISCUSS OTHER POINTS. WE LIKE IT.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

Charge Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
JA 2-8764

September 29, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Please go over the changes we have suggested and mail the copy back as quickly as you can.

On your original draft you will see that I have underlined some passages. One line indicates phrasing that seems to me worth keeping. Two lines means an idea that is interesting and which I would like for you to consider using. Don't, however, let the relative length of the Chattanooga section grow.

The summary ought to be as brief as you can make it. I have been thinking about a maximum of two pages.

We will re-type the whole before sending to the printers. If there would be any help to you in having it done at your end, go ahead and let me have the bill.

We are ready to print as soon as you get this back. We want it out the first of November, which means that we have very little time.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Note: we have thermafax copy of your manuscript.
thermafax copy of original draft included with manuscript

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

October 4, 1960

Dear Leslie:

I welcomed your suggestion that I get the piece re-typed. I looked it over carefully, to make sure the typist understood, and then carried it off. I am to have it back by tomorrow night, and see no reason why I cannot put it in the mail to you Wednesday night. That means you should have it Friday morning latest.

I like practically all of your changes, and readily accept them. I will weld those underlined passages back into the script. And I will write a short summary. ~~Without~~ I ~~it~~ should be delivering a pretty clean mss. to you.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

October 5, 1960

Dear Leslie:

Here is the script. I have a copy. I've asked the local Letter Shop to send you a [redacted] bill for the typing job.

I accepted practically all of the suggestions and changes you made directly on the manuscript. I inserted practically all of the passges you underlined in the thermo-faxed mss. I have also written a summary. It is not what I had in mind. It contains a useful point I want to make, but it may be too bare as it stands. I leave it up to you. I decided it was better to get the script back to you than to attempt to re-think the whole thing which is what I would have to do to write a better summary. That might have taken a couple of days.

I have a carbon. Hope everything is Ok, but if it isn't Ill have something to put in front of me when you call.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

file

October 7, 1960

Dear Leslie:

Your summary paragraph on Little Rock is OK by me. I have edited it somewhat (to get the hay out) and am returning a revised verson herewith. I won't call you.

I have been meaning for some time to ask you whether or not it will be possible for you to send copies of the pamphlet to a list of people I think might like to see it?

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
[redacted]
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

October 10, 1960

Dear Leslie:

Two small things. Somebody has given me tickets for the Georgia Tech-Tennessee football game November 5. I'm gonna bring Virginia & we would like to spend night with you if that's convenient? Yes? No? Second thing: what is John Griffin's address? At what Florida university does he teach? I have book of his I would like to return.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

M E M O R A N D U M

October 18, 1960

TO: Leslie Dunbar, Southern Regional Council

FROM: George McMillan, Box 299, Aiken, S. C. GSMcM.

SUBJECT: Publication of Paul Wehr thesis on the sit-downs.

You have told me that Oscar Cohen is interested in joint publication with SRC of a master's thesis by Paul Wehr.

I have just this minute finished reading the Wehr thesis which was sent to me by Miss Ruth Searles of the UNC Institute for Research In Social Science.

It is an unusually good thesis, and with editing deserves publication as a significant document on the sit-down movement.

As it stands it is about 40,000 words. I believe it could be cut without serious damage to about 15,000 words. Perhaps even 10,000. And improved by the cutting. Judged by the standards of thesis-writing, Wehr's manuscript is unusually well-written, short on jargon, and its concepts clearly expressed.

The job that needs to be done is not so much sentence by sentence editing as it is one of cutting material that is now clearly dated or even in some cases contradicted. Plus, the job of rearranging: his last two chapters should be combined to make a first chapter. Much of the material on Method can be cut, etc, etc.

I offer myself as editor. As editor and also as the person to write a chapter bringing the study up-to-date: that is to say, principally to write a chapter on the recent Atlanta meeting and its significance.

How about it?

October 20, 1960
(dictated October 19)

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

This is in answer to two of your letters. We'll reply later about the use of the law enforcement article in other places.

John Griffin's address is: Office of University Relations, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

I am glad you found the Wehr thesis interesting. As I think I told you, I am dubious we will do anything with it, either on our own or in cooperation with ADL. Oscar Cohen is to bring it down here with him when he comes to see us late in November. It is, of course, premature for me to say anything about it before we look at it. And I don't want to ask for it ahead of that time. Of course if we do not participate in getting it before the great reading public, and if Oscar goes ahead without us, he might be interested in your assistance. I'll keep you advised.

Please don't forget to send back the stuff.

We are supposed to have big sit-ins today in Atlanta. How this comes off may help to answer your problem.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 24, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I have discussed your letter with Harold and John and they agree with me that there would be no objection at this end to your placing the material elsewhere; in fact, we would all applaud heartily if you could. They agree with me also, however, in a few conditions, which we hope you can work with all right:

1. Our publication will not be delayed. As things are moving, we hope to be out early in November.

2. That there be no prior publication elsewhere. We would not object to simultaneous publication and, if it involved only a day or so, would time our release to coincide.

3. The entire thing not be published in any one place. We would not object to serialization; we simply do not want the whole report in any one place except between our covers.

4. We get credit in a form approved by us in advance. Something like this would do: "Excerpted from (or, "a chapter from" or "based on") Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, written by George McMillan for the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga." We would be receptive to other forms.

The galleys came in Friday and I hope to return them this afternoon or tomorrow morning. I am sending you a corrected set which you may get off to your agent. Final page proofs will come later, but I think that would be too close to publication to do you any good.

We are printing 10,000. We have decided to make it the November issue of New South, and some 5,500-6,000 will go to New

South subscribers, with the masthead on the inside front cover. The remainder will not carry the masthead.

As to offering the proofs to the wire services in advance, or to interesting anyone in doing a feature, I have shown your letter to John. He will be making any publicity plans we have.

When you read the galleys you will notice a few small changes which I made in your copy. I hope they are all right. If not, let me know quick. I have marked them on the galley with a small red check.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

HF ✓

JC

I'd like to pass this over to you all. I would have no objection provided (1) we are not scooped (2) we are given proper credit, in a form approved by us in advance (3) the entire thing must be published in any one place.

Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
October 18, 1960

Dear Leslie:

I think we both have something to gain from exploring the possibilities of simultaneous publication of material in my forthcomign law enforcement study.

I say, "explore," because that is exactly what you have to do in these cases. You simply lhave to offer the material to people and let them decide. You cannot predict in advance whether they will want it.

I agree, with the conditions you stipulate. However, not if it will mean more protracted delay. H

1. I would like to send final galleys of the pamphlet to my agent, asking her to submit it to a list of publications which I would draw up with your approval. These might include LIFE, LOOK, HARPER's, and several others. You simply cannot predict what a magazine's needs and purposes are at any given moment. It costs nothing to try, to submit. Although somewhat dated, the Chattanooga story would seem to be to be a possible self-contained magazine article. Or, some editor might want to cut the whole thing, the three incidents, down to the length of one magazine article.

2. I definitely believe the galleys should be offered in advance to the press associations and syndicates. I think there is an excellent press association Sunday feature in the study. You might suggest such a feature to Bem Price, for example.

3. It is possible that certain newspapers might be interested in running large excerpts from the study. The Sunday Washsington Post now carries one long (3,000 words plus) feature of significance each Sunday. I thought I might suggest to Friendly that he use the Chattanooga story as one of these features. The Atlanta paper might be willing to do that.

The 2nd and 3rd pts. are fine but I wonder if some delay might not result if we attempted to give magazines the time to consider this and To work anything into their format. If Geo. thinks delay not too great, then fine. H

To return to Point One. I have no assurance, as I've said that anyone would be interested. If, however, a ma azine showed interest, would you accept an agreement with me where we split royalties 50-50, after paying my agent her 10 per cent fee? That is, if some magazine offered $500 for the material in the study, my agent would get $50.00, and each of us would get $225.00.

Please give me your comment on this letter. When will the galleys be available?

Sincerely,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

File

October 25, 1960

Dear Leslie:

The conditions which you put on simultaneous publication of my law enforcement pamphlet are either satisfactory or, at this point, academic.

The most important thing has gone unmentioned. I mean, royalties. It is quite unlikely at this point that my agent can sell any of the script to a magazine. But, I am going to send her galleys; if she can, may I have the royalties, minus the ten percent which I must pay her?

You have relaxed into the deplorable habit of yours of writing in long hand. I seriously ask you please to refrain. I really cannot read the footnote on your letter of October 24. I only get the word Faubus.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(over)

P. S. I think I asked you in a recent letter whether you'd be willing to mail copies of the law enforcement pamphlet to a mailing list of 10 or so people I would submit to you? Will you?

October 25, 1960

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Co.
302 Hayden, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear John:

Please print 10,000 copies of Racial Violence and Law Enforcement per the corrected galleys. The New South masthead is to be placed on the inside front cover of 6,000 copies; the other 4,000 copies should not carry the masthead.

As you will recall, we are desirous of releasing this pamphlet early in November.

The union label is on the outside back cover.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. Will you please make sure that the union label is placed on the outside back cover of Georgia's Divided Education also?

October 26, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, S. C.

Dear George:

Sorry I overlooked your question about mailing out copies. Of course we will do so. Send me your list of names and you need not keep it to ten, or anything close to that.

I don't think we are concerned about the fee you may get for selling the article--as yousay, the whole question is academic now, but if you do sell it I personally think you deserve the credit, and the cash.

Got the trumpet.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

October 28, 1960

Dear Leslie:

I am sending this to you so that you and John Constable will have the chance to point out anything in it that is foul. I've already mailed it to THE REPORTER, but there is always time for some changes.

I submitted the piece with many misgivings about its essential accuracy. This is unusual for me; my misgivings usually are over style not over subject matter. But here I very much do not want to do anything that will hurt the sit-downers. Yet, I felt I had to tell the story as I saw it -- even though I was not sure I had really seen it.

Would you call me Monday if you have any suggestions to make?

Best,

George

PS - Please don't show the piece around generally, in your office, only.

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

File

Wednesday
November 1, 1960

Dear Leslie:

No hurry about this one. I am simply exploring. On basis of talk with student leader from Knoxville A & M I was led to believe that Knoxville stands as one of best examples of permanent gain from the sit-downs. He said that committee created there was really working out well, with continuing gains being made.

Looks to me like a good magazine piece for somebody. Can you furnish me any clips or other background on the Knoxville situation?

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

November 6, 1960

file

Dear Leslie:

You put your finger on it, all right! The REPORTER has turned down the sit-down piece because "it raises more questions than it answers." I am a little miffed they didn't give me a chance to re-work it, but that's the way the cookie crumbles. It's very disappointing. Please don't pass this news around, even to your associates. I may be a le to salvage something from the piece, yet. And defeat breeds defeat.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

688031

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

November 10, 1960

Dear Leslie:

I have several notions about salvaging out my work on the sitdown movement. So, just to keep in touch, did the students demonstratate on Election Day? As you will recall, this is one of the few things they overtly resolved to do at the October workshop. I have seen no signs of the plan being carried. Unless the newspapers ignored them entirely, the students [redacted] must not have done it.

Did they? And, if they didn't, do you know [redacted] why? How [redacted] would I reach Jane Stembridge? Is that the correct spelling of her last name?

Thanks for the Knoxville stuff.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Fossyth Street,
Atlanta, Georgia

Jackson Pa
Wall

P.S. I was pleased by the election returns

November 14, 1960

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, S. C.

Dear George:

I haven't looked into it especially, but the only election day demonstrations I have noticed were in Jackson, Tenn; Washington, D.C.; and New York. Here in Atlanta twelve students from Emory demonstrated, but that was all.

Jane Stembridge is no longer with the Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Her home address and telephone number are:

I have been in a funk for several days whenever I think about your pamphlet. The printer's wife had a baby and in the ensuing excitement the page proofs got misplaced; by the time he reconnected with reality, all chance of getting the job out as promised had evaporated. We now have a definite promise of books this Friday. I'll send you a few right away; let me know how many more you want and the names of people to whom you want them mailed from here.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

November 19, 1960

Dear Leslie:

Just got my copy of the law enforcement pamphlet. It looks fine. niee margins, clean typeface, nice heads, striking cover. I'm proud of it. Will you please send me 25 copies, about 15 with envelopes? I think it might be better if I mailed the copies out with a ~~xxxxx~~ personal note. I'll take the rap for the postage.

Will you send me some of the press reaction to the pamphlet when, and if, you get any?

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

HF ✓
MA-file

Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
November 29, 1960

Dear Leslie:

This is to thank you for the batch of press clippings on the law enforcement pamphlet and the articles on the elections. I am doubly grateful for the NATION and NEW REPUBLIC pieces since the local library carries neither publication.

I considered for a moment the question of whether or not it would be wise to issue some rebuttal to the rebuttal from Safety Commissioner Dunlap in Chattanooga. I think it's best to let it go. He has ignored what I said, and pretended that I said something I didn't say. All we could do is say what we did say and we've done that.

Best,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

HF ✓
LD

File

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

December 6, 1960

Dear Leslie:

I noticed in the Times the other day announcement of the opening of the 11th annual competition for the Sidney Hillman award. As you probably know, a Sidney Hillman Foundation gives annual prizes for of $500 for best works in civil liberties, etc in daily and periodical journalism. It occurred to me that you, sitting where you are, might possibly be asked to make recommendations. If so, what do you think of my LOOK article as a candidate? If you want to take the initiative, the address where entries should be submitted is: Sidney Hillman Foundation, 15 Union Square, New York 3, and the deadline is Feb. 3, 1961.

I make so bold as to suggest this because, ordinarily, nobody takes much interest in these competitions in the work of freelancers.

(over)

Had a nice letter this morning from your Mr. Dabbs , complimenting me on my law enforcement pamphlet and asking me to stop and see him at his plantation.

Best,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

HF ✓
MA-file

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

December 23, 1960

Dear Leslie:

We had a party for about twenty people last night. The last car was gone and I had walked into the kitchen at about 12:35 a.m. when I got a phone call. The voice was disguised, and I could not figure out what it was saying. It sounded like a teen-ager. Virginia had put two huge candles on the brick columns at the entrance to our place but had asked the last people to leave to blow them out. I thought that perhaps the call had something to do with thos candles. I thought maybe they were still lit.

I went outside to look down the hill. They were out, but there was a glow and smoke from something in the driveway itself. I approached closer with my flashlight and there it was -- a cross that was just about burnt out. It was a little more than head high, made of two pieces of old tongue and groove. Both pieces were wrapped in some kind of cotton swathing which had nearly burnt up when I got there. It was anchored in the open cell of a concrete block to make it stand upright.

(over)

I don't suppose there is anything much I can do ~~about~~ about it. I had thought of telling the F. B. I. about it, but I see by looking at the phone book that there isn't one in Aiken anymore. I suppose they have no jurisdiction.

Well, I must get on to ~~to~~ other things.

You may mention this to Harold, but please ~~do~~ say nothing about it to anybody else, and do nothing that would cause it to be printed.

Merry Christmas.

George

TELEGRAM 12-23-60

George McMillan
Aiken, S. C.
Midway 9-4747

WILL CALL NEXT WEEK RE AUGUSTA. MERRY CHRISTMAS.

Leslie Dunbar

January 9, 1961

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

We have called a couple office supply places, none of which carry the file folders you want, although they all seem to be familiar with it. Perhaps this means that they no longer stock it. The closest thing to it that we have tracked down is an expansion vertical file by Wilson-Jones, Serial number 1526 E 3½ (the last number evidently means "expansion" so I would guess that 3½ means a little more expansion than 3; size is 9½ x 14 3/4, price 8.80 per dozen).

We did submit your law enforcement pamphlet for the Sidney Hillman Award. We have heard nothing in reply. I would not myself see any objection to your agent submitting also your Look article.

Incidentally, and this I suppose should not be bruited about, Chief Jenkins has required every policeman in Atlanta to read your pamphlet and write a report on it aspart of an in-service training program. The poor guys were straggling in here last week begging for copies until we finally bundled up 100 and sent them over to the training director. How about that?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures;
thermafax of clips

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

January 8, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Will you let me know whether or not SRC submitted the law enforcement pamphlet for the Sidney Hillman award?

At the time I first wrote you about this I wrote my agent asking her if she would ask LOOK if they would submit that piece I did for them. She has just written me that LOOK, for various reasons, doesn't wish to do that, but that she will submit the stuff if I want her to do so. That's why I need to know whether you submitted the pamphlet and what if anything else. What is your advice about my having her submit the LOOK piece? Did you mention that?

Sorry to bother you with these trifles.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

MA - could you let me know the price before ordering

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

December 28, 1960

Dear Leslie:

May I ask an onerous favor of you? I want a particular kind of file folder, don't want enough of them to place a special order, and wonder if you can have your secretary call a couple of office supply places in Atlanta to try to find and send to me 10 of them?

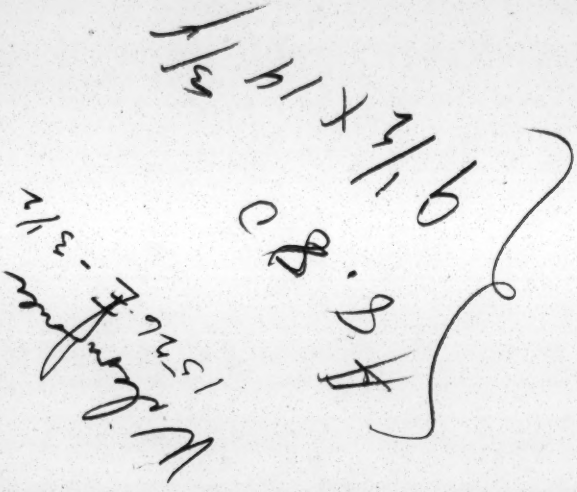
The trade name is Fiberstok.
The serial number is 1516MT-3.
It is a expansion vertical file pocket, size 9 7/8" by 14 3/4" (legal size).

If you will have them charged to SRC, I'll pay you by return mail.

Thanks,

George

versatile **Nekoosa** PAPERS



There are no finer papers today – Tomorrow they will be even better

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

File

January 10, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Thank you very much for trying to find the file folders. I'll place an order for them through some local dealer. I am pleased to hear about the use of the law enforcement pamphlet that is being made by the Atlanta police department. I will have my agent go ahead and submit the LOOK article for the Hillman award.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

January 18, 1961

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Here are a couple of things on Harris. We have such a mountain of clips on New Orleans that we haven't gone through them all, and no one can recall whether Harris has been there since May. This at least will show you that he has been there.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
Clips, New Orleans and Little Rock, re Roy Harris visits
Copy, The Citizens' Council, September 1960

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

file

January 14, 1961

Dear Leslie:

May I make a suggestion to you in regard to Knoxville, Tennessee, and the possibility that it may have in it the makings of a success story?

You at SRC must have some good contact with the Human Relations Group you say is doing good work at Knoxville. Can't you write someone there and ask them to send you a memo on what is going on? Just a sketch to confirm the fact that there is steady progress and a firm and continuing relationship between the races there.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

fb

January 27, 1961

Dear Leslie:

I have just received the bundle of clips about the riot, etc, at Athens. It seems to contain everything I want, and some details more shocking than I had expected.

I am very appreciative. Obviously this was a large piece of work. Thanks. And will you also xxthank whoever it was that did the thermofaxing?

Your press release on a new civil rights program is excellent.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

file

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

February 3, 1961

Dear Leslie:

I enjoyed seeing you and others yesterday. I write today because I want you to know that I am definitely interested in doing the COLLEGE study. When you collect your thoughts on it, let me know what they are.

I sent a wire to Bill Arthur, managing editor of LOOK, this morning suggesting to him that I do a piece for the Atlanta section on Ralph McGill. Thanks for letting me know that project was underway, and let me know such things in future when you think of it.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

File

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

February 6, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Al Friendly has sent back to me my manuscript, THE LESSON OF ATHENS. He wants me to make revisions in it so he can print it next Sunday. He's a fine liberal so like all fine liberals he is going to pay me the wonderful sum of $50 when I am through with it.

Anyway, don't look for the article in yesterday's POST.

We saw the Dolinskys last night & pretty pleasant on the whole. The anxiety over Ann's college future has driven Lenny nearly to a false menopause.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE MCMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

February 7, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Thought you might be interested to know that the Washington Post is not going to print my THE LESSON OF ATHENS. [redacted] Friendly returned it to me yesterday with a long letter praising it to the skies but asking me to rewrite last four pages. I had spent couple of days on it already. I wired him to ask if he would double usual rate -- from $50 to $100. I knew there was a couple of more days' work in what he wanted. He wired back -- because he is a great liberal making at least 25 thousand a year -- that he couldn't go it, that I must take 50 or nothing. Determined to keep my rate of pay equal to that of a yard man, I told him I would have to put the assignment aside. I herewith resolve to go back to what magazine writers call, "the slicks," where, no matter what their political labels, they pay decently.

Best,

George

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

MA
Send more
2-9-61

February 8, 1961

Dear Leslie:

I notice that I am about out of my supply of the law enforcement pamphlet. When you get your new order will you please send me another ten copies?

Thanks,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

February 10, 1961

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, S. C.

Dear George:

As we discussed last week when you were here, we want to do a piece about campus problems, and would like for you to write it. Generally, what we have in hopes is a report that would serve as a manual of advice for college administrations and faculties confronted with desegregation or with problems arising from student involvement in sit-ins. A manual, but done in your inimitable fashion; i.e. made interesting. The focus would be on the all white or predominantly white campus, though some of the special problems of the Negro college, as they are affected by sit-ins, should be treated. I am not sure at this time what form the resulting publication will take, except that it will be a printing job.

I have considered several ways of conceiving this idea, and methods of doing it. The approach which I am going to outline seems, on the whole, the best of the various ones I thought of; this doesn't preclude your offering better ideas.

1. I'll write a memo for you outlining what the article should contain, a sort of listing of questions and issues which occur to us here: such things as student and faculty preparation for desegregation; defenses against possible riot; teachniques during riots; policies toward press, visitors; outside groups; liaison with police; the student press; legal rights of students; academic freedom questions; public relations; etc. I'll do this within a week after we get your OK.

2. We'll select and send to you clips on some of the historic incidents. We shall avoid flooding you; we shall look instead for a few background pieces. I would hope that they would furnish you the episodes on which you could hang the discussion.

3. You do a rough draft as quickly as you can. I know that there really isn't such a thing as a rough draft, that you have to put your material and ideas into form, and that this is everything except for perfecting revisions. But just don't fret at this stage about the smoothness of copy of the full elaboration of points.

4. We'll mail your draft to several of our Board members who are university people; altogether, about 25 on our Board are connected with campuses and we ought to be able to get a good panel. We'll get their consent in advance to read and comment on your treatment. I am convinced this is worth doing. These poeple should have insights and experiences that you don't have, and which should be drawn on. The comments will be sent to you.

5. Finish it off.

How does this sound? Let me know. $500.00.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

M E M O R A N D U M

February 15, 1961

TO: Leslie Dunbar, Southern Regional Council

FROM; George McMillan, Box 299, Aiken, South Carolina.

SUBJECT: Pamphlet on college integration programs.

I write this simply to put on paper the terms of the agreement we reached on the phone this morning.

My understanding is that I am to write a manuscript of around 7,500 words dealing with the problems that arise when a college faces integration. The basic part of the script is to be an analytical narrative of the recent integration of the University of Georgia. Its format, in other words, is to be generally like my script on Racial Violence and Law Enforcement.

I am to be paid $500 for the manuscript. In addition, I am to be reimbursed for expenses in traveling to Athens, Georgia.

To make it a deal, will you please advance me $100 now against the $500 I am to be paid?

February 15, 1961

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Keep in mind that we want this to be an essay which will point to the typical problems surrounding college desegregation, particularly in the deep South; and that will offer some comment on how experience and intelligence suggests that these problems be met.

You will hang the discussion on the Athens incident, and, I understand, contemplate a minimum of 6,000-7,000 words (this ought to be also about the optimum). Your suggestion that about half of this be narrative, half comment (or interpretation, or conclusion) is good, though you are entirely free as to whether the comment follow or be woven into the narrative or both.

Remember that the problem is, "How to desegregate successfully." Here are, pedantically stated, some issues which would seem pertinent:

Attitude (hostile, friendly, or resigned) of administration.
Efforts by administration to influence, one way or the other, faculty and student opinion and conduct.
Counselling given by university officials to the Negro students (their likely problems, desirable conduct, etc.
Rules and arrangements (e.g. housing and feeding of Negro students, social affairs, restrictions on protests by white students, etc.)
Policies and attitudes of governing body (You are writing about a state university; its Board of Regents is less free to determine policies than is the Board of Trustees of a private university: the whole state government gets involved. Maybe this is a point you can develop.)

Handling of relationship with town press, outside groups. (Alumni too, if you can get anything on that; e.g. how has the alumni magazine reported the change and later developments?)

Role of faculty; of student government; student newspaper; student clubs; fraternities and sororities.

The above isn't meant to be a prescription; you know what the objective is, and you'll know how to handle it: these are only some questions which seem interesting to me.

You should, I think, go to Athens; I would hope your visit could be held to one day, two at the most. As I told you, we can't be of help in setting up interviews. A couple of suggestions: Mrs. Beverly Downing, 395 Hampton Court, telephone LI 8-1010, Athens, is state president of HOPE; W. H. Benson, Benson's Bakery; both might be good informants, and might be able to steer you to campus contacts. Mrs. Tilly is an old family friend of Dean Tate; would you like for her to write?

We would like to think of this for publication in early Spring.

Good to have you on board again.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

February 17, 1961

Dear Leslie:

I think I need some contact in the University of Georgia administration. I am tempted to write Bill Collins (isn't his name Morris?) and ask him to make appointments for me with the president and the Dean of Men. What harm can Collins do? I at least know him and can make the approach directly that way. I thought, to be specific, I might write Collins a note, send him the law enforcement pamphlet, tell him I'm coming over, and ask him, meanwhile, to send me general information about the University -- its budget, number of students, etc. Do you see any harm in this? I don't see that the situation is one in which "trust" is involved particularly. But I may be wrong.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

file

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

February 17, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for the check. I plan to go over the clips (which arrived safely) this weekend. Will be sending them back first of next week.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Lt Com

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

February 19, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Are you sure you have immediate need for the Athens clips? I have just spent a good part of this Sunday afternoon going through them. I would like to have them all in front of me when I write my script.

The difficulty is in knowing what you will want before you get into the script itself. Let's put it this way. Might I keep the clips for another week? I think it quite possible that I might finish a draft of the Athens narrative by then.

Ginny has been turned down for Greece -- on a form letter without explanation. That piece of bad news has been somewhat leavened by another piece of news -- that Kit has got a summer job on the Washington POST editorial staff.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
March 8, 1961

file

Dear Leslie:

I am a little bit crushed and deflated this morning. In the first place I made a boob of myself yesterday with Ben Gilbert (Friendly is in Europe) of the Washington POST. In the morning I called to suggest piece to him on stubborn resistance sitdown movement is running into -- taking stabbing in Columbia, S. C. as my topical kick. He had his reservations. He didn't go along with me too. But he finally said, go ahead and do the piece for this coming Sunday. Then....well, you know what happened. The Atlanta ggreement came over the wires during the day, and Gilbert called me late in the afternoon to politely suggest that we cancel the piece. I felt like a terrible boob. But, anyway, this is an explanation of the several longdistance phone calls you got. I was trying to reach you for an interview.

The second thing that is disappointing is that I have finally realized I don't have either the time or the money to go nawth to the Princeton conference or do any of the other things I had planned to do up there. I have some brutal bills coming in the first of April.

What I had really planned to make the first order of business on the trip was an effort to bring my book alive, and to beat the bushes in New York for a foundation grant. I had also hoped yesterday to luse my phone call to you to ask you and Fleming (who has contacts with foundations, doesn't he?) to give me the names of some people I might have seen in New York. But that's all out now.

Furthermore, I had a ride to Atlanta late yesterday afternoon. McCreary was going over to return this afternoon. I was considering going with him if you had been in. But I couldn't reach up to the time he had to leave Augusta.

(over)

I do want to talk with you and Harold about the foundations & whether I might get a grant from somebody to go on with my book. I know that I can't get the damn3d thing off the ground again unless I can work on it fulltime for three or four months.

Best,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

file

Box 299
Aiken, S. C.
March 10, 1961

Dear Leslie:

I am forwarding back to you a letter requesting a copy of the law enforcement pamphlet, as enclosed. Will you take care of that, please?

But the purpose of this letter is not that. I want to start making a serious effort now to try to find some foundation money with which to get my book off the ground. As I told you in my last letter, I had hoped to canvass the foundation situation of a trip to New York which I could not make for lack of chips.

Now I am going to try to canvass the situation by mail. I kw write you for two things: one, to ask you for your own suggestions, if any, as to kp foundations that might be interested in my progects; second, I want you to ask Harold F. to tell you as much as he will about Adam Yarmolinsky and/or the Taconic Foundation.

I know that Harold has been in touch with Taconic. I assume the relationship is cordial. If that is so, and if Taconic is the kind of doundation I think it is, then I would want to ask Harold if he wouldn't recommend me there, and give me the name of the person to whom I should write.

I would also like Harold to tell me something more about Adam Yarmolinsky. I know that he was a consultant to foundations. But what exactly did that mean? Did he have, does he have, a portfolio of foundations with which he is now influential? What are those foundations, then? You'll recall that it was Adam who gave me my contract with Doubleday when he was there. He is already sold on my idea and my material.

I am putting these questions to you instead of to Harold directly because you hinted on the phone that he is very much concerned about other things right now. I am afraid he wouldn't have time to answer this kind of letter fully. Will you take the time to talk with him? Or, better, could you persuade him to call me on the phone and talk with me? I might even think of paying the toll.

Thanks,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

File

March 20, 1961

Dear Leslie:

As he may have told you, I had a very good talk with Harold F. on the phone the other day. Toward the end of the conversation we came to the subject of things I might do for him.

He asked me to think over the question of how I might adapt my law enforcement format to the question of a pamphlet or study on the economic consequences of racial chaos. He went on to ask me to make a proposal along these lines. We discussed the idea briefly. He said he thought New Orleans might make one of the xamples I would choose.

I was a little confused about whether I was to do this for Taconic or SRC, but something he said at the end made me think he had SRC in mind. That is the reason I tell you all this now. I hope you will p8t your mind on the idea. I thought it might be something we could discuss when you visit me. We might develop it then.

Meanwhile I'm at work onaTHENS.

Best, George

Leslie Dunbar Southern Regional Council

GEORGE MCMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

file

March 21, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Just as a matter of curiosity: were winners ever announced in the annual Sidney Hillman Foundation competition? Glad to hear you're going to be able to come over en famille.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

March 21, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Can you have someone send me, or get for me, a current catalog of the University of Georgia?

I have just finished reading a social history of the University in its early days by ~~Coulter~~ Coulter. Apparently the school has always had a strong tradition of biosterousness, unruliness and rioting. Has the school had this reputation in modern times among its sister southern colleges and universities? Do you know? Is there anybody you can ask?

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE MCMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

April 5, 1961

Dear Leslie:

I am well along with a draft of the ATHENS script. When I finish it, which I hope will be the first of next week, I would like to have it typed so that I can have a clean copy, and you can have a carbon.

I have an excellent typist here now who does work more reasonably than the last person we used. May I have your permission to use this typist to do the job? And send the bill to you?

Best,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

April 6, 1961

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

It was really wonderful seeing all of you over the weekend. We had a delightful time. I don't believe in superlatives, but Jenny, as always, deserves them as a hostess. You're not a bad host, as a matter of fact.

Yes, you have "my permission" to engage the typist you mentioned and to send the bill here.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 10, 1961

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Evaluations of universities don't often get into print, and I think therefore that your best approach is that of consulting a few well informed people. Alex Heard is such a person; equally good would be a couple of your friends at northern universities who could tell you how they regard the University of Georgia, how they react to applications from its graduates to admission for graduate study, what they think of it as a place for referring their graduate students for jobs, etc.

The AAUP has in recent years devised a system of rankings of schools in terms of faculty salaries. I am no longer a member of the AAUP and do not get its Bulletin; consequently I no longer know how the scales run, but this is well known by campus people who will speak of their school being a "c" school or "b" school in terms of the AAUP scale. You probably could learn about Georgia simply by asking someone at the University when you go up there.

For what they are worth, my own impressions of the University are mostly negative. It does not rank well in common reputation among other southern schools. The one department which I am able to pass judgment on--political science--is and has long been weak; there is not a person in the department who is regarded in the South as a first rate scholar, though Bill Collins is widely acquainted and recognized as a figure. The University plays the usual role of a state university in the South in that it is a training ground for lawyers and future politicians.

Whether it is more flavored by football and fraternities than other state universities I don't know.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

April 6, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Someplace in my ATHENS script I want to give the reader some sense of the University of Georgia as an institution. I want to place it among other southern universities. I would like to be able to give a few facts about its academic rating. I would like to [redacted] describe its institutional personality. Do you as an experienced university teacher have suggestions about how I can get this kind of information? If you do not, I'll proceed on my own steam -- perhaps with a phone call to Alex Heard at University of North Carolina who should be able to tell me how to find what I want.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

File

April 24, 1961

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.

Dear Mr. McMillan:

Les Dunbar asked me to send you the enclosed data from the 1959-60 University of Georgia Pandora. First names were not available for KA members (except for number 65, my half-brother - who, incidentally, told me on the one occasion I talked with him during the crisis that although there was strong opinion within KA supporting closing the University, an element equally as strong - and loud, judging from background noise during our telephone conversation - opposed the segregationist group. However, this was Monday night - the night of the Governor's midnight speech - and I have no information about KA's subsequent role.).

Note that the third person on whom you wanted background information was not listed in the Pandora Student Index. Possibly he's a Freshman this year. A complete list of Demosthenian members was not available - only those members who were in a group picture were named.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:s
enclosures

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

Foote & Davies Pub. Co.

764 Miami Circle
N.E. Atlanta
Ja 3-7681

Rampway Co.

1959-60 Annual → 8:30 Pandora

Ca. 7-1611

Ernest Parks Davis
211, 454

John Thomas Cochran II
294, 454

Oscar Whitman

belong to Kappa Alpha?
" " Demosthenian
off Piedmont Broadview Society?
Unkespass
a complete list of members
KA & DS

Mr. Dunbar:
You may be interested in paragraph 3 below.
Thanks so much for your offer. Will contact you later for additional copies.
Sincerely,
Powell Black

CITY OF FLORENCE
SOUTH CAROLINA

May 3, 1961

Mr. George McMillan
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Several weeks ago I attended a meeting of the city managers of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Mississippi, at the University of Georgia. During the discussion on "TENSIONS" the City Manager of Savannah, Mr. John Hall, made extensive use of a booklet to which he referred and the title of which he mentioned as being "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement." He did not tell us who wrote the book.

Upon my return to Florence (I hope you know by now that I left Dothan, Alabama, last November and came here as City Manager) I wrote the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta for a copy of the book which had been discussed. I have just this morning returned to the office after having again been out-of-town for several days, and the book was on my desk with a nice note from Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of the Council, a copy of which I will enclose with this letter for your general information and also I will enclose a copy of the notes to which he refers.

I noticed in looking at the Foreword that my Old Buddy George had been the author of the book under discussion. It was nice to learn this and I have not gone any further than the Foreword, however, I shall now sit down and go through it with much more interest than perhaps I otherwise would have had in the book.

Please give my regards and best wishes to Virginia and one of these days perhaps we can get together again. I have never forgotten the nice evening I spent in your home and the nice discussions(?) we had on several issues.

George if you are ever over this way I would appreciate your stopping by to say hello. I've always enjoyed our past association even though it might have been shorter than I would have liked for it to have been and I shall follow your career with much interest as our paths cross every now and then. So long for now and good luck for the future.

Sincerely,

R. Powell Black
City Manager

RPB:js
Enclosures

MA file

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
Midway 9-4747

May 12, 1961

Dear Leslie:

This is a progress report on the ATHENS assignment. As of this morning I have written 57 manuscript pages. These will average better than 250 words a page. Thus the script now stands at better than 15,000 words, probably 16,000 plus.

As I told you, I am writing the story in its chronological order. At least it follows this order in day-by-day sequence. Sometimes, within a day, I violate the order slightly for effect or emphasisx so that events are not necessarily in hour-by-hour order.

This has meant that I have gone through all that mass of clippings to select every item that refers to a specific day, and have arranged the clippings in that order. Following that, I have made a list from the clippings of every item, large and small, that I mean to use in the story of that day. Then I have arranged this items in the order in which they are to be told. And finally I have taken this rough outline, and the clips, and written the day, the day's events.

I have just finished Tuesday, January 10, the day before the climactic riot. My account of the events of this single day runs to more than 3,500 words.

I have left only Wednesday, January 11. I expcect to do this draft in about three days. I have the clippings in order, and listed. This will run to another 4,000 words, probably. After that, I intend to review the remaining clippings (those that are not already filed and used in my folders I have for each of the days) and decide whether all the rest can be finished off in one more chapter, or whether it will take two.

When I have run out all the material, used all the material that lends itself to natural chronological arrangement, I have other material that I want to add to the script. This is in some cases simply additional background material. For example, I have collected all the biographical material on the two Negro students,mx on the Deans, on political figures, etc, in a file. I want to add it at the places it can be most effectively used.

I have material on the University I want to add. I talked yesterday with Alex Heard at the University of North Carolina and he gave me an excellent quick run-down on the University's standing. I have excellent historical material on the Demosthenian society whose members played an important part in the riot. Etc.

(more)

When I have added all the material that is in the clips, I want to review the mss to see how weal it brings out the theme that has been developing in my mind as I have worked on the assignment over the past weeks.

I know of no situation of racial violence in the South in the past decade in which it is so clear that the trouble was caused by a few people. Time and again it is assumed that only a handful of people cause most of the trouble. In Athens it is possible to demonstrate almost exactly who the people were and the specific steps they took. The ATHENS story shows just how really small a group can do great damage.

In fact, everything about the ATHENS story has the aspect of being classic. The "good" people are there and identifiable, make their good intentions known.

To interpret some of the shenanigans, the ugly, sordid, Nazi-like techniques used at Athens, I have done some reading on fields like rumor. It is quite surprising to find that rumor was used at Athens in ways that are clearly outlined in Allport's, "Psychology of RumOr."

If I go ahead with the plans I have outlined I am obviously talking about a mAnuscript that is going to be at least 25,000, more likely 30,000 words long. And it is obviously alos going to take me past the two weeks exbension of time (and money) for which I asked in my last telephone call to you, just before the 1st of May.

Just as obviously I cannot ask you to make any deeper financial committment to this manuscript. I do not intend to do so, and I am not doing so now.

I will confess to you that it has crossed my mind that I might get financial support for the manuscript -- say for another month's work -- from a publisher. If the book turns out to be what I think it might be -- a classic dempription of a classic racial dispute -- then I think Ian Ballantine, the paperback book publisher might like it. Any hardbound publisher might like it. Furthermore, it would lend itself to some magazine condensation.

I suppose in your mind it is a question of whether the possibility of wider dissemination of the story is worth losing a publication that would aarry SRC;s imprint.

But of course all this is very iffy right now. I think as far as I personally am concerned I am going to do what I did when I got into the Marine book and began to believe in it. I am going right ahead and tell the story as I think it should be told without worrying about money and without thinking in too much detail about the format in which it will be published. This of course is financial suicide. But I have done it before and I will do it again.

(more)

I submitted my sample chapter for THE GIANT GOLDEN BOOK OF HORSES last week. I should hear from that in another week. If they like the chapter a contract must be forthcoming, for we have agreed on everything else, including the outline. If I get the contract, then I'll have three or four weeks' leeway there.

I feel, in closing, that I haven't perhaps made the caseI ought to make for the ATHENS book. But that's because I feel as if I am down in it right now. I don't want to look up yet, not until I get the chronological draft done, anyway.

It occurs to me that it might be a good idea for me to come to Atlanta with the manuscript when I finish the chronological draft next week. Or perhaps I ought to send it to you. The trouble with sending it to you is that I hate to let loose of the only copy; and I don't feel you ought to bear the expense of re-typing what I have now. It's pretty clean as it is.

Have you any suggestions?

Meanwhile I am at work, sticking to it.

Best,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

MA file

May 15, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Don't let that letter I wrote you about ATHENS worry you. I've had some calmer and more realistic thoughts about the project over the weekend. I'll cut it down to size. Let me write you again at the end of this week's work; then I think it will look different to me.

We are both terribly pleased at the news about Linda. I told you so all the time! Having no news from the Dolinskys worries us; we hope there hasn't been bad news there about Ann.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

HA file

May 16, 1961

Dear Leslie:

I have your letter of May 15, suggesting that I come to Atlanta to discuss the ATHENS manuscript. I see very little point in coming this week -- or for that matter until I finish the draft. I should certainly complete that this week.

At any rate, I'll write you at the end of this week, let you know how I have progressed, and suggest a date. It will probably be for either Monday, May 22, or Tuesday, May 23, or certainly for that week.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

file

May 18, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Somebody has suggested that I read a book by Tom Pettigrew and Ernest Campbell, published by Public Affairs Press, on the ministers in the Little Rock crisis. Can you have somebody in the office send me a copy -- assuming you have it there? I will return it promptly and safely.

I write this on Thursday with the expectation that I will probably be seeing you Monday or Tuesday next week. But I'll confirm this.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1253P EST MAY 23 61 AC271

A AKA028 16 COLLECT AIKEN SOCAR 23 1248P EST

LESLIE DUNBAR 5 120 + 12

18 SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 5 FORSYTH ST ATLA

ARRIVING YOUR OFFICE 930 TOMORROW WEDNESDAY MORNING PLEASE

RESERVE SINGLE ROOM DINKLER PLAZA WEDNESDAY NIGHT

GEORGE MCMILLAN.

Jr. 4-2461

Res Reservat

Mole

5/23/61

5-30-61

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: RHA

FROM: LWD

CC: GEORGE MCMILLAN

George McMillan is engaged on a writing project (Athens desegregation). The fee agreed upon at the start was $500 plus expenses; this was to be charged to RBF. The entire fee has been paid. The expenses of McMillan's trip to Atlanta last week should also be charged to RBF.

McMillan delivered when here a manuscript of 70 pages, and this I regard as satisfaction of the original assignment. I have asked him, however, to develop the study further. A supplementary agreement has been reached and is as follows:

Beginning May 24 and extending not longer than 23 days he is to be paid per diem at rate of $25.00 when working at home, $40.00 when away from Aiken.

May 24-25 were spent here in Atlanta, and should be paid at $40.00 rate.

I further agreed to advance $350.00 on June 1; please prepare the check and forward.

This supplementary agreement is to be charged to Research.

We can discuss later assignment of printing costs.

May 30, 1961

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear Mr. McMillan:

Here's our latest baby! The chronology is not included since it hasn't come off the press as yet. We did, however, want to get the body of the report to you, and when the chronology is finished it will be sent to you pronto.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers

MF
Enclosure - 1.

file

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

June 1, 1961

Dear Leslie:

This is just a line to congratulate you on the wonderful treatment the New York Times and Sitton gave your report on the Freedom Riders. Now is the time to visit the foundations!

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

File

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

June 4, 1961

Dear Leslie:

I'm busy closing up on my LOOK assignment and haven't time to do anything more than give you the full text of a letter I received this morning from Timothy Seldes at Doubleday:

"That's fine news about the Georgia mss and I look forward to reading it very much indeed. I hope you will be able to send me a copy right away. Unfortunately, and I think this would go for all publishers, there is no chance at all of publishing the book for the fall season. All the sales conferences for that period have passed, the catalogs have been made up, and so forth. What's more, I don;t think it would be a particularly good time for the book to come out. It would be, I am sure, much more effective sometime between January and March when serious books get much more attention than they do in the Christmas season. Please do send it as soon as you can."

I'll write again in a few days.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

June 6, 1961

Sent 6/7 NA

Dear Leslie:

May I ask you to send a copy of my law enforcement pamphlet to Professor Virgil C. Stroud, A & T College, Greensboro, North Carolina?

I have promised him one, and I find that my supply is running low.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
SouthernRegional Council
5 Forstyh Street
Atlanta, Ga.

file

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

June 16, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Here is a carbon of the LOOK piece. May I add one taboo to the several requests I made on the phone? Please do not let anyone see it; it is for your eyes alone. I don't mind if you let people know of this or that passage in the piece -- just don't let them see the piece in its entirety.

Thanks for looking at it, and will you please put this copy back in the mail Monday night? I need it badly.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

MA

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

June 19, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Can your research department help me get a copy of THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO which Grimshaw cites in his doctoral paper (the one you sent me) as being the best single study of a race riot. It was published around 1918 by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations.

1919
Sandburg

Thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

June 25, 1961

Dear Montez:

Please do not go to the trouble of copying THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO. That is giving it more importance than it has for me, although I am grateful for your offer to do so.

Can't you simply send me the copy that you get from Atlanta University? I promise to read it quickly and return it to you within 48 hours.

Thanks,

George

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

June 23, 1961

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, S. C.

Dear Mr. McMillan:

Les asked me to see what I could do about your request for a copy of The Negro in Chicago, published around 1918 by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. I called the Negro Collection Department at Atlanta University, and they do have this. They do not ordinarily let anything out of this section, especially something they probably could never replace. I asked the person I was talking with to check with the librarian, Mr. Bennett, to see if if would be possible to borrow this for a short time. She called while I was taking dictation to say they were mailing it to me! Now, of course, this was not what I had in mind, but I did not stop them. I thought I would look it over, and if it is not too long, I'll try copying it. If it is too long, I'll return it promptly. Les suggests that you write Mr. Bennett and ask if you can borrow it, or he thought you might be able to get it at the state university library, since AU has it. He said you had an arrangement for borrowing books from the university library. If the book comes in this afternoon, I'll let you know right away if it is too long to copy. However, we may not receive it until Monday.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

File

July 17, 1961

Dear Leslie:

You'll probably be pleased to know that I went back to the ATHENS assignment this morning -- really for the first time since I left it to do the LOOK piece. I returned to it with pleasure and anticipation. The script still looks like a winnter to me.

I wrote Harold Fleming a one sentence note telling him I am available. As if he didn't know it!

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

MA

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

May 31, 1961

Dear Leslie:

I ~~xxxxx~~ have received the research materials as well as the check for the Athens job. Thanks very much. It all promises to be helpful -- the research stuff, and the check too for that matter.

I believe I agreed to sign a copy of the new agreement. You'll find that copy enclosed with my signature on it.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

5/30/61

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: RHA

FROM: LWD

CC: GEORGE MCMILLAN

George McMillan is engaged on a writing project (Athens desegregation). The fee agreed upon at the start was $500 plus expenses; this was to be charged to RBF. The entire fee has been paid. The expenses of McMillan's trip to Atlanta last week should also be charged to RBF.

McMillan delivered when here a manuscript of 70 pages, and this I regard as satisfaction of the original assignment. I have asked him, however, to develop the study further. A supplementary agreement has been reached and is as follows:

Beginning May 24 and extending not longer than 23 days he is to be paid per diem at rate of $25.00 when working at home, $40.00 when away from Aiken.

May 24-25 were spent here in Atlanta, and should be paid at $40.00 rate.

I further agreed to advance $350.00 on June 1; please prepare the check and forward.

This supplementary agreement is to be charged to Research.

We can discuss later assignment of printing costs.

5/31/61

I accept the terms outlined above

George McMillan

August 3, 1961

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear Mr. McMillan:

Les Dunbar has passed along to me the clipping that you sent to him for our information files. I want to thank you and, as the Council's research director, would ask that you continue to pass on newsworthy items to us.

The clipping is enclosed.

I look forward to meeting you some time in the future.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:a
Enclosure: clipping from Augusta Chronicle, S. C.

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

July 15, 1961

Dear Leslie:

You'll find enclosed the clipping you asked to see. Will you please return it to me when you're through with it? Apologize for not knowing date; speech was made couple of weeks ago.

I wrote Harold Fleming a short note.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

clipping is from Augusta CHRONICLE

Dear Leslie: Would you do me favor of having someone in yr shop clip & send me book review by me in upcoming Sunday Washington POST, pls? Virginia, now in Tehran, says to tell Peggy that perfumer Peggy gave her has turned out to be very useful.

MA Glenn.

pleased I did
MA

AIKEN
SEP
S.C.

© OLD AIKEN SERIES OF CARDS
BRADDY'S, AIKEN, S.C.

Postal Card

PRAY
FOR
PEAC

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional
Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

AIKEN'S FIRST PASSENGER STATION

Memo from **JAMES A. MOSS**

1/25/62

Fee agreed upon originally
(May, '61) $500 plus expenses.

Subsequent agreement (to begin
May 24) extending not longer
than 23 days -- a per diem rate of $25
when working at home, $40 when away
from Aiken.

Advance agreed upon on June 1
$350.

Amount paid to this date - $850

5/30/61

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: RHA

FROM: LWD

CC: GEORGE MCMILLAN

George McMillan is engaged on a writing project (Athens desegregation). The fee agreed upon at the start was $500 plus expenses; this was to be charged to RBF. The entire fee has been paid. The expenses of McMillan's trip to Atlanta last week should also be charged to RBF.

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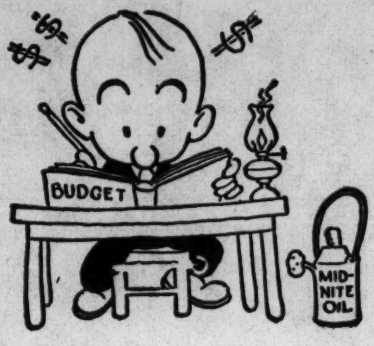

LET'S GO CRAZY PAD

FIGURE TAXES HERE

Ruth is checking to see if any expense monies have been paid him.

Harry Barfield Company, Inc.
Business Forms
304 PARKWAY DRIVE, N. E. JACKSON 3-3421
ATLANTA 12, GEORGIA

Fit in your file

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
Midway 9-4747

January 29, 1962

Dear Leslie:

I was rooting in the files for other matters this morning and came across a memorandum of understanding between us, covering a new agreement on the ATHENS assignment, and dated May 30, 1961.

It answers several of the questions I asked you in a letter I wrote you at the end of last week.

But it raises others. Excluding expenses, have you paid me $850.00? Or, $500.00?

What I really want to know is how much, if anything, I would have coming to me if I delivered you a finished manuscript?

Have you paid me for any of those 23 days for which I was to have been $25.00 a day? And $40.00 a day when I was away from Aiken?

Sorry to be such a naughty boy....

Best,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

January 29, 1962

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I'll answer your questions of January 23, though it is puzzling that you should need to ask them.

The original agreement was that you would do a pamphlet of about 7500 words, and that we would pay you $500.00. This agreement was confirmed and outlined by my letters to you of February 10, 1961 and February 15, 1961 and by your memorandum of February 15, 1961 to me. The entire fee was paid to you, at your request, in advance:

$100.00 - February 16
$100.00 - March 1
$300.00 - April 28

In May you came to Atlanta, on my authorization, and showed us a rough draft of some length which, though not in publishable shape and not complete, did indicate that considerable work had been done. Moreover, the draft revealed that you had broadened the original concept of the subject. Believing that your revised concept had promise, and solely for this reason, we entered into a supplementary agreement to pay you, over and above the original fee, on a per diem rate for days worked on the assignment after May 23, 1961, but limited to 23 days. A memorandum stating this was written by me, and initialed by you on May 31, 1961. Against this supplemental agreement you were, at your request, advanced $350.00 on May 31, 1961.

The above answers your first question, and ought to enable you to answer your second; viz. "how much would be coming to me---if I did deliver." You have been paid a total of $850.00. A bit of figuring will show you that you have already got just about all there is to get.

To: Mr. George McMillan
January 29, 1962

Next, you ask if you submitted an expense account for your Athens trip. No, not according to our records, nor did you for the trip to Atlanta May 24-25. You may deduct the expenses incurred from the advance commissions you have received.

The remainder of the advance I believe you should return to us, if you do not intend to fulfill the assignment. This would leave you free to place your material elsewhere.

Regardless of whether you do or don't, I ask that you return now the file of clippings which we lent you last Winter, and which is very valuable to us. Also, please return the Grimshaw dissertation.

The nature of your inquiry of January 23 has dictated the nature of this reply. I suspect you are right to have written as you did, because I believe it will be advantageous to get this one behind us.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

GEORGE McMILLAN
BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

Hot Springs

January 23, 1962

Dear Leslie:

Will you give me re-cap of our exchanges of money and obligations on the ATHENS manuscript?

How much have you already paid me on it? How much are you due me when and if I complete the mss? I ask the second question because it is my memory that you agreed to give me an additional sum beyond our original agreement? Was this additional payment to have been $250? How much would be coming to me, in other words, if I did deliver the mss? I also recall that I perhaps have not submitted expense voucher for trip to Athens already made. Or did I?

Look forward to hearing from you.

Best,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

September 6, 1962

Dear Barbara:

Thanks very much for your letter of September 5, and for sending me the materials on Prince Edward county.

I'll try to look up the pieces in the Reporter and Newsday.

And I'll let you know what happens with it all.

Sincerely,

George McMillan

Barbara Patterson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3
Georgia

March 26, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
Apartment 11
20 Concord Avenue
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear George:

Les asked me to send you a copy of THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, as requested in your letter last week. I'm also including a copy of his second report, EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS, since I assume Sorenson hasn't seen it either.

You might tell Sorenson, however, that a good many other New Frontiersmen have read these reports (and, in many ways, acted on them). Indeed, the White House ordered 1000 copies of the second one. But a guy like Sorenson can hardly be expected to see everything received in the 16000Pennsylvania Avenue mail bag, and I hope he'll be interested in these two pamphlets.

I'm glad to learn "that cornucopia of material about Albany" was helpful to you. As for the book you have in mind, I gather you and Les don't see eye-to-eye on your concept of it, but I'll be glad to offer whatever help I can. Between you and Ben Muse, our files are going to be pretty well weeded through by the time May 1964 rolls around. It certainly appears that "the South and the Southerner" are very big along Publisher's Row these days.

Trust your meeting in New York came off successfully.

Best regards,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SB please talk

RECEIVED

Apt 11
20 Concord Avenue
Cambridge 38, Mass.
March 22, 1963

RECEIVED
MAR 25 1963

Dear Leslie:

Yesterday Ted Sorenson, Kennedy's alter ego, was on the Brandeis campus. Morrissey was kind enough to arrange matters so that I was to drive Sorenson back to Boston and thus be able to spend 30 or 45 minutes alone with him.

As it happened Virginia took the car off, did not return when she was supposed to , and a Brandeis car drove us in. It put matters on a somewhat different footing, but I nevertheless had a chance to talk with him.

Talk at him would be more accurate. I started out telling him about my notion for a book , etc. Then I ran on into some of my notions about the racial problem. I saw that he was going to say nothing, or very little - so I just let go. What did I have to lose? I was polite; I did not get compulsive nor insulting.

He slacked down in the front seat, closed his eyes and I thought for a while that he had actually gone to sleep on me. I didn't resent it. I knew he was a big shot, worked under great pressure. But on the other hand this was my opportunity... I soon discovered that he was not asleep. Once in a while he would interrupt me and ask some very penetrating question.

Among other things I told him about you and your excellent report -- the federal executive, etc. He told me that he had not seen it and that he would like very much to see it. He told me that the civil rights man at the White House was now fella named Lee White, that I should see White when I passed through Washington but would I, meanwhile, be sure and send him the report I had told him about? I said I would. Unless you have some reason why you would prefer that I did not, I will send him a copy. Will You please mail me another?

send George a copy & let him tell White Washington he requested it & you were entitled to report

Best,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 22, 1963

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Thanks very much for that cornucopia of material about Albany.

It is exactly what I needed.

I do hope we get to meet each other. If I do the book I am now thinking about doing you will hear more from me than perhaps you will like. I'll need lots of informed help.

I don't know why I shoul d have hurt the chances of that Columbia Journalism graduate student. My piece is the barest skeleton, a perfect point of departure for him. In fact, I have lots more material which I would be glad to give the student if he wants it.

It was kind of you to say you liked my piece.

Best,

George McMillan

George McMillan
Apartment 11
20 Concord Avenue
Cambridge 38 Mass.

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 1, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
Room 205
Travel Inn
Greenwood, Mississippi

Dear George:

Les asked me to send you a selection of materials involving the problems of voter registration in the Deep South. Among them are the original announcement of the Voter Education Project together with Claude Sitton's story on it, a biography of Wiley Branton, and news clips on developments in Leflore County in recent weeks.

We do have summaries analyzing the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 which were prepared by the American Jewish Committee, but we onlyhhave one copy of each. I understand, however, that you will be back in Atlanta later this week and we will be glad to show them to you at that time.

I trust you took your bullet-proof vest along for this trip.

Regards,

SDB:bp
Enclosures (

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

Gen

June 11, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

The address of the National Urban League is, 14 East 48th Street, New York 17, New York.

Is Emerson planning to run your Greenwood piece, or is it becoming a part of the Post bank of unpublished articles. The way things have been moving around the South recently, has kind of put Greenwood in the shade, which is a pity.

Good luck on your book. We will be glad to assist you in any way we can.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

June 13, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

The information director of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission is Carl Holman, ~~onetime~~ editor of the Atlanta Inquirer. I am not positive, but I am fairly sure that you can get a complete set of commission reports for free, particularly if you tell Mr. Holman what you want them for, i.e., a book on the South.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

George McMillan Box 299 Aiken, S. C.

Dear Staige: Thanks for Urban League address. Who is information director U. S. Civil Rights Commission? Do you suppose I can get from him free complete set of commission's reports? Can you help me get a set? Will appreciate suggestions. Thanks.

George

Carl Holman

George McMillan Box 299 Aiken, S. C.

Dear Staige: What is the address of that Southern School News, or whatever the correct title is? It's published in Nashville, I think. I want to subscribe. Do you have an index of The Southern Law Review, or Southern Law Reporter, or whatever that is called? Thanks, and regards.

George

6/20/63

~~George McMillan~~ Box 299 Aiken, S. C.

Dear Staige: Thanks for giving me Holman's name. Now may I ask you to tell me the whereabouts of John Griffin? Les knows him. I believe Griffin is at one of the Florida state universities but I don't remember which. Thanks.

GMcM

Dr. John A. Griffin
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

Sent under separate cover:

ICMA Report
Both Executive Committee Reports
State Executive Authority to Promote Civil Rights
Segregation & Desegregation
F O R T U N E - The City & the Negro
School Desegregation--Help Needed?

June 20, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I am sending by separate mail a few items that I think are relevant to your proposed section "A Program for the Next Decade." As other things turn up, I will either send them to you or let you know where they can be obtained.

I am enclosing a couple of extra copies of bibliographies we have in our files. One of which, you will note, is a year old, but still you may find some useful stuff in it. I am also enclosing a copy of a regular handout we receive from the Blaustein Library of The American Jewish Committee. It concerns articles of interest in current periodicals. I suggest you ask them to put you on their mailing list.

Finally, we have recently ordered from the Anti-Defamation League (515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.), a copy of the 1963 issue of the Research Bulletin on Intergroup Relations. I suggest you do the same.

As you can imagine, we are pretty swamped these days, but we'll try to provide whatever help we can when you need it.

How's your tennis these days?

Best regards,

SDB:nm
Enclosures

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
Midway 9-4747

June 18, 1963

Dear Staige:

I don't know how far I can go in calling on you for help. I suppose the best way to find out is to put you to the test. So, here goes.

I am devoting the last part of my book to a discussion of positive steps that might be taken to solve the racial problem. I am thinking of pulling together something that might be called, "A Program for the Next Decade."

For this purpose I want to get my hands on every document I can possibly find that has any concrete suggestions in it. I mean, things like SRC's, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights."

I don't of course expect you to stop everything and start looking for things like this for me. I know that I am placing a large order. But there are probably some things that will come to your mind at once; and other things will turn up in your day-to-day work. Will you send me copies of anything you have in hand -- either publications of SRC's or other groups or individuals. If you don't have a copy to send me, will you give me the title so that I can try to get it? And will you keep your eyes open for me?

And while I am at it: do you have any bibliographies of publications on race? If so, can you send me a copy or copies?

Thanks very much for your help.

Sincerely,

George

ICMA Report
Fortune Reprint
follow closely developments in N.C. cities - Open City concept in Knoxville.
Henderson report

Mr. Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

June 21, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Almost like the daily paper, I am beginning to anticipate a daily communique from Aiken, S. C.

Re your latest inquiry, herewith the following reply:

1. The address of Southern School News is, 1109 19th Avenue, South, Nashville, Tennessee. Reed Sarratt is Executive Director.

2. The second journal you have in mind is, I imagine, Race Relations Law Reporter, for bulletins or other information, write Vanderbilt University, School of Law, Nashville 5.

3. No, Coles' piece in the current New Republic is not a chapter from his book, nor was his Atlantic Monthly piece. I do not know when his book is due to be out, but Little Brown has an option and I believe Bob is trying to complete the ms by fall '64 publication.

   I do not know precisely what the book is about, though I imagine it will cover many aspects of his work here. If you are really curious, why don't you write Bob directly, c/o SRC.

Ltr, George McMillan
Aiken, S. C.
June 21, 1963

4. Dr. John A. Griffin, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. Is this possibly the John Griffin you have reference to.

At the moment, it is rather hard for me to venture any suggestions, tips, ideas, etc. about your book because I am not quite clear on what it will deal with. I remember seeing an earlier outline you sent Les, but I understood you junked that. So, if possible, could you please either send me an outline of the manuscript or a brief statement about its subject matter.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

June 22, 1963

Dear Staige:

I don't know whether I should burden you with the knowledge of what my book is to be about or not. After all, you guys in SRC are putting out a competitive book, perhaps two, if Coles' book is slated for May, 1964 publication. But you'll get the idea if I tell you that I am putting all my research notes on 3 x 5 cards which I file under three general headings: (1) It's Bad; (2) Why; (3) What Can Be Done. Does that give you enough of a notion? The book is to be a critical, polemical, the expression of a very definite point of view. It is to be immoderate. It's to be ME, honey, and how can I describe that? Am I still eligible for your research help, sweet boy? Thanks for the stuff I got in the mail this morning, the addresses, the word about Coles, etc.

Cordially,

George

Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council

PW, pls reply. I never said or implied that we were going to reprint

Dear Leslie:

Are you going to reprint my National Observer piece on Orangeburg? If not, will you let me know, please? I want to try to bring it to light elsewhere.

Thanks,

George

[redacted] January 20, 1964

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

George McMillan Box 299 Aiken, S. C.

Dear Staige:

May I ask you to send me the address of the National Urban League in New York City? I am beginning to do initial research on my book so this is probably the first of many inquiries you'll be receiving from me. Thanks.

George

Bill

Mr. George McMillan
etc

Dear George:

So far, there seems no chance of reprinting the Orangeburg piece from Les turned it over to me, and the National Observer, as good as it is. I'll hang onto it on the chance that an occasion for using it arises. But in the meantime if you can find another way to get it wider coverage, by all means go ahead.

I read your stuff (just about everywhere) and admire it. I don't know whether you remember or not, but we met here a couple years ago, drinking liquor as I recall. Hope you'll look me up next time you're in town.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

January 21, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

So far, there seems no chance of reprinting the Orangeburg piece from the National Observer, as good as it is. Les turned it over to me, and I'll hang onto it on the chance that an occasion for using it arises. But in the meantime if you can find another way to get it wider coverage, by all means go ahead.

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Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

January 21, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

So far, there seems no chance of reprinting the Orangeburg piece from the National Observer, as good as it is. Les turned it over to me, and I'll hang onto it on the chance that an occasion for using it arises. But in the meantime if you can find another way to get it wider coverage, by all means go ahead.

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Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

Dear Pat:

Are ya kiddin'? Of course I remember that night.. Karl Fleming...the Biltmore Grill... the Piedmont bar....some pompous ass from a Wilmington newspaper...and your refreshing saltiness. The occasion was some Republican regional confab.

George

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

January 28, 1964

Dear Staige:

Three or four years ago Leslie Dunbar got for me a study of racial violence by Allen Grimshaw. Subsequently I returned the study to Leslie. Can I borrow it again? If you no longer have a copy in the office, do you know where I can get one? It was in mimeographed form as a graduate thesis, I believe. Has it since then been published?

Thanks,

George

staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie: I saw a reference in one of Claude Sittons' recent Sunday articles to a book which I would like to get and read when it appears. Sitton calls it: "Racial Crisis in America: Leadership in Conflict." Can you have someone in your research staff tell me who wrote this book and who is publishing it?

Thanks,

George

58
76
79

January 21, 1964

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

SB

Please reply. This is a book by Hugh Clarke
in Saturday's
was reading
the galley

AIKEN, S.C.
JAN 21
6-PM
1964

PRAY FOR PEACE
4¢
U.S. POSTAGE

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Racial Crisis in America

Spectrum Books
Prentice Hall
Lewis Killian +
Charles Grigg

February 5, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

The authors of Racial Crisis in America, I have finally learned, are Lewis Killian and Charles Gregg. The book is a paperback in the spectrum book series, published by Prentice-Hall. I imagine if you would write them directly, they will be only too happy to send you a copy.

As for the Grimshaw study of racial violence, I am still trying to track it down, and will let you know the results of search shortly. As you may or may not know, we have just moved from the 2nd floor to the 5th, same building, and things are still in somewhat of a confused state.

That was a good piece you did on Orangeburg.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

February 7, 1964

Mr. George McMillian
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Glad to know you got our letter.

Grimshaw has turned up, but I am afraid we cannot let it out of the office at this time, since we are planning to do a study of several southern cities, and how they have handled both their racial problems and the threat of racial violence. We need Grimshaw as a source.

However, if you can tell me what you are looking for in his study, or can give me some questions related to it, I will be glad to send any pertinent excerpts from the study and to answer any questions as best I can. I do hope you understand.

I was interested to learn that you are planning a study of Danville for the Civil Rights Commission. Needless to say, if we can be of help to you, we will be happy to serve.

I was very interested and quite delighted by your review of The Man Bilbo in last Sunday's Trib book reviews. You may be interested to know that I spent a hellua time trying to shape Mr. Green's manuscript into a publishable book. It was re-written three times. This is boasting a bit, but I am kind of proud of the foreword because I wrote it.

When are you coming to Atlanta again?

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

P. S. I have several ole school friends in Danville if you need any further leads.

P. P. S. George, I wonder if you will do me a favor. I am in the process of preparing a round-up piece on the various tuition grant programs in the South. I know South Carolina has a law providing such a program, but as yet, I have been unable to discover whether or not the Legislature has provided funds for the program. Do you know if any action has been taken, or any appropriations made?

SDB

February 10, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Les has again asked me to answer a query of yours--this one on the FBI in the South. Beyond the obvious, I don't know how much help I can be.

The general criticism, as I'm sure you're aware, is that the local agents in many instances in the South seem less than eager to push investigations involving Negro civil rights in voter registration, police brutality, dynamitings and the like. They are often Southerners, often seemingly entrenched in the local civic boosterism, and have the problem of getting along with the local police.

I am enclosing two of our things which touch on the problem in Albany and in Birmingham. (Pages Marked.) Howard Zinn had a piece in the New Republic last fall charging that the FBI failed to act on violations of civil rights before its eyes in Selma, Alabama. Another investigation that has always intrigued me was that of the church bombing in Birmingham. The grapevine was that the FBI was getting somewhere, and then Lingo came in and arrested important figures and charged them with possession of dynamite, a misdemeanor. This is touched on in the direct action pamphlet. The role of the FBI in last spring's charges of beatings of civil rights people at Winnona, Mississippi, would also probably be a specific case worth looking into, as well as in shootings and church burnings in Southwest Georgia.

I would think your best bet for compiling a larger list of leads would be SNCC. Also for the most elaborate and extreme expressions of grievances. Claude Sitton and Karl Fleming have probably seen more on-the-scene stuff than anybody, and I would imagine would be glad off-the-record

to talk about it, and furnish leads.

The FBI's story--rationalizations, etc.--it seems to me has not been given even the scant coverage that the case against it has. For example, out of fairness, I would imagine outsiders watching them investigating a bank robbery would feel that they weren't doing all they might, eithere Also, the agent in charge in Atlanta--I don't recall his name--is a guy who has been down in Albany speaking to a civic club telling them what fine race relations they have down there, and would be worth talking to.

My most direct experience with local agents was in Albany, and the worst thing seemed to be their tendency to talk the city's "line," and to not know what was going on exactly.

I doubt that this is of much help, and I wish I knew more. There is a good story there, but it is sort of like belling the cat. It might be that a listing of SNCC charges of specific instances of failings and FBI answers would be the best approach.

Good luck.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

Enclosures

P. S. Not that any of this would be worth it, but don't q quote me.

February 13, 1964

Mr. George McMillian
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

It appears that you've got your fingers in a number of literary pies at the moment -- Danville, FBI, etc.

At any rate, I am enclosing some clips and a New South with an article giving a rundown on southern bombings between Januaryll, 1956 and June 1, 1963. Also enclosed are our synopses of events from June 24 through December 23, 1963, giving any additional bombings. Thirty-five known bombings occurred in 1963.

I think you will find a piece by Jim Wechsler on the FBI's "Failure in the South" of particular interest. I am also enclosing a long piece which appeared in the National Guardian about the FBI. Ordinarily I regard the Guardian as a news sheet as far out to the left as the Jackson Daily News to the right, and just about as reliable. However, the account of ex-FBI agent, Jack Levine is taken from his interview with a New York Radio Station, WBAL, and the piece he wrote for the Nation. As you may recall his exposé created quite a stir, and so far as I know, it has never been effectively refutted by J. Edgar and his boys.

Another enclosure is taken from a recent issue of I. F. Stone's Weekly. While Mr. Stone has some highly controversial opinions, I think he is generally regarded as a reliable, responsible reporter. I believe he has had some other pieces criticizing the FBI in past years, but we don't seem to have them in our files. I would suggest therefore, that you write him directly, and tell him what you are planning to do. I would also suggest that you get a copy of the FBI's Annual Report.

Ltr., G. McMillian
Aiken, S. C.
February 13, 1964

Finally, re the Grimshaw matter, so far as I know, his thesis has never appeared as a book. I don't know his present address but the thesis, one in sociology, was presented to the graduate School of Arts and Sciences' faculty of the University of Pennsylvania in 1959.

I would suggest that you write them to see, a) if they have an extra copy available, and b) if they can give you Grimshaw's present address.

I look forward to reading the latest piece from the prolific pen of Aiken's Lincoln Steffens.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosures

LWD - fyi : Modest fellow, he.

NM - file

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

Feb 14, 1964

Dear Staige:

That was a very relevant package of material you sent me about the FBI and the South.

I am not Aiken's Lincoln Steffens -- I am America's Lincoln Steffens. I do in fact pride myself that I have some of the same ability to interview people who don't want to be interviewed.

Anyway, thanks,

George

Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

Feb 17 1964

Dear Pat:

Your comment on my Danville mss has been passed along to me -- and thanks very much. I've taken note of your suggestions. You didn't know when you read it apparently that it is meant to be only an opener for a much longer study of Danville. It's simply to set the whole study, catch Danville at its most dramatic and tragic moment. I'm gonna flash back now to the beginning of the Danville situation, etc.

Again thanks,

George

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

Feb 26 1964

Dear Pat:

Do you know where I can reach Howard Zinn? I want to query him about something. Saw a letter from him in the NYTimes last week sent from Newton Centre, Mass. Does that give ~~a~~ you a clue?

Will appreciate your help.

Best,

George

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

P. S. Can you send me also address of SNCC hdqrs?

February 27, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Howard Zinn's address is: 45 Chapin Road, Newton Centre 59, Massachusetts. SNCC's address is: 8½ Raymond Street, NW, Atlanta 14, Georgia.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

File correspondence

AFL. Con.
1963
Albany

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

June 1, 1964

Dear Pat:

I am again working on my assignment from Atlantic Monthly to do piece on The FBI in the South.

I notice in a letter you wrote me you talk about a speech an FBI man made in Albany, Georgia, in which he said something about good race relations in Albany, praised that community. Do you know where I can get the text of that speech, or a news clip on it?

Thanks,

George

Mr. Pat Watters
Southhern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Sent 6/11/64
jet

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

November 17, 1964

Dear Pat:

Do you still bear the title and [redacted] duties of SRC's Director of Information? Then may I ask your help? I would like to get my hands on the document in which Bob Coles put the substance of his findings about the Negro children who were the subjects of integration. I have seen a thousand side and back references to Coles' findings without ever having read them. Can you send me a copy of his report, his basic study?

Thanks,

George

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

November 18, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
P.O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

You're Damn tootin' I still bear the title and the horrendous duties, such as this.

I think this is what you're talking about.

Good luck and God bless you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters,
Director of Information

P
W
/
p

Enclosures

Matter: Did we?

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

December 7, 1964

Dear Pat:

You haven't forgotten to send me your ST. AUGUSTINE study, have you?

Best,

George

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

LWD✓

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

March 11, 1965

Dear Vernon:

I'll send Mr. Holman's name along but I wonder if he has had enough book and magazine experience -- which is, if you'll permit me to say it, quite different from newspaper work or government writing. That is, I think it is more demanding.

Thanks anyway for your letter.

Best,

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE MCMILLAN
THE MACDOWELL COLONY
PETERBOROUGH
NEW HAMPSHIRE

File

June 17, 1965

Dear Pat:

May I ask a favor of you please? Will you call George Goodwin for me? He's the fella who used to be connected with the First National Bank and now runs some kind of public relations office in Atlanta. He helped me ~~wi~~ with the VENTURE piece on Atlanta. I don't have his new address and I want to get in touch with him.

If you don't mind, ask him to write me a note, giving me his new address. And you might tell him, if you like, that the piece is scheduled to appear in VENTURE, December, 1965.

Sometime I want to urge you to come here as the ideal place to get some real work done on your novel. But not this minute: I'm in the midst of something.

Thanks,

George

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Pat: Here's copy of my letter to Paul re our conversation last night.
I'm also enclosing copy of release about me in case dyou have news note in your new New South. Significance isn't in the story. This is that my effort is first of its kind to get young Negroes into journalism. I I"m also prboably first journalist in residencd in American institution of higher education.

Pat Watters
Opinion

Rec'd 2/16/66

February 15, 1966

Dear Paul:

My Journalism Workshop is now fully launched. One of the things I am trying to do, one of the first things that must be done if I am to get young Negroes into journalism, is to convince them that the possibilities are real.

Toward that I'm trying to find as many of my students as possible summer jobs. Last night I had a conversation with Pat Watters about this. He said he would like very much to have an apprentice in his office this coming Summer. I told Pat I would write you about it.

Let's do it. Birds do it....

Wincerely,

George McMillan
Journalist in Residence

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Co8ncil
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Georgia

Office of Publicity
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
10 Feb 66

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

What may be Atlanta's first collegiate journalist-in-residence program began this week at Clark College. It brings to the city a well-known national magazine writer who will conduct the program over a two-semester period.

The new program is supported by a grant from the Field Foundation and has been described by college officials as a pilot effort directed at encouraging more students to enter the field of newspaper journalism.

It will be centered around a series of lectures and seminars featuring outstanding editors, writers and reporters who will be brought to the campus to help bridge the gap between classroom and cityroom.

Journalist-in-residence and director of the program is George McMillan of Aiken, South Carolina, whose articles and special studies have appeared in Life, Look, Saturday Evening Post, and other national magazines.

McMillan is a former Lasker Fellow in Civil Rights and winner of the Benjamin Franklin Award for the best magazine article of the year. He has contributed extensively to the literature on the Negro movement for Civil Rights.

His Southern Regional Council-sponsored study, "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement," is well-known throughout the nation and two years ago his article "Birmingham Bomber" was published in Saturday Evening Post. On special assignment he was among NBC-TV newsmen who prepared that network's investigation of the Kennedy assasination.

He was a combat correspondent with the Marine Corps during World War II and earlier served as Acting Chief of the News Bureau of the Office of War Information. In 1949 his book The Old Breed traced the history of the 1st Marine Division in World War II and was named one of the best 100 books of that year.

-30-

cc: Pat Waters

File

February 17, 1966

Mr. George McMillan
Journalist in Residence
Clark College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear George:

I don't know where the money will come from, but we will take one of your journalism interns for the summer. We'll also try to help place others. Certainly, some should be with the newspapers and magazines here.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA

File

February 24, 1966

Mr. George McMillan
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mr. McMillan:

In compliance with your request of February 23, enclosed is a copy of our winter issue of NEW SOUTH.

Mr. Watters is working outside the office for a short period of time, but he comes in periodically to check his mail and attend to other pertinent matters. Your letter will be brought to his attention when he comes in again.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

JCS

Enclosure - 1.

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

February 23, 1966

2/24/66

Dear Pat:

Is the first issue of your new New South out yet? If so, will you send me a copy -- free if you can spare it, I'll pay if you can't. I have an idea I may suggest to you for New South's pages.

Thanks for working out the apprentice deal for this summer. I'm grateful.

Sincerely,

George

George McMillan

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

CROSS REFERENCE

RE: Ltr to George McMillan May 24, 1966 from PW concerning summer interns Anthony Whitfield and Jerrilyn McGhee

SEE: Personnel: Job Descriptions and Evaluations

PW PA

15 Kirkland Road
Cambridge, Mass.
June 29, 1966

Dear Pat:

I thought you might be interested in seeing the enclosed copy of a letter I have just written to Vivian Henderson. It encompassed the full text of a letter I received this morning from Stan Opotowsky, managing editor of the New York Post, and it is about Robert Terrell. I know you were interested in Terrell.

Write me a note when you have a chance. Oh, will you show this letter to Paul Anthony, too, please?

Best,

George McMillan

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

June 29, 1966

Dear Dr. Henderson:

I thought you might be interested in the text of a letter which I received this morning from the managing editor of the New York POST. It is in regard to one of my Journalism Workshop students, Robert Terrell.

"Our experiment with Robert Terrell is a roaring success. There is no doubt in my mind that he is a fine young newspaper reporter now, and that he can become a great one. He is a hustling reporter and rapidly is learning to write well -- not average, but quite well.

"I've told him that he is not only here for the full summer, but that we will use him on special assignments after he returns to school in the fall. And he certainly has a job as a reporter after his graduation.

"This was a chancy experiment -- to try someone with no experience and little formal journalism education -- but it has worked beyond my fondest hopes. You deserve a large measure of credit for the manner in which you prepared him."

The letter is signed, Stan Opotowsky, Managing Editor.

Best regards,

George McMillan
15 Kirkland Road
Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Ga.

February 23, 1967

Mr. George McMillan
5 Baltimore Place, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Mr. McMillan:

Mr. Watters asked me to gather some materials for you, and I have mailed you under separate cover the following:

The Continuing Crisis
A City Slum - Poor People and Problems
Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program
Neighborhoods, Where Human Relations Begin
Public Assistance in the South
A Home of Our Own
Justice in Grenada, Mississippi - Equal Protection Under the Law
Know Your Rights
Cooperatives, Credit Unions, and Poor People
School Desegregation 1966: The Slow Undoing
Voter Registration in the South, Summer, 1966
What Happened in the South, 1966
The Effects of Federal Examiners and Organized Registration Campaigns on Negro Voter Registration
NEW SOUTH: Winter, Spring, Summer, Fall, 1966

I have enclosed herein a Publications List for your information.

We are also adding your name to our mailing list, and to the NEW SOUTH subscription list.

If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

jcs

Encl: 1.

cc: Miss Janet Smith

FOREWORD

Law enforcement is, as Mr. McMillan states early in his report, an essential factor in the progress of race relations. In the continuing racial crisis of the South, the police have two basic responsibilities: to enforce the laws with absolute impartiality; and, secondly, to maintain a climate of public order in which constitutional liberties can be freely expressed, by white men or Negroes, by integrationists or segregationists.

The recent sitin demonstrations have shown that professional standards of police work are well established in many cities of the region. The police in a number of southern towns and cities, though certainly not all, have handled these difficult situations with skill, and have earned the gratitude of all. Good police work, however, requires more than professional training. The basic necessity is the support of elected officers and community leadership, expressing a clear cut community respect for law and order. For too many, many years in the South the police were assumed to be an arm of the white race to keep the Negroes in their place. Where this attitude lingers there is scant chance for the orderly resolution of racial controversy.

This pamphlet is concerned with one problem of law enforcement, its most serious testing: riot control and prevention. Three actual episodes are described. Each represents a type of situation which can occur in any Southern locality. One is an example of a riot

almost by accident which, though it reached dangerous proportions, was for the police primarily a task of clearing the streets and allowing tempers to cool and good sense to prevail. The second is a case where the police, in the name of preventing "trouble" and acting their traditional role of guardians of a segregated society, crushed a Negro demonstration, in effect doing the bidding of the white mob. The third is a story of police resistance to a planned effort by a mob to supersede the law.

What has happened more recently in Jacksonville, Florida, has had elements of all three of these situations. To prepare for riots--as Jacksonville did not--, even to discuss the possibility, is distasteful. Yet not to do so is unrealistic. Segregationists, of course, have always warned that the reform of racial practices would cause "trouble"; that the violence and disorder we have had has been of their own doing makes the warning a prophecy of the way the prophets and their followers will act. More than a year ago, the Council joined with the National Council of Churches and the American Friends Service Committee to publish a record of violence and intimidation in the South from 1954 through 1958. This unwholesome account revealed again that Southern resistance to racial equality too frequently degenerates into lurid lawlessness. The Council has on many occasions since 1945 stressed the need for trained, expert police forces in the South. Now, the publication of this study of riot control is a restatement of our conviction that the tensions of race relations in the South require that law enforcement be firm, skilled, and above all neutral.

Mr. McMillan's narrative of events in three cities can be of value to municipal officials as illustrations of police problems and tactics. Civic discords can be made to yield to fair solutions, but only if civic peace and order are meanwhile preserved.

Pls Return To →

George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
Midway 9-4747

The astonishingly successful student sit-down movement is in distress. Despite predictions that the movement would go on this Fall to demonstrations that were "far more massive in scope," very little has happened. Things have apparently reached the point where the Reverend Martin Luther King, the spiritual leader of Negro protest movements, led a demonstration in Atlanta that was, as he must have known, to land him in jail. People inside the sit-down movement say that King was trying to bring it to life again.

If the sit-down movement grinds to a halt now, its demise will be as astonishing as its success. It was, if it is not still, one of the most effective social movements to arise in the post World War II period. Nothing has raised

so much hope among those who wish to see segregation ended, or caused so much distress among those who wish to see it preserved. No accurate figures have been kept, but conservative estimates show that there were sit-downs in more than 75 cities where more than 1,500 Negro students have been arrested and that, as a result, lunch counters or other facilities have been integrated in more than 250 cities. It attracted sympathy protest demonstrations of one kind or another on more than 200 American college campuses outside the South, as well as mass sympathy meetings in schools from Indonesia to Turkey.

Yet, for all of its world-wide impact, surprisingly little is known about the sit-down group. Not one American in ten thousand can answer the question of who its leaders are, or whether the movement had any coordination at all. There are good reasons for this ignorance. One of the best is that the sit-downers themselves were never quite sure.

To find out something about what is happening to the movement, I attended a recent conference of sit-down leaders at Clark University in Atlanta. It turned out to be an unusually good chance to measure the future of the movement, as well as its past. It was the first self-conscious attempt by the sit-downers themselves to appraise their performance and their purposes, and to look at some of the problems that had caught up with them. "We are most concerned," the announcement said, "that the conference lead us into a keen analysis of the student movement."

The meeting was called by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee for the weekend of October 14-16. Reverend King is the leader of the SNCC, but except for a few men who form a personal and somewhat casual and sporadic following, the Committee has no staff. It was, as I knew, the second conference called by SNCC. But, the earlier one, held this spring at Raleigh, North Carolina, at the height of the demonstrations, was, as a student told me, "more like a pep rally than anything else."

The meeting began Friday night and, as a placard outside the auditorium warned, "we only have 50 hours so don't be a minute late for a single meeting!" Because of the distances which they had to travel -- students came from as far as Minnesota -- some of the more than 500 who attended were always either arriving or leaving.

Aside from speeches, much of the conference was devoted to a struggle over the shape and form the movement was to take. A friend was kind enough to wrangle an OBSERVER badge for me, and I was able to hear much of the discussion.

If there was ever a doubt about who "ran" the sit-downs last Spring -- that it was "Communists," as some Southerners charged, or even King -- that doubt was dispelled. Nobody had run them. The student sit-downs in the Spring of 1960 were marked by almost total lack of direction and coordination. The N.A.A.C.P., CORE, the Fellowship of Reconciliation --

these and some other organizations helped, in one degree or another, mainly where students were ready to sit down or had already sat down. None of them, certainly not the SNCC, had served as a command post. In an age where two people cannot get together without an agenda, this unique movement had succeeded without even a proper name.

But the virtues of February had become the vices of September. "There's no use to kid about it," said an adult leader and teacher, "the movement had, at least for the moment, lost its explosive spontaneity." The occasional sit-downs in the late summer had looked too much like a random, episodic effort; the sit-down movement had become, like the Hollywood actor, only as good as its last performance.

The quick success of the "movement" sharpened the need for some kind of direction or organization. The truth seems to be that the sit-downers were bewildered by their success. Having chosen a goal -- the integrated lunch counter -- almost by accident, they had no agreed-upon long range goal to take its place when, as has happened in most places, they won their victory. And, having won, having created a peculiarly effective weapon with which to fight segregation, the opportunities, the challenges, open to them are so varied and multitudinous.

"They're a little bit overwhelmed by what they've got in their teeth," said an observer from one established civil rights organization.

The difficulties of choice, of deciding what the sit-down movement is to do next -- and then next after that -- are complicated by yet other factors. The success of the movement has given a great many people a stake in its future. It is not people who want to hurt the movement who have created this problem but people who sympathize with it and want it to go on. They know better than anybody else the shock waves the sit-down movement has set off. They know it has become a symbol bigger than itself. Their presence at the meeting had the effect of being a kind of pressure for the students to create some pretentious form or organization with which they could better work, or be more closely allied.

Almost all of the nation's national student movements, including the largest, the National Student Association, were represented. "The sit-downs have given a sense of vocation to American college students for the first time since the Thirties," the president of one of these organizations told me.

By triggering a wave of discontent with legalism among Negroes the sit-downers have unintentionally put the N.A.A.C.P., the organization that has been trying legalism, on the defensive. The N.A.A.C.P. representative at the meeting said he was just "trying to see what there is we can do to help." But, the relationship was more important to the old organization than it was to the new, still somewhat amorphous one.

There was pressure on the students from King himself. It is becoming more and more evident that King has his own special vision of what the student sit-down movement is, or is to be. He sees it as a group of spiritual zealots, informed and inspired by King's own religion of nonviolence. In fact, King's going to jail -- the sit-downers have made jargon of the expressions, "jail-going" and "jail-staying" -- is thought by some to have been a way of forcing the movement to a deeper commitment to his creed.

"We lost the finest hours of the movement when we left the jails for bail," said Rev. James Lawson, one of King's most dedicated disciples. Lawson is the divinity student whose expulsion at Vanderbilt University caused a wave of faculty resignations there. "We must never again put ourselves in the position to be arrested unless we are willing to stay in jail and refuse bond and legal aid."

"Some see nonviolence as nothing more than a useful technique," King told the students, most of whom apparently do think it is only that. "But it can be the total bent of one's life. The means must be as pure as the end -- the two terms are not convertible, they are inseparable. The end is pre-existent in the means."

A short, quietly eloquent man, who wears dark suits, highly-polished black shoes, and white on white jacquard shirts, King warned his audience:

"You are fighting the system, the evil system of segregation. You must love the person while hating the evil deed he does to you. He hits you in the face and you hit him in the heart."

King, somebody said to me, is "the symbol of the sit-down movement and not its executive." His value -- he got standing ovations wherever he appeared -- is more in inspiring his following than it is in making tactical and strategic decisions.

Pressure on the sit-downers to stop the demonstrations has come from other Negroes. Almost every public and private speech at the conference struck out somewhere in its text at "southern Negro businessmen," "our state college presidents," or even at, "parents."

"I hope this generation of youth will graduate, and not hang around being 'boys' for the white man the rest of their lives, as did my generation," said Dr. Lewis Jones, a Tuskegee sociologist, in a bitter attack on southern "Negro elites" who "accomodate" the whites.

"There is no alternative," Jones said, "but to get all the way inside the power structure yourself. That is where the mysteries of social action are explained."

The lag in sit-downs this summer and the difficulty in getting the movement started this Fall illustrates, in the eyes of some, intrinsic weaknesses in a student movement. Student leaders are often upperclassmen, and they graduate, as did some of the leaders in the class of 1960. The routine

of the school year also has its effect. "What happened this summer proves the movement is a victim of the cyclic life of a student," said Mrs. Ella Baker, a former assistant to King, "To a student, every new fall term is like starting life over again."

If the rumors circulated during the conference are true, some of the student leaders have become "publicity-seekers." "The student who will succumb to personal aggrandizement is spiritually dead," was King's comment. The problem is not, however, that the students have been seduced by white blandishments; there have been few overtures from the white community in the South, anyway. It is, rather, that some of the students have become public figures in the national student world. Many of them have by now attended conferences with white students in the North; others have made speaking tours to Northern college campuses.

"Some students have found more status within the movement than they have at the lunch counters," one student told me.

Something nobody talked about openly was how much the students were discouraged by the raw, ugly resistance they have run into in the Deep South. The sit-down movement has yet to win a victory in this stubborn section. The problems created by sit-downs in Montgomery and Jacksonville, not to say Biloxi, are still unresolved, and what is required to solve them is not so much naked courage (nobody can doubt that the students have this) as it is long range legal and economic resources to backstop the demonstrations.

When the Atlanta conference was over, and the votes were counted, the students had voted to go it alone. Like the revolutionaries they are, they gave their highest rewards and greatest responsibility to those who have been on the barricades. They decided to do without coordination from "outside" or "above", to remain decentralized and to make their focal unit what they call, "the protest area," -- anyplace where there has been a sit-down.

What this means is that the sit-down movement's future will now rest on an elite corps of dedicated, determined, fearless and tactically-experienced young leaders who will have the widest discretion to strike at the fortresses of segregation where, when and how they please.

"All they need is to be sand-papered again," said an observer.

For this reason the Deep South may turn out to be an asset and the sit-down movement's best hope for the future. Its built-in racial injustices can be expected to rankle, to bring this now acutely sensitive generation of Negroes back to the barricades, perhaps to strike even more deeply at the roots of segregation.

It is almost certain to happen.

May 9, 1964

Copy

Mr. Carl Carson
788 S. Main Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Carson:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a preliminary draft of my report on Memphis.

I thought it would interest you, and will appreciate your courtesy in bringing any mistakes to my attention. The piece need not be returned to me except for convenience in the case of marked pages.

It was indeed a pleasure for me to talk with you on my visit there.

With warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

NM - file

Copy

May 9, 1964

Dr. Hollis F. Price
President
LeMoyne College
807 Walker Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Price:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a preliminary draft of my report on Memphis.

I thought it would interest you, and will appreciate your courtesy in bringing any mistakes to my attention. The piece need not be returned to me except for convenience in the case of marked pages.

It was indeed a pleasure for me to talk with you on my visit there.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

May 18,1964

Dear Les:

Here are pages of my Memphis piece with corrections indicated by Dr. Hollis F. Price and Mr. Carl Carson, to whom the draft was sent.

Regards.

Ben

CITY OF LOUISVILLE

KENTUCKY

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

101F MAYOR'S SUITE

CITY HALL

WILLIAM O. COWGER
MAYOR

LOUISVILLE ALL AMERICA CITY AWARD

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PAUL PRIDDY
JOHN M. ROBSION, JR.
MRS. SIDNEY ROSENBLUM
MORTON WALKER

MANSIR TYDINGS,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
ARTHUR P. EVANS, JR.
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dear Les — I hope you got other lists from Mrs. Sergent and Louisville Defender — Give clipping to Paul. Tell him the address that of Carl Braden. 4403 Virginia is 7.31 his operation under surveillance. Local civil rights are not involved.

June 5, 1964

Dr. C. H. Parrish, Jr.
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky 40208

Dear Dr. Parrish:

We are enclosing the attached list of names and addresses of persons we would like to receive a copy of the Charlotte and Louisville Study by Mr. Muse.

We hope that this will be helpful to you.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Erma B. Coleman

(Mrs.) Erma B. Coleman
Secretary

/ec

Attachment

VJV
PA
BP - file
Clips
NM - file

LOUISVILLE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

Ralph W. Barnett
5711 Azalea Lane
Pleasure Ridge Park, Ky
921-2229 (residence)
454-7511 (office)

James A. Crumlin, Attorney (TREASURER)
608 West Walnut Street
585-2374 (office)
772-7994 (residence)

Mrs. H. Lyle Duerson, Jr
400 Pleasantview Avenue
896-4929

Mrs. William Flarsheim (SECRETARY)
3129 Brownsboro Road
897-2667

Thomas E. Gates, Attorney
Republic Building
583-0681 (office)
451-0683 (residence)

Msgr. Alfred F. Horrigan, President
Bellarmine College (VICE-CHAIRMAN)
2000 Norris Place
452-2641

Rev. D. E King (MEMBER - EX. COM.)
Zion Baptist Church
2200 W. Walnut Street
775-8512 (office)
776-7315 (residence)

Fred J Kunz, Jr
526 South Fourth Street
584-1158 (office)
458-7538 (residence)

Jesse H. Lawrence
1732 Hale Avenue
584-3854

Mrs. Ralph C. Morris
740 South 44th Street
772-2295

Paul Priddy, President
Local Union 89
3813 Taylor Blvd
368-5885 (office)
363-3292 (residence)

John M. Robsion, Jr., Attorney
Kentucky Home Life Building
583-2543 (office)
458-9044 (residence)

Mrs. Sidney Rosenblum
Dartmouth Apartments
1416 Willow Avenue
451-1137

Dr. Marlin M. Volz, Dean (CHAIRMAN)
School of Law
University of Louisville
637-2531 (office)
452-1307 (residence)

Morton Walker
Speed Scientific School
University of Louisville
637-2531 (office)
635-2996 (residence)

J. Mansir Tydings, Executive Director
Human Relations Commission
101-F City Hall
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Arthur P. Evans, Jr., Associate Director
Human Relations Commission
101-F City Hall
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Mr. Frank L. Stanley, Jr.
Louisville Defender
1503 West Broadway
Louisville, Ky. 40203

Mrs. Leopold Fleischaker
2348 Saratoga Drive
Louisville, Ky. 40205

Mrs. Bettie Taylor, Ass't Prin.
Central High School
12th and Chestnut Streets
Louisville, Ky. 40203

Mr. Edward Weyler
Dept. Economic Security
600 West Cedar Street
Louisville, Ky. 40203

Mr. Galen Martin, Ex. Dir.
Kentucky Commission on Human Rights
Capitol Annex
Frankfort, Kentucky

Mayor William O. Cowger
City Hall
Louisville, Ky. 40202

The Rev. Canon Park Street, Jr.
421 South Second Street
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Mrs. Abbie C. Jackson
2303 West Chestnut Street
Louisville, Ky.

Mr. David L. Gittleman, Attorney
Kentucky Home Life Bldg.
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Mr. Sam Noe, Superintendent
Louisville Board of Education
506 West Hill Street
Louisville, Ky. 40208

Mrs. Dann C. Byck
532 South 4th Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Mr. William Woolsey
Courier-Journal and Times
525 West Bdwy
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Mr. Vincent Crowdus
City Hall
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
714 Columbia Bldg.
401 West Main Street
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Mr. David Goldstein, Attorney
Department of Law
City Hall
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Rev. Ted Hightower
St. Paul Methodist Church
2000 Douglass Blvd.
Louisville, Ky. 40205

Rabbi Martin M. Perley
Temple Brith Sholom
1649 Cowling Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky 40205

Bishop C. Gresham Marmion
Diocese of Kentucky
421 South Second Street
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Mr. Lee B. Thomas, Jr.
Vermont American Corporation
510 East Main Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Mr. J. E. Hankins, President
Mammoth Life & Accident Ins. Co.
608 West Walnut Street
Louisville, Ky. 40203

Mr. O. L. Burkeen, Area Mgr.
Ky. Employment Service
600 W. Cedar Street
Louisville, Ky. 40203

Mr. James Fitzgerald
Bureau of Apprenticeship Training Program
U. S. Dept. of Labor
Hoffman Bldg.
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Mr. David Dobson, Director
Jewish Vocational Guidance Service
Republic Bldg.
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Mr. Eugene F. Land
7712 Crestline Road
Louisville, Ky.

Mr. Alexander Erlen, Ex. Dir.
Conference of Jewish Organizations
207 W. Market Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Rev. Robert Estill
Christ Church Cathedral
421 South Second Street
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Mr. Lewis D. Cole
719 West Chestnut Street
Louisville, Ky. 40203

Mr. Rufus Stout
2112½ West Jefferson St.
Louisville, Kentucky 40212

Mr. B. Edward Campbell
Civil Service Board
City Hall
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Mr. Ben X. Freeman
Louisville Board of Education
506 West Hill Street
Louisville, Ky. 40208

Mr. Arthur M. Walters
Louisville Urban League
209 West Market Street
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Rev. W. J. Hodge
1909 West Jefferson St.
Louisville, Kentucky 40203

Mr. Robert M. Jones, Reg. Dir .
NCCJ
Republic Bldg.
Louisville, Ky. 40202

BOARD OF ALDERMEN

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

1962-1963-1964

ROLL CALL _____

Names	Yeas	Nays	Addresses
1st Ward COL. JOSEPH R. GRAY			Residence: 324 Zorn Avenue Phone: TW 5-5962 Mail: 324 Zorn Avenue
2nd Ward MR. JOHN W. "BOOTS" YOUNG			Residence: 3121 McMahan Blvd. Phone: GLendale 4-7391 Business: Oertel Brewing Co. Phone: JUniper 4-8234 Mail: 3121 McMahan Blvd.
3rd Ward MR. KENNETH A. SCHMIED			Residence: 3004 Colonial Hill Rd. Phone: GLendale 4-4555 Business: American Home Supply Co. Phone: JU 3-5722 or 312 City Hall Mail: 1126 W. Market St.
4th Ward MR. EDDIE L. LERDING			Residence: 3012 Poplar Level Rd. - Apt. 2 Phone: 366-3136 Business: Shawnee High School Phone: 774-2353 Mail: 4409 Norman Circle
5th Ward MR. WILLIAM (BILL) STAMPER			Residence: 1210 E. Kentucky Phone: GLendale 9-3015 Business: General Electric Phone: GLendale 4-7511-Ext. 494 Mail: 1210 E. Kentucky
6th Ward MR. WALTER F. BUCKROP, SR.			Residence: 4401 Gatewood Ave. Phone: EMerson 3-0411 Business: Masonic Employment Assn. Phone: JUniper 4-7173 Mail: 1000 S. 4th St.
7th Ward MR. HARRY A. KORFHAGE			Residence: 920 Denmark Ave. Phone: EMerson 7-8327 Business: H. A. Korfhage, Florist Phone: 634-0553 Mail: 1315 Central Ave.
8th Ward MR. RUSSELL P. LEE 4600 Indian Trail			Residence: ~~1428 W. Madison St.~~ 928 S. 6th Phone: ~~JUniper 3-3414~~ Business: Real Estate Phone: WOodland 9-5282 Mail: ~~1428 W. Madison St.~~
9th Ward MR. G. ED CAMPBELL			Residence: 1507 Dixie Highway Phone: SPring 6-6728 Business: Ed Campbell Jewelry Phone: SPring 6-6728 Mail: 1507 Dixie Highway
10th Ward MR. HARRY C. HERLING, JR.			Residence: 2402 N. Western Pkwy. Phone: SPring 8-3294 Business: Standard Sanitary Mfg. Co. Phone: MElrose 7-7621-Ext. 265 Mail: 2402 N. Western Pkwy.
11th Ward MRS. LOUISE E. REYNOLDS			Residence: 3310 Dumesnil Phone: SPring 8-2181 Business: Real Estate Broker Phone: 584-6229 Mail: 3310 Dumesnil
12th Ward MR. OSCAR G. STOLL			Residence: 317 Shawnee Drive Phone: SPring 2-2355 Business: Attorney-808 Washington Bldg. Phone: JUniper 3-6952 Mail: 808 Washington Bldg.
YEAS			
NAYS			

Clerk of the Board
BA 102

Room 312-City Hall
JUniper 5-2251-Ext. 236; 279

June 11, 1964

Mr. A. D. Gaither
Intergroup Relations Officer
Urban Renewal Administration
Peachtree 7th Building
Room 660
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Gaither:

Thanks for your call this morning requesting copies of our Louisville and Charlotte Reports; they are being sent to you under separate cover. Also as per your request, we are adding your name to our mailing list to receive future publications of the Council. In the meantime, we are forwarding you materials published by the Council during 1963 and 1964. It is our hope that you will find these helpful to you in your work throughout the region.

We are about a year overdue on our luncheon date, and at any time that you can make it, please call me.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

File

June 25, 1964

Mr. Harold Barrett, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunity in
Apprenticeship and Training
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Barrett:

At the request of Mayor Stan Brookshère of Charlotte, I am forwarding you one (1) copy each of reports we have recently released on Charlotte and Louisville. These are the first two of a series of five (5) reports we have planned describing southern cities which, in our opinion, have honestly and vigorously faced their racial problems.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mp
Enclosures - 2

June 25, 1964

Mr. Gordon Berg
Executive Director
United Community Services
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Berg:

At the request of Mayor Stan Brookshire of Charlotte, I am forwarding you one (1) copy each of reports we have recently released on Charlotte and Louisville. These are the first two of a series of five reports we have planned describing southern cities which, in our opinion, have honestly and vigorously faced their racial problems.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mp
Enclosures - 2

June 25, 1964

The Honorable Luther Hodges
Secretary of Commerce
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Secretary Hodges:

At the request of Mayor Stan Brookshire of Charlotte, I am forwarding you three (3) copies each of reports we have recently released on Charlotte and Louisville. These are the first two of a series of five reports we have planned describing southern cities which, in our opinion, have honestly and vigorously faced their racial problems.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mp
Enclosures - 6

June 25, 1964

The Honorable Terry Sanford
Governor of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

My dear Governor Sanford:

At the request of Mayor Stan Brookshire of Charlotte, I am forwarding you one (1) copy each of reports we have recently released on Charlotte and Louisville. These are the first two of a series of five reports we have planned describing southern cities which, in our opinion, have honestly and vigorously faced their racial problems.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mp
Enclosures - 2

June 25, 1964

Mr. Capus Waynick
High Point,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Waynick:

At the request of Mayor Stan Brookshire of Charlotte, I am forwarding you one (1) copy each of reports we have recently released on Charlotte and Louisville. These are the first two of a series of five reports we have planned describing southern cities which, in our opinion, have honestly and vigorously faced their racial problems.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mp
Enclosures - 2

Rec'd 7/2/64
File: N. Morgan

City of Charlotte
North Carolina
Office of the Mayor

STANFORD R. BROOKSHIRE
MAYOR

July 1, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of June 25 and for your kindness in sending me ten additional copies of the Charlotte report in addition to the copies which you sent to Secretary Hodges, Governor Sanford, and others whose names I gave you.

I believe that the work you are doing will contribute greatly to racial harmony and progress.

Sincerely,

Stan R. Brookshire

STANFORD R. BROOKSHIRE

File: N. Morgan

June 25, 1964

The Honorable Stan Brookshire
Mayor
City of Charlotte
Charlotte, North Carolina

My dear Mayor Brookshire:

We have forwarded to you, under separate cover, ten (10) copies of the Charlotte report. We did not do a large run of these, but as long as we have copies you are welcome to them.

We have also sent three (3) copies of both Charlotte and Louisville to Secretary Hodges and one (1) copy each to Governor Sanford and the other gentlemen whose names you gave me over the telephone.

We are deeply gratified that you found the Charlotte report well done.

With cordial best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mr. John Feild
Dr. Raymond Wheeler
Mr. Fred Alexander

July 7, 1964

Miss Lola Buchanan
Executive Director
YWCA
604 South Third Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Miss Buchanan:

I am enclosing, at the request of Miss Ruth Hill, one copy of the Louisville Report.

If we can be of further service to you, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

/nm
Enclosure
(Louisville Report)

Mayor William B. Ingram
City Hall
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. E. B. LeMaster, Sr.
Falls Building
Memphis, Tennessee

Atty. George W. Grider
128 N. Court Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Commissioner Hunter Lane
City Hall
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Arthur McCain
345 Roseland
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Edward Meeman
1236 Cuba-Millington Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Atty. B. L. Hooks
588 Vance Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Rev. Charles Dinkins
397 Vance Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Edmund Orgill
1490 Linden Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Judge Marion S. Boyd
1488 Peabody
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Paul Tudor Jones
2297 Court Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Whitier Sengstake
1634 So. Parkway, E.
Memphis, Tennessee

Dr. Hollis F. Price
825 Walker Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Mrs. Calverta Ishmael
620 Mississippi Blvd.
Memphis, Tennessee

Mrs. Margaret Rivers
1979 So. Parkway E.
Memphis, Tennessee

Mrs. Orphelia Byas
1358 So. Parkway E.
Memphis, Tennessee

Rabbi James A. Wax
1255 Poplar Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Carl Carson
788 Main Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Dr. Vasco A. Smith, Jr.
1189 Englewood
Memphis, Tennessee

Mrs. Maxine A. Smith
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Jesse H. Turner
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. T. T. Stokes
1806 Edmondson
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. J. A. Beauchamp
20 So. Parkway, E.
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Harlon Fields
1288 E. Raines Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Rev. J. A. McDaniel
1297 S. Parkway, E.
Memphis, Tennessee

Commissioner Claude Armour
City Hall
Memphis, Tennessee

Atty. Lucious Burch
128 N. Court Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. T. H. Hayes, Jr.
680 So. Lauderdale
Memphis, Tennessee

Atty. S. A. Wilbun
198 So. Fourth
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. R. S. Lewis, Jr.
374 Vance Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Atty. A. A. Latting
362 Beale Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Harold Whalum
1775 Glenview
Memphis, Tennessee

MEMPHIS

BY

BENJAMIN MUSE

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POPULATION

	1950		1960	
	Memphis	Shelby County*	Memphis	Shelby County*
Total	396,000	482,393	497,524	627,019
Negro	147,141	180,002	184,320	227,445
Percent, Negro	37.2	37.3	37.0	36.3

General

In view of its heavy Negro population and its Deep South location, the progress of Memphis toward the elimination of race discrimination is remarkable. Memphis lies only eight miles north of the Mississippi line; it is the metropolis of a large northern section of that state. Memphis is the apex of a strip of country along the Mississippi River, with Vicksburg at its southern extremity, known as "The Delta". The Delta is one of the regions of deepest anti-Negro prejudice and most stubborn resistance to change in the South. Memphis State University, which, without

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*The metropolitan area of Memphis comprises all of Shelby County.

incident, has enrolled 250 Negro students along with whites, is only 60 miles from stormy "Ole Miss."

Memphis has made conspicuous, though still token, strides toward desegregation and equality of treatment in schools and employment. In the desegregation of public cultural and recreational facilities, of places of amusement and of public accommodation, Memphis desegregation has gone well beyond the token stage. A dozen Negroes sit on official boards or hold other responsible positions in the city government. Furthermore, the movement toward equality of opportunity in Memphis is going forward with increasing momentum and with the support of the dominant white leadership and the approval of a large element of the white public.

The traditionally large Negro vote in Memphis, always present in the calculations of the political confraternity, has done much to lubricate the wheels of race-relations reform in that city. Negroes have been encouraged to vote in Memphis for many years. As a leading citizen remarked to the writer: "No one even thinks of interfering with Negro voting here." Today 82,000 Negroes are registered to vote in county and city out of a potential 119,000. This is a consideration which tends to liberalize all attitudes and decisions by public officials in matters affecting Negroes. Negro leaders are frequently consulted. Racist

Former Mayor Edmund Orgill is conspicuous among them. E. B. LeMaster, president of the chamber of commerce when desegregation was getting under way, gave it strong support. Arthur W. McCain, president of the Union Planters Bank, now retired, and Edward J. Meeman, editor emeritus of the Press Scimitar,

demagoguery has been practically eliminated from Memphis politics.

A certain unity in the movement toward equal opportunities for Negroes, the prevailing policy of quiet, unsensational advance and rigorous, but generally fair law enforcement, have been mainly responsible for the accomplishments of the past three years. The turmoil in Little Rock and the damage to that city's economy in the late 1950's had a salutary effect upon the thinking of Memphians; Little Rock is only 139 miles away. A further helpful circumstance is the fact that Memphis, though lying in Tennessee's Deep-South southwest corner, is in a state with a relatively liberal official attitude. Desegregation moves in Memphis run no risk of being repressed, but are rather encouraged by the state administration. Tennessee on January 1, 1964 established an official Commission on Human Relations, the only such body in any of the eleven former Confederate states.

Notable too is the high caliber of the leaders of the white community who are active in the Memphis movement. Former Mayor Edmund Orgill is conspicuous among them. E. B. LeMaster, president of the chamber of commerce when desegregation was getting under way, gave it strong support. Arthur W. McCain, president of the Union Planters Bank, now retired, and Edward J. Meeman, editor emeritus of the Press Scimitar,

have served successively as chairman of the MCCR. George W. Grider, prominent attorney, now a candidate for Congress, is president of the Council on Human Relations; a former president of this group, Hunter Lane, is a member of the City Commission.

It is noteworthy, incidentally, that the most conspicuous white champions of racial justice in Memphis today, with a few exceptions, are over 50 years of age. Chairman Meeman is 74; many active leaders are in their 60's. Some who have retired from business or, like former Mayor Orgill, from politics are making a new career of furthering the city's peaceful transition to the new order. It is an interesting answer to those who fancy that liberalism is a monopoly of youth, and expect Southerners of the older generation to be chained to the traditions of the past.

Memphis has been free in recent years from organized segregationist activity of strength. A feebly Citizens' Council has an office and five so-called "chapters" in the city, with a not very prominent attorney, Richard T. Ely, as president. None of the higher echelons of business or community leaders are identified with it. It is making a rather furtive effort to embarrass integrated restaurants, but this campaign is making little impression on the general public. "The Citizens' Council doesn't amount to much more here," is a common remark.

A recently-discovered Black Muslim temple in Memphis is generally regarded as a joke or a curiosity by both whites and Negroes. As many as 30 were reported to have attended one meeting in its small, shuttered, and tightly-guarded building at 364 Beale Street. Its leader, a young man calling himself "Nathaniel X," is voluble on the philosophy and theology of the group, but evasive as to practical details.

While Memphis has its full share of political controversy and rivalry, there is notable unity in the steady trend toward the elimination of discrimination against its Negro citizens. Motivations vary. A growing number support the change because "it is right." However, very many white people go along with it merely beaauce "it is inevitable," and because it is better than having demonstrations or turmoil. There are differences of opinion as to the desirable tempo of change and on the question of race itself. But the city's course is set in a liberal direction and there is no strong effort in any quarter to bring the advance to a halt.

The mayor is gratified at the progress made and hopes it will continue. The press and the chamber of commerce are giving effective cooperation. The Restaurant Association, more than any other group, feels that is is "the sacrificial lamb" in the desegregation process and some of

its members are bitter, but for the most part they are anxious to hold the line for a united posture of non-discriminatory service. The Memphis Committee on Community Relations, whose leaders include some of the city's most respected citizens, is devoted to orderly adjustment to the new order. The Memphis Council on Human Relations, a biracial group, frankly committed to racial integration and working for interracial friendship and understanding, cooperates with the MCCR, and the two organizations have overlapping membership.

On the Negro side the unity is even more noteworthy. Only one of the principal action organizations is represented in Memphis and it completely dominates the field. White negotiators do not have to deal with rival Negro groups. Whey they have talked with the leaders of the NAACP, they "know where they stand" with the Negro community. The Memphis branch, with approximately 7,000 members, boasts the largest NAACP membership of any southern city. It formulates the Negro objectives, prods the white community, and marshals the Negro advance. The MCCR is the body in which the NAACP objectives receive biracial consideration and, generally, support. The Urban League, a Community Chest organization, is closely linked with both the white and the Negro communities. It cooperates smoothly with both the NAACP and the MCCR with efficient, but more routine, service in the employment field.

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations itself is preeminently an element of unity. The Chamber of Commerce, the churches, business and professional groups, civic organizations -- as well as the Council on Human Relations, the Urban League, and the NAACP -- are all strongly represented in it, and most public officials cooperate with it.

The Committee on Community Relations was established as early as 1958. Memphis Negroes, sharing the rising spirit of Negro militancy in the South, moved aggressively in agitation and demonstrations in 1960. But it was in 1961 that the walls of segregation began to crumble in a substantial way.

1960 and most of 1961 was a period of protest on the part of the Negro community, expressed in sit-ins, picketing, meetings, public statements, and law suits. Negroes protested their exclusion from the Memphis Automobile Show in a spirited meeting and urged a boycott of local automobile dealers. Since the annual Mid-South Fair was traditionally for whites only, the separate all-Negro Tri-State Fair was suspended "because of the spirit of the times." (The Automobile Show has since been discontinued, and the Mid-South Fair has been desegregated.) In a meeting with the City Commission in March, the Committee on Community Relations urged "constructive steps.... in the direction of desegregation" and the appointment of Negroes to various boards and agencies.

Meanwhile Negroes pressed in court litigation for desegregation of schools, buses, the municipal auditorium, museums, art galleries, golf courses, tennis courts, playgrounds, parks, and boat docks. The school integration "breakthrough" was effected with surprising tranquility in October 1961, when 13 Negro children were admitted to previously all-white public schools without incident

The "Freedom" movement, as it was designated by the NAACP, continued and reached a crescendo in early November 1961. Regular picket and sit-in schools were held. Picketing and sit-ins were being staged daily; "Freedom Marches" and "Neighborhood Freedom Rides", weekly. Then, on November 14, the NAACP announced the suspension of demonstrations -- "as a result of favorable negotiations with downtown merchants." Some desegregation of eating places occurred shortly afterward. Desegregatinn of public facilities and places of public accommodation continued, under persistent prodding, and improvement was made in the employment situation and other areas during the ensuing two and a half years. November 14, 1961 was a milestone date. Since then demonstrations have been rare; the progress has been made by negotiation and conference and broad community effort.

Negroes in Public Office and in Politics

Although no Negro has been elected to public office in Memphis, a number hold appointive public offices. A milestone

was passed in 1961, when A. Maceo Walker, a Negro insurance company executive, was appointed to the important three-member Memphis Transit Authority; he was succeeded by another Negro upon the expiration of his term of office. The present city commission, elected last November, has given official responsibilities to no less than ten Negroes, as follows:

T. R. Hayes, Jr., member Transit Authority.

S. A. Wilbun, Assistant City Attorney.

Robert Lewis, member Alcohol Licensing Commission.

A. A. Latting, member Civil Service Commission.

Harold Whalum, member Traffic Advisory Committee.

Whittier A. Sengstacke, member Memphis-Arkansas Bridge Commission.

Hollis F. Price, member Inter-Agency Health Committee.

Mesdames Calverta Ishmael, Margaret Rivers, and Ophelia Byas, members City Beautiful Commission.

Among Negro officials serving by earlier appointment are B. L. Hooks, assistant public defender (county), and Charles L. Dinkins, a member of the Memphis Hospital Board.

(At lower levels of city employment in Memphis, although statistics are not available, Negroes are heavily represented. Negroes have served the city from time immemorial in manual-labor capacities. Garbage collection, for instance, is largely a Negro activity.)

Three of the Negro appointees listed above, Hayes, Wilbun, and Latting, were nominated by William B. Ingram, the new mayor. In Mayor Ingram's election last November he is said to have had the support of both the Citizens' Council and the Negroes! In his former position of city judge he had been little identified with the desegregation movement, and the Citizens' Council, which has difficulty in finding sympathy with its aims in any political leader, decided that Mr. Ingram was more congenial than either of the other two candidates. Negroes in the lower income brackets were impressed with Mr. Ingram's record as judge and gave him their votes. Most Negro leaders supported the other candidates.

Interviewed in his office in City Hall, the mayor expressed pride in Memphis' progress in race relations and praised the work of the MCCR, which he hoped would go on to greater accomplishments.

A number of Negroes have run for public office in Memphis. Two received record-breaking votes last November, but none was successful in winning election. Assistant Public Defender Ben L. Hooks, running for judge of the city court, Division 3, was endorsed by the Memphis Commercial Appeal. He received 41,948 votes to 43,209 for Ray W. Churchill, a white attorney, the remaining 30,000 votes being divided among seven other candidates for the position.

Another Negro candidate, Dr. Hollis F. Price, running for a seat on the public school board, was endorsed by the Memphis Press Scimitar. In this two-man race, Dr. Price received 40,518 votes to 61,019 for his opponent, a white man. Three other Negro candidates, one for commissioner of public works and two for school board seats, received each from 30,000 to 35,000 votes.

Dr. Price, who is president of LeMoyne College and highly respected in both white and Negro circles, is an astute observer of the Memphis scene. He did not conceal his gratification at recent civil-rights progress in that city. "Many Negroes avoid saying that things have improved," he said, "because so much more needs to be done and we don't want anyone to feel that we can stop where we are. But everybody knows we have come a long way in three years. I don't mind telling you I think it's tremendous!"

In public accommodations he felt that the battle had been practically won. The greatest danger now was the some of the gains might be lost by default. He said few Negroes were patronizing the newly desegregated restaurants, and he feared that some restaurants might drop back to segregation again. He was seriously considering a program under which LeMoyne students would visit desegregated restaurants systematically during the summer. "It might cost $700 or $800," he said.

Dr. Price attributed the civil-rights progress in Memphis to the large Negro vote and to an unusual unity in the movement in both its white and its Negro leadership. The white business community was supporting the social change; its cooperation had "helped enormously" in the areas of public accommodations and employment opportunity and in city government and police attitudes. The agencies and individuals propelling the movement worked smoothly together.

There was virtually no dissension among Memphis Negroes, he said. An ably led NAACP was the dominant, and, in fact, the only action organization and the Negro community was united behind it. CORE, SNCC, and SCLC were practically non-existent as local entities. In the Memphis Committee on Community Relations Negro leadership and white leadership joined in an effective partnership; the NAACP often found it effective to work through the MCCR in pursuing its objectives.

Individual clergymen, both white and colored, had worked valiantly in the movement, he said, but the ministerial association as such had been of little help. The National Conference of Christians and Jews in Memphis, which earlier concentrated entirely on religious tolerance, had moved into the field of interracial brotherhood, especially in

connection with religious worship. Negroes are included in its Memphis Round Table and are invited to its annual dinners. It is putting on Sunday afternoon TV programs, with Negro participants, emphasizing brotherhood.

Dr. Price expressed a high opinion of the Memphis Council on Human Relations, of which he is a member. The MCHR is overshadowed by the MCCR as a reform mechanism, but the members of the former are more frankly dedicated, not merely to community harmony, but to the cause of racial justice and brotherhood.

Dr. Price said he had "great respect" for Claude Armour, the Memphis police and fire commissioner, a public figure who looms large in all civil-rights discussion.

Schools

Memphis has had token public school integration since the fall of 1961 This year, 287 Negro children are enrolled in the four first grades of 14 predominantly white schools. No notable disorder has attended the mingling of white and colored children in the schools.

A suit seeking desegregation of the Memphis public school system was filed in federal court in March 1960. In a ruling of April 1961 District Judge Marion S. Boyd refused to order the immediate desegregation of the entire system, noting that the school board had expressed a desire to integrate

the schools through compliance with the state pupil assignment law. The case was appealed; but without waiting for further court action the school board proceeded with the first admission of Negro children to predominantly white schools the following October.

The public school "breakthrough" was typical of the insistence upon quiet procedure and the avoidance of sensation which has characterized the advance of Memphis on the whole civil-rights front. The operation was carried out with a minimum of preparation or previous notice to the public. During the previous month the cooperation of the city's political and civic leadership and of the press was quietly secured. Brief public statements conveyed the suggestion, but not a formal announcement, that some school desegregation might be in the offing. The news media were definitely informed at a briefing the evening before the event; the president of the school board made it clear that full news coverage was desired afterward, but secured a promise from the press to withhold announcement until the children had entered school. The plan went off without a hitch. Neither reporters nor spectators were allowed in the vicinity of the schools during the first few days, but, on the critical first day, a press headquarters, set up across the street from the school board offices, was relayed information as fast as it came in from school authorities and police.

On March 23, 1962, the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit ruled that the state assignment law could not serve as a desegregation plan, and the Supreme Court refused to review this decision. Judge Boyd then ordered the school board to submit a new plan, and the board came forward with one for biracial classes in the first three grades, which the court approved. The school board proceeded to put its plan into effect the following September, enrolling eleven Negroes in the first grade, 21 in the second, and twelve in the third in schools with whites, bringing the total of Negroes in formerly all-white schools to 53. Judge Boyd rejected a NAACP plan for the desegregation of all grades by 1965 and he refused to order faculty desegregation. An appeal by the Negro plaintiffs from this ruling is still pending before the Court of Appeals, but in 1963 the school board extended desegregation further in accordance with its plan.

In the Shelby County public schools, six Negro children were admitted to one previously all-white elementary school in September,1963. A suit had been filed in June seeking desegregation of the county's school system, including the teaching staff. In February 1964, the court approved a county school board plan for the desegregation of all twelve grades in all schools in the fall of this year, with limited transfer privileges. Judge Boyd rejected a proposal of the

NAACP to require a 68-32 racial balance in all the county's schools. The public school enrollment in Shelby consists of 28,084 white and 13,216 Negro pupils

Memphis State University has 250 Negroes among its 8,215 students, having admitted its first Negro students (eight) in 1959. The city's two Roman Catholic Colleges, Christian Brothers and Siena, are both integrated, each with three Negro students in attendance. The Presbyterian Southwestern College in Memphis has announced that it will be integrated in the fall of 1964. The Memphis Technical School, for both adult and high school students, has one Negro along with whites in day classes and ten in night classes. The area Vocational School, with classes from 4 to 10 P. M., is integrated.

Approximately 8,000 Memphis and Shelby County children are enrolled in Catholic parochial schools, including 612 Negroes, most of them in two all-Negro schools. Four grades were desegregated in September 1963, as part of a four-step plan to extend biracial classes through the ninth grade in 1966.

The limited nature of integration at Memphis State University has been a constant source of complaint by the NAACP, which contendedthat Negroes are still excluded from some recreational and other extra-curricular activities.

Only in April 1964, were Negro students admitted to full participation in the university's athletic program. Dissatisfaction with the public school situation has also simmered; last September it produced the only Negro demonstrations that Memphis has seen for the part two years.

There is growing impatience with the slow pace of public school integration, which is under litigation. In addition to that a dispute arose over a double-shift schedule at five Negro schools and over other school board policies. Several hundred Negro pickets paraded around the school board office repeatedly over a nine-day period before a truce was reached. The school board, while continuing the double-shift schedule, made a slight revision for greater pupil convenience and agreed to study its policy of hiring Negro teachers, to add distributive education courses to the Negro high school curriculum, and to consider the employment of Negroes in administrative offices.

The Negro demonstrations last September were orderly. There was no violence -- due in the opinion of some, to a large deployment of police. It was reported that the demonstrations had cost the city $9,000 in overtime pay for patrolmen.

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations is a voluntary and unofficial group of civic leaders, with no

office and no paid staff, but its prestige is such that it is almost as effective as an official human relations commission. It has, in fact, accomplished more than some so-called "Mayors' Committees."

Originally the MCCR was not devoted to civil rights; it was even regarded by some of its early members as a means of arresting the Negro advance. It sought to preserve order and interracial harmony in the city, and -- with an increasing recognition of the necessity for change -- that remains its stated purpose.

The evolution of the MCCR is an interesting study. Its forerunner was a "Race Relations Committee," set up, with prompting from several city officials, in 1956. This group was biracial in composition, but it is a commentary on the earlier interracial climate that some of its white members were unwilling to meet with Negroes! It became necessary to divide the Race Relations Committee into two subcommittees, which met separately and then negotiated through chosen delegates. The emmissaries from the white and Negro subcommittees met frequently and gradually became the committee itself.

The Race Relations Committee had become sufficiently "moderate" to arouse suspicion in the emotional atmosphere of 1958. When a prominent banker became its chairman, he was threatened with dismissal by his board of directors and,

in the ensuing unpleasantness, the Committee itself dissolved. After only a brief lapse, however, the new and stronger Memphis Committee on Community Relations was formed. The purpose of the MCCR, as stated in its charter and constitution when it was incorporated on January 26, 1959, are "to provide a meeting place for calm discussion and such responsible action as may be agreed upon to preserve order, under law, as interpreted by courts of competent jurisdiction and the peace, happiness and continued progress of the great and growing city of Memphis and all of its people."

When the sit-in movement erupted around the South in early 1960, the executive committee of the MCCR arranged a meeting with the mayor and commissioners of Memphis. The nature of this Committee's activities was forecast better in a formal statement, presented to the city's governing body at that time. This said in part:

> During the past year committees from our membership have been studying various phases of our community relations and have held meetings of our members and the Board of Directors. Concerned about the recent outbreaks and sometimes violent occurrences in other southern cities, and convinced that some prompt, positive steps must be taken to forestall the probability of similar occurrences in Memphis, our Board of Directors met on March 10, 1960. This meeting by resolution instructed the Executive Committee to request this meeting with you, to say to you that as you seek solutions for community problems our organization is ready now and in the future to serve you in any way that it can within the limitation of its charter.

> The Committee believes that goodwill and understanding in our community can best be promoted by planned, voluntary and constructive change. It is the feeling of our Committee that steps should be voluntarily taken in Memphis in the direction of desegregation. We believe that this is necessary for the ultimate welfare of our community.
>
> Furthermore, we feel that the Negro segment of our population is inadequately represented in local government and toward the end of rectifying this condition we respectfully request that the City Commission give consideration to the appointment of qualified Negroes to membership on the various boards of agencies which operate under the jurisdiction of the Commission.
>
> We were also instructed to assure you that when such appointments are made our organization will not only give its own full support, but will also use its best efforts to explain to all the citizens of the community the desirability and wisdom of such action.

Lucius Burch, the MCCR's first chairman, and the Rev. Paul Tudor Jones, a Presbyterian minister, Arthur W. McCain, a retired banker, and Edward J. Meeman, the men who have followed Mr. Burch, are four of Memphis's most prominent civic leaders. Former Mayor Orgill has been an active worker, as have Frank R. Ahlgren, editor of the Commercial Appeal, who is chairman of the subcommittee on public accommodations, and other outstanding citizens.

Mr. Meeman, the present chairman, is editor emeritus of the Press Scimitar, and he presides over the committee from his office in the Press Scimitar building. Rabbi James A. Wax, of Temple Israel, is the Committee's dedicated secretary. There are five vice-chairmen: former Mayor Orgill;

Mr. Ahlgren; Carl Carson, a businessman; Dr. Price; and Dr. Vasco Smith, Jr. The last two named are Negroes; Dr. Smith is also vice president of the NAACP.

Membership in the MCCR is open to all; approximately 150 members are now enrolled at a fee of one dollar a year. Meetings of the full membership are held only rarely and meetings of its board of directors are infrequent. An executive committee, meeting once a month, and various subcommittees do most of the Committee's work. There are, or have been, subcommittees on schools, libraries, hotels, restaurants, and employment. Meetings of these are held once a week or oftener while a project is under way, and are more or less suspended afterward. The employment subcommittee is now the most active, and it is permanent for the forseeable future. Approximately one-third of the 28 executive committee members are Negroes, and include both the president and the vice president of the NAACP.

The emphasis of the MCCR has been on quiet work behind the scenes. Many point to this fact as the secret of its success in the delicate matter of race relations. Much planning and negotiation take place without publicity. Substantial progress is often made in the fields of public accommodations and employment before the fact is generally known. This quietness of operation, of course, would not be possible without the cooperation of the news media, but

in Memphis the editors of the daily newspaper are leading exponents of the "quietness principle."

Mr. Meeman said that the Committee serves as an arena of compromise, with everyone speaking frankly. Once a decision is made, the group unites in the effort to put it into effect and the city and county governments usually cooperate.

He said also that firm and fair law enforcement and the absence of disorder had made everything easier. He had high praise for Police and Fire Commissioner Claude Armour.

In 1963 Mr. Meeman received the National Human Relations Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. In accepting the honor at a Memphis meeting, he said in part:

> We have come to the next place in race relations in Memphis.
>
> We have already accomplished more difficult tasks. We have desegregated buses, schools, libraries, and the art gallery, a university, parks and playgrounds, restaurants; what is now our task is less of a break with our traditions.... Our task now is to widen the opportunities for employment of our Negro citizens... Everyone is now agreed that Negroes should have the opportunity to obtain an education as good as that which is available to whites. Having been prepared to hold good jobs by this training, they should not be shut out from the opportunity to get them.
>
> When we upgrade a large portion of our population, the South will raise its standard of living, improve the labor supply, become an area with greater attractions to industry and

distributive commerce, and provide a greater prosperity for all of us who live here and the peace of mind that comes from friendship and cooperation between the races.

The NAACP

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the spearhead of the Negro push. Though it works through the Committee on Community Relations in the pursuit of many of its objectives, it furnishes a constant and necessary spur to that organization. The Memphis branch, with approximately 7,000 members, boasts the largest membership of any NAACP unit in the South. The figure for 1963 membership was 6,900; the initial success of the drive now under way suggests that the number will exceed 7,000 in 1964.

The Association's well-ordered Memphis office is run by Mrs. Maxine Smith, executive secretary, with several clerical assistants. Mrs. Smith is the wife of Vice President Vasco Smith. It is the busy office of a busy organization.

In addition to steady pressure in the areas of public accommodations and employment, the branch's regular reports describe an endless variety of activities: continuing litigation over public recreational facilities, schools, etc.; complaints to the President's Committee on Equal Employment; voter registration drives; and intervention in innumerable incidents and situations involving discrimination

against Negroes. Letters of congratulation are regularly sent to individuals and agencies making favorable moves, such as the appointment of Negroes to responsible positions. When congratulations are not in order, communications of a different kind go forth; for example, the NAACP protested to the Social Security Administration the ommission of courtesy titles in dealing with Negroes at its Memphis office, leading to prompt corrective action. Complaints of police mistreatment of Negroes, numerous during the agitation of 1961, are still handled from time to time.

Even as the situation improves, lingering prejudice against Negroes is manifested in public functions and in many small incidents spotted by a vigilant NAACP. In 1962 a receptionist at the out-patient clinic of the John Gaston Hospital erased "Mrs." from the identification card of a Negro patient in her presence, politely explaining that this was necessary to distinguish her from white patients! When the NAACP reported the incident to the hospital chief of staff (whom it finds cooperative) the latter took immediate steps to have the practice stopped.

Officially, city hospitals are now operating on a nondiscriminatory basis, but the NAACP finds much still to be done in this area. It has secured the removal of "WHITE" and "COLORED" signs from hospital toilets, desegregation of cafeterias and nurses' rooms, and the upgrading of some Negro

hospital employees. Yet discrimination remains in ward segregation, nurse training, and higher-level employment. The NAACP reported in January 1964 that "segregation is still deeply entrenched in city hospitals."

The prestige of the NAACP among the public in Memphis, both white and colored, is enhanced by the personality and stature of its president, Jesse H. Turner. Mr. Turner is firm and militant in the Negro cause, and at the same time, courteous and understanding. A banker--- president of the Tri-State Bank on Beale Street -- whites remark that Mr. Turner "knows the businessman's problems -- he's a man we can talk with." Even restaurant operators, many of them resentful of the pressures which they feel forced them to desegregate, find comfort in the attitude of the NAACP president. They say that Mr. Turner could be relied upon to make the change gradual and to see that judicious use was made of the desegregated facilities, protecting them from being overrun by irresponsible persons.

Mr. Turner concedes that Memphis has made unusual civil-rights progress in comparison with other Deep South communities. He expresses admiration for various white leaders of the MCCR. But his emphasis is on the shortcomings, on the mass of prejudice and discrimination still to be overcome. He says that much of the desegregation that has taken place has been only token and halfhearted.

The 287 Negro children in school with whites is only a handful out of 54,407 Negroes in Memphis public schools. (NAACP lawyers are pressing in the federal courts for complete desegregation.) Hotel desegregation is limited to rooms and eating facilities, and "not too many Negroes at a time;" Negroes are still excluded from bars, ballrooms, etc. City swimming pools are still closed to prevent desegregation. (This matter is also under litigation in federal courts.) Negro advances were being made on the employment front, but a steady unremitting campaign was necessary in that area. In the situation as a whole there was still a long way to go, but Mr. Turner was prepared to keep on fighting every step of the way.

The Press

The daily newspapers, the morning Commercial Appeal and the afternoon Memphis Press Scimitar, are not unqualified champions of civil rights. Both are opposed to the civil rights bill, although the Press Scimitar favors some kind of federal legislation in this field. (The latter applauded the Supreme Court decision denying jury trial to Mississippi's former governor and lieutenant governor.) In the local scene the two papers -- both in their editorials and in their news coverage -- have followed a policy of constant cooperation and of skillful encouragement in the campaign against race prejudice and discrimination.

Mr. Meeman described the press policy as one of keeping the public fully informed, but discreetly, without sensational reporting and with judicious timing of some announcements. Negotiations to secure the desegregation of places of public accommodation were not embarrassed by premature news of each individual move; likewise the opening of employment in one establishment is not made public while negotiations with a group in the same business are in progress. Instead, articles are published from time to time giving summaries of desegregation, and these are presented in language tending to make the public proud of the progress Memphis is making.

An article which appeared in the Commercial Appeal of May 21, 1963 is an example of this kind of reporting. Headed "Memphis Group Quietly Widens Negro Horizons," it said in part:

> Quietly during the last few months there has been a gradual increase in the number of job opportunities available to Negroes here, as well as a general upgrading in Negro employment.
>
> Without fanfare, Memphis' Committee on Community Relations has been holding conciliatory talks between white and Negro leaders, securing additional employment for Negroes in sales and other areas in large retail and specialty stores; in bread, soft drink, and beer distributing firms, and in similar fields of work.
>
> The new employment positions are in addition to a general increase in the status of Negro workers in areas in which they have long held jobs.
>
> There are now 16 Negro bus drivers employed by the Memphis Transit Authority. The Memphis

Police Department has 28 Negro officers, and interviews will be held tomorrow to select members of a training class expected to furnish 25 more.

The Sheriff's Department has three Negro deputies, and others are being added from time to time. Other agencies of city, county, and state governments are constantly upgrading employment opportunities for Negroes.

These changes in the community social structure have been achieved without incident, a major contrast with other southern cities such as Birmingham and Nashville.

The following (May 20, 1963) is typical of the helpful reporting in the Press Scimitar.

Memphis has been outstanding in its peaceful desegregation.

The latest development in the peaceful change in Memphis, improvement in job opportunities, was preceded by gradual desegregation of public facilities, step by step, without discussion or violence.

Downtown theaters have been desegregated this year, quietly and smoothly. Patrons now see Negroes sitting where they wish in theaters and seem to think nothing of it. Negroes sat with whites when the Metropolitan Opera came to the Auditorium recently.

The Memphis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been strong in desegregation demands, but also reasonable. There have not been many demonstrations, and these were done peacefully. There have been none recently, despite demonstrations in Birmingham and other Southern cities. ....Among the first facilities to be desegregated in Memphis were the two railroad stations This was done on federal order. It was done smoothly, and there are no longer separate waiting rooms or eating places. This dates back to 1955.

> There has been much desegregation since:....
> The bus stations.... city passenger bus service....
> Some city schools, libraries, the zoo, some public
> golf courses and other recreational facilities....
> Many downtown eating places....
>
> A number of citizens have given and are
> still giving their time to help Memphis desegre-
> gate peacefully.
>
> This has helped make Memphis a model in
> peaceful desegregation.

Some events call for prompt reporting. Mr. Meeman recalled, for instance, that, when the city buses were desegregated, it was necessary to advise the public at once that the change had been officially made; otherwise the spectacle of Negroes suddenly taking seats where they had not been allowed before could easily have led to serious interracial disorder.

On the other hand, when the theaters were desegregated, the fact was not mentioned in the press until long afterward. The downtown theaters merely agreed privately to cease excluding Negroes; when the next Negroes applied they were to be sold tickets and admitted without discrimination. A few Negro leaders were quietly informed and Negroes began gradually to attend the theaters that had been previously barred to them.

Two Negro newspapers, the Tri-State Defender and the Memphis World, serve the Negro community. Edited respectively by Thaddeus T. Stokes and J. A. Beauchamp, they are staunch

supporters of the NAACP and the civil-rights cause.

Municipal Facilities and Public Accommodations

Federal court rulings impelled most of the earlier desegregation in Memphis, reflecting aggressive work on the part of the NAACP. Railway, airline, and bus terminal facilities, municipal parks, and other city-operated recreational facilities were desegregated in compliance with court orders. Public schools were desegregated in the shadow of federal court litigation in which NAACP lawyers were asking, and are still asking, for more extensive action.

In the matter of municipal facilities the Memphis litigation drew from the Supreme Court on May 27, 1963, a somewhat famous opinion, expressing impatience with the slow response generally to the condemnation of segregation in its 1954 Brown decision. In Watson v. Memphis the high court recalled that "it was almost eight years ago -- in 1955, the year after the decision on the merits in Brown -- that the constitutional proscription of state enforced racial segregation was found to apply to public recreational facilities." (Dawson v. Baltimore).

A suit was filed in May 1960, seeking desegregation of the city's auditorium, museums, art galleries, parks, golf courses, tennis courts, playgrounds, boat docks, and other recreational facilities. Some desegregation in this area

had already taken place at the time and the city authorities indicated an intention to continue the process over a period of years, at the slow pace it considered necessary to prevent public turmoil. More progress had been made by the time the Suppeme Court dealt with the case in 1963.

The high court noted in its ruling:

> ....Memphis owns 131 parks, all of which are operated by the Memphis Park Commission. Of these, only 25 were at the time of trial open to use without regard to race; 58 were restricted to use by whites and 25 to use by Negroes; the remaining 23 parks were undeveloped raw land. Subject to exceptions, neighborhood parks were generally segregated according to the racial character of the area in which located. The City Park Commission also operated a number of additional recreational facilities, by far the largest share of which were found to be racially segregated. Though a zoo, an art gallery and certain boating and other facilities are now desegregated, about two-thirds (40) of the 61 city-pwned playgrounds were at the time of the trial reserved for whites only, and the remainder were set aside for Negro use. Thirty of the 56 playgrounds and other facilities operated by the municipal Park Commission on property owned by churches, private groups, or the school board were set aside for the exclusive use of whites, while 26 were reserved for Negroes. All 12 of the municipal community centers were segregated, 8 being available only to whites and 4 to Negroes. Only 2 of the 7 city golf courses were open to Negroes; play on the remaining 5 was limited to whites....

The case was remanded to the District Court for appropriate action, and all of the public facilities mentioned above have now been desegregated. There was no turmoil or disorder. Only municipal swimming pools were closed; the constitutionality of that action is being challenged in federal court.

Incidentally, the Supreme Court uttered a reproof heard widely across the South: "Brown never contempleted that the concept of 'deliberate speed' would countenance indefinite delay in elimination of racial barriers in schoole, let alone other public facilities not involving the same physical problems or comparable conditions."

Restaurants at railway, bus, and airline terminals were also desegregated under federal court orders, but for the most part privately operated facilities in Memphis -- theaters, hotels, restaurants, etc. -- were desegregated as a result of Negro pressure and the work of the MCCR and other liberal groups. After 18 months of sit-ins, etc., and the negotiations of November 1961, racial barriers were dropped at 28 lunch counters in various branches of ten department stores in February 1962. Prodding continued, and the targets broadened to include hotels, restaurants, and theaters. 1963 saw a wave of desegregation of such places.

The theater problem was approached in a spirit of general good will on the part of theater operators, but with great wariness of white protest and possible disorder. The NAACP addressed letters to the theaeers in September 1962, asking them to cease barring Negroes. The theaters referred the matter to the MCCR and indicated a willingness to negotiate. All of this was handled discreetly, and a satisfactory agreement was reached.

Desegregation began in January, four theaters at first and then others, on an unpublicized "controlled" basis. The NAACP undertook to control the attendance of Negroes; it was asked to send a designated number to a designated theater at a designated time. No unpleasantness occurred; little attention was paid to the Negroes in the theaters, and the operation expanded. By February 25, Negroes were completely at home in ten downtown theaters which they had previously been forbidden to enter. The principal downtown hotels and motels removed racial barriers (though some of their facilities are still closed to Negroes) in concert, following an agreement negotiated under the auspices of the MECR.

Restaurants began to desegregate slowly, only a handful at first. A long struggle and much controversy developed in this area, not only between the restaurants and the NAACP, but among the restaurant operators themselves. Each of these feared that upon opening his doors to Negro customers he would suffer from competition with the establishments which continued to serve whites exclusively. The dissension within the Memphis Restaurant Association reached such a point that by the end of 1963 the Association decided to have nothing more to do with the matter. But by then the battle for desegregation had been practically won. Forty

previously all-white establishments had opened their doors to Negroes. Five more restaurants took the step during the next two months and 30 moved simultaneously on February 27, 1964 bringing the total of desegregated restaurants to 75. By April the number had reached 100.

Few restaurant operators made the change cheerfully. In spite of an unmistakable trend toward a more liberal attitude toward civil-rights in Memphis many businessmen are supporting the trend because they consider it better than racial turmoil and because they do not want to resist a very respectable civic movement. Most restaurant operators are serving Negroes merely as a "lesser evil" than harassment from civil rights agitators and out of a sense of solidarity with their associates.

A prime example of this is Harbon Fields, proprietor of The Flame and The Pancake Man and president of the Memphis Restaurant Association. Mr. Fields expressed strong disapproval of restaurant integration in principle; he said "every one" of the Association's members was against it. Yet he had worked energetically to bring about united action in opening Memphis restaurants to Negroes. The Association had made a survey last year of a representative group of restaurants, and the study had led to a realistic conclusion that the loss of trade caused by Negro demonstrators was greater than the loss which could be expected to result

from removing racial barriers. It was a matter of dollars and cents.

The restaurants have also been under pressure from the Memphis Chamber of Commerce and, of course, from the influential Memphis Committee on Community Relations. As Mr. Fields saw it, "it was the people who had nothing to lose" who were pressing for restaurant desegregation.

The restaurants have lost money -- "all of them," he said--- both by exposure to demonstrations and by integration, and he added: "It is hurting business now." The damage was only slight in many cases -- a white customer walking out in a huff now and then; in other cases, he said, white trade had fallen off considerably and the loss had not been offset by Negro trade. According to Mr. Fields, "a well-dressed Negro alone" or mixed white and Negro parties did not matter, but the sight of a party of a dozen Negroes was sure to alienate white customers.

However, Mr. Fields found the influence of Jesse H. Turner, the NAACP president, effective and Mr. Turner cooperative. He said you could depend on Mr. Turner to "regulate the thing," if he was informed in advance.

Mr. Fields' main concern was the effort to secure united action by the Memphis restaurants All, he felt, should be "in the same boat." It was unfair for a few restaurants to

profit at the expense of others by clinging to the white-only policy. The "hold-outs" in restaurant desegregation seemed to arouse his wrath as much as the civil-rights movement.

He was also disturbed over the action of the Memphis Citizens' Council in circulating lists of still segregated restaurants. He had heard that it was preparing to distribute lists of the desegregated places also. He only hoped they hadn't enough money to give these lists wide circulation!

In other quarters there was little mention of the Citizens' Council restaurant guides; they did not appear to have had much impact. Restaurant integration seemed to be going much more smoothly than Mr. Fields indicated and was being increasingly accepted by the Memphis public.

Employment

Comprehensive data registering progress in the field of equal employment opportunity in Memphis are not available, but the progress has been large. Many business and industrial establishments have hired their first Negroes, or placed their first Negroes in superior positions, during the past several years. Most of this has happened during the past twelve months, and the opening of new employment opportunities for Negroes is still going on with increasing momentum.

This phase of desegregation businessmen like. Many employers, who were nervous and apprehensive of white

reaction at first, nevertheless welcomed the systematic effort to open jobs to Negroes in their industries. Those who have employed or upgraded Negroes are almost invariably pleased with the result.

Under the headline, "MEMPHIS PROVIDES MORE AND BETTER JOBS FOR NEGROES," the Memphis Press Scimitar reported on May 20, 1963:

> Increased employment opportunities are being given Memphis Negroes through action taken by many employers throughout the city
>
> This includes upgrading of Negroes already employed and making jobs available that generally were not given Negroes in the past.
>
> The employment committee of the Memphis Committee on Community Relations has been working on this problem for more than a year, and the rate of increased employment has been stepped up recently.
>
> Most downtown stores have given better jobs to Negroes, including jobs as sales personnel. Some 25 to 30 stores are already participating, doing more than 60 per cent of retail business, a spokesman for the committee said.
>
> A number of other businesses, including soft drink bottlers, bakeries, supermarket groups and others are participating. The spokesman said more than 100 firms are participating, and already several hundred Negroes have received new jobs or been promoted in jobs previously not available to Negroes.
>
> The spokesman said that almost all firms are employing on a basis of character, aptitude and ability regardless of race. He said a check with participating firms reveals that they plan to add more Negro employees, and that they

are well pleased with Negro employees so far. He said the companies have had few complaints about Negro employees.

It was a surprise to the employment committee to find out that a number of firms had already started upgrading Negroes, before they were asked to do so by the committee. Some already had Negroes in supervisory capacities.

The upgrading is expected to continue gradually, and expand until Negroes are giving ehir fair share of jobs for which they are qualified.

An example of employment of Negroes is at the city-owned bus service, which put on one Negro bus driver two years ago, and now has 16, all doing satisfactory work.

There are now appeoximately 25 Negro bus drivers.. In industrial plantx International Harvester, Otis Elevator, Southern Bell Telephone and other corporations have opened new positions to Negroes. Banks have employed a Negro here and there in a clerical capacity; the Memphis branch of the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank has two Negro clerks. American Airlines now has a Negro young lady at its ticket counter. A recent Retail Merchants Association survey showed these stores with Negro sales clerks: Graysons (1); Three Sisters (1); Perel and Lowenstein (4); Goldsmith's (9); Sam Shainberg Co. stores (9); and Pantage Drug Stores (14). These are in addition to Katz, Woolworth, and other variety stores. (A NAACP survey at the beginning of 1963 had found that Negro employment in such stores was almost completely confined to janitorial and related jobs.)

The Rev. J. A. McDaniel, who combines the duties of pastor of Bethel Presbyterian Church with those of executive director of the Memphis Urban League, is one of the Negroes who are frankly elated over the progress being made. The change in the employment picture is particularly impressive when viewed from an office which had struggled for so long for small Negro gains. Mr. McDaniel finds that "things are moving now."

"I lost my secretary yesterday to the American Airlines," he remarked. "Of course I was glad. She will earn twice as much there, and it is a breakthrough for American Airlines."

The Urban League has a spacious office in a former residence on Beale Street, where Mr. McDaniel is assisted by Mack Arnold, assistant director, and Mrs. S. A. Owens, Jr., secretary. Mr. McDaniel is enthusiastic about the NAACP - MCCR - Urban League team work. He had high praise for the white leaders in the movement, who are heavily represented on the Urban League Board. "Seven or eight members of our board are members of the MCCR, including Carl Carson, chairman of the MCCR employment subcommittee," he said.

Incidentally, Mr. McDaniel praised the Memphis police: "They don't use dogs or firehoses here." Referring to Claude A. Armour, the police and fire commissioner, he

said: "Claude has gained the respect of both races; he relies on the Negro vote, and he gets it." However, he added: "White and Negro leaders have worked together, so we haven't needed police too much."

Carl Carson, chairman of the MCCR's employment subcommittee, is at the center of the busiest and most fruitful phase of the movement for equal opportunity in Memphis now. He is the head of several Carson companies in the automobile rental field, and he begins with heavy employment of Negroes at all levels in his own enterprises. "Every one of them," he said, "is doing a bang-up job. You see that fellow at the counter? I can go away and leave him in charge." He said he had had some fear at first of losing white customers, that "some customer might walk out rather than do business with a Negro clerk." But he had lost very little business on account of his Negro employees at any time, loses none now.

Mr. Carson uses the hard-headed business approach in his persuasion of other employers. He emphasizes the advantages of interracial harmony in the community and the efficiency of Negro personnel. But his own motivation is on the basis of conscience and morality. A deeply religious person, he loves his fellow man and he joys in the crusade to break down the racial barriers which prevent Negroes from working in the capacities for which they are qualified.

The colored Carson employee who drove me back from his office to my hotel obviously idolized his boss. I remarked that Mr. Carson was a "fine man." "Whoo-e-e-e!" he exclaimed, as if he had no words to fit his own sentiment. "You think so too?"

Mr. Carson likened Memphis acceptance of racial integration to customer acceptance of mechanical improvements in earlier years of the automobile. He remembered when many customers refused to pay the extra charge for cars with self-starters; they thought "any able-bodied man ought to be willing to crank his own machine!" People are afraid of change, but they often liked it when they got used to it. He said employers who hired Negroes were almost invariably glad afterward that they had done so.

Mr. Carson said his committee occasionally meets with unpleasantness on the part of one or two "hold-outs" in a particular line of business after general agreement has been reached. These were sometimes angry at "all the pressure." Then a few weeks later one of them would call him up and ask if he could come and talk about hiring some Negroes!

The employment subcommittee approaches its problem systematically, with constant adherence to the principle of united action. Individual establishments are not approached at random but through negotiation, industry by

industry. Mr. Carson's committee concentrated first, for example, on the soft drink bottling industry, and a conference was held with representatives of all of the bottling firms. Similarly the milk dealers, bread suppliers, chain stores, etc. were tackled, each group in turn. Mr. Carson found that this plan works wonders. The employer is much readier to hire Negroes when he knows that the policy is being adopted at the same time by all his associates in the same line of business.

The Police

In a summing-up of civil-rights progress in Memphis, the Press Scimitar aptly displayed as photos of the three key figures those of Arthur W. McCain, then president of the MCCR, Jess H. Turner, president of the NAACP, and Claude A. Armour, the police and fire commissioner. Commissioner Armour and law enforcement, which he directs and symbolizes, have had an extraordinary part in Memphis' adjustment to the new order in race relations.

In some cities the police have won notoriety by the mischief which their brutality and ineptitude have caused. In Memphis the police and their commissioner have achieved distinction of a different kind. In few cities have the police been so largely and so favorably identified with the civil-rights advance. Public order has been maintained in Memphis -- tranquility in which negotiations could quietly

proceed and insurance against disorder which enabled desegregation steps to be confidently taken. With small exceptions, police brutality, which is incompatible with any durable public order, has been absent, but the police "mean business," and the public knows it.

Nearly everybody likes this. Segregationists say approvingly that Armour has kept the Negroes from getting out of hand. Negroes feel that he has protected them from racist fanatics. There are no bombings or cross-burnings in Memphis. Negro demonstrators are kept within bounds, but they are not harassed by white hoodlums.

Mr. Armour is a "tough guy." Again and again at signs of unusual agitation or of impending disturbance the police commissioner has sounded the stern warning:

"No law-breaking or violence will be tolerated. Anyone who attempts it, white or colored, will be arrested."

Memphis has learned that Mr. Armour means what he says, and would-be trouble-makers abstain. Incidentally, the commissioner takes no chances. He deploys police in numbers that some consider excessive. One hundred and sixty patrolmen were assigned as a precaution against interference with public school desegregation in 1961.

Some Negroes were handled roughly during the sit-ins of that year. Mr. Meeman recalled that the Negroes were not so fond of Armour then. There have been cases subsequently in which the treatment of Negroes by individual policemen

has aroused complaint. Editor Stokes cites instance after instance of "police brutality" from the files of the Tri-State Defender. But Mr. Stokes thought Commissioner Armour was "doing a good job" on the whole and that Memphis Negroes were fortunate in having him for police commissioner. NAACP President Truner -- in the midst of some argument with the commissioner -- was "not sure Negroes will support him again," but he believed that police behavior had been better in Memphis than elsewhere in the Deep South. Negroes generally express "respect" for the police commissioner and find no cause for complaint.

Paradoxically, this man, to whom it appears to owe so much in Memphis, may not be in sympathy with the civil-rights movement. Some who know him say that he is privately opposed to racial integration (though the police force is integrated). His conversation throws no light on this point. He sums up his philosophy in the simple statement:

"I am a policeman."

And that is all that is necessary. For is it not the policeman, in the highest sense of the word, who makes all progress possible?

"I don't necessarily believe in this stuff," he told this writer. "But that doesn't make any difference. I'm a policeman." And a policeman he is, every inch of him He has never been anything else. He entered the force as a

police in 1949, at the age of 29. He was elected police and fire commissioner in 1950 and has been regularly re-elected since. Now he is also vice-mayor.

The sit-ins of 1960-1961 raised some new police and legal problems. Incidentally, these demonstrations were larger and more disruptive than many realized -- owing to the policy of the Memphis press of minimizing the publicity. Some say that Memphis had more sit-ins than any other southern city. Police action was harsh. Hundreds of Negroes were arrested, though nearly all of their cases were ultimately dismissed. In 318 cases in city court, 163 defendents were convicted and 155 of the cases were dismissed; 119 more of these cases were dismissed on appeal to the circuit court. Of 123 cases with state charges, 93 were dismissed.

Many Negroes, despite their kindly feelings toward Commissioner Armour now, look back upon his performance during the sit-in agitation with resentment. Some observers say that the commissioner's attitude toward Negroes has changed since. The attitude of many white leaders has changed during the past three catalytic years. Mr. Armour said that sit-in demonstrators were arrested only on warrant from the proprietors of affected business establishments. He was not quite clear on the legal points involved.

He expressed relief that "the police don't have this problem any more, because nearly all of the places are integrated."

The largest single mobilization of police was directed against possible white trouble-makers -- at the time of the initial public school desegregation in October 1961. Mr. Armour recalled that in a preparatory lecture to the 160-man detachment he directed them to arrest anyone who "gets out of line -- I don't care who it is." Speaking to men most of whom were themselves probably opposed to school integration, he added sternly: "Anyone who can't carry out this assignment, can hand in his badge." Public school desegregation was carried out with exemplary order and tranquility.

Incidentally, Mr. Armour remarked that three United States marshals appeared in his office the day before the event. He told them they would not be needed, and added: "If ever I ask for federal marshals, don't send me three, send me 300!"

The commissioner objected to "so much talk about race. To us," he said, "people are just violators or law-abiding citizens." Conversation with the assistant chief of police in charge of personnel and with several other officials confirmed the impression that the Memphis police department is permeated with the spirit of rigorous but evenhanded law

enforcement. There is no instruction in race problems as such, only intthe various types of disorder and the policeman's duty in the circumstances, whoever the offenders may be.

Referring to the MCCR, Mr. Armour said he cooperated constantly with it; he had helped to set up its forerunner, the Race Relations Committee. But he was careful to point out that his encouragement of negotiation was not because of any personal feeling about the race issue. It was because negotiation lessened the police problem.

The Memphis department has ten police dogs, none of which has ever been used in a civil-rights disturbance. Mr. Armour did not say that none ever would be used in such situations, but that would be only as a "last resort." He told of a case when dogs were used to beat off Negroes who were trying to prevent police from arresting one of their number in a drunken brawl. (But most Negroes seem unaware the police dogs are ever used.) There have been Negro policemen in Memphis for the past 16 years; there are now 42 on the 900-man force.

The Press Scimitar in reviewing civil-rights progress in Memphis said: "The conference of citizen and officials were indispensible and invaluable to keep peace and order in a time of inevitable change, but these conference could not have been enough. We had to have a police commissioner who would not play the demagogue but would enforce

the law without fear or favor. We had it...."

Approximately 1,000 persons attended a "Claude A. Armour Recognition Dinner" on April 30, 1964. The organizations working for race-relations progress were heavily represented on the sponsoring committee. Former Tennessee Governor Buford Ellington was among the speakers for the occasion, who included also the president and the secretary of the MCCR and Negro leader A. Maceo Walker.

Memphis has got gotten around to the housing problem, thought housing is becoming more segregated every day. Dr. Price remarked: "We haven't touched the housing problem. Nothing whatever is being done about that." White and Negro firemen serve in separate companies. Bowling lanes are segregated. There are imperfections in all phases of desegregation. The civil-rights advance is still far short of the open society. But Memphis nonetheless has begun to shine as a beacon of reason and decency for the Deep South.

The cotton capital of song and story, the great port of "Ole Man River," is moving into the new era in race relations irrevocably and with a speed which almost startles anyone returning to the city after a lapse of years. The change in three years has been striking, that in 20 years almost unbelievable. Among the letters to the editor of the Commercial Appeal of April 12, 1964, was one from one Ohio lady which said in part:

My last trip to Memphis was in 1945, when I flew in as a hostess with Eastern Airlines. I cannot believe that the same people who lived there then, live there now....

I travel with my husband and as a stranger in town you can become aware of the underlying 'tone' of the town....

Although the Negro population surrounding the activities of the hotel bespeak a passing generation, the young generation of Negroes display the eager excitement of their new life.

Congratulations! Your city is beautiful, your buildings are exciting and your high moral conduct is apparent.

At Goldsmith's I tried on a hat. Sitting next to me was a beautiful Negro lady, trying on hats also. I laughed at my image an a strange piece of headgear that I had tried on. Simultaneously she placed a hat of strange proportions on her head and she laughed at her image in the mirror. We looked at each other and understood the reason for the laughter and we laughed together....

- END -

POPULATION

	1950		1960	
	Louisville	Metropolitan Area*	Louisville	Metropolitan Area*
Total	369,129	576,900	390,639	725,139
Negro	57,657	61,293	70,075	83,181
Per Cent Negro	15.6	10.6	17.9	11.5

The Situation in Brief

The city of Louisville, Kentucky, has made notable progress in the elimination of race discrimination, with a minimum of turmoil and with the evident approval of a substantial majority of its citizens of both races. Of its four main desegregation hurdles -- public schools, public accommodations, employment, and housing -- it may be said that the first two have been practically surmounted in that city, the third is being approached with some visible success, and the fourth is the object of an intensive and imaginative and a hopeful effort.

The situation in Louisville has many shortcomings from the standpoint of human understanding and interracial justice. Race prejudice is still present in varying degrees among a majority of that city's white population. A white cab driver, a fat, oldish, talkative individual, launched upon a lengthy

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*Includes Jefferson County, Ky., Clark and Floyd Counties, Inc.

monologue from which the following is quoted:

> Negroes? Yes we're getting along all right. They can go into almost any place now. But I don't see many of them doing it. Some of them get dressed up and go into the big hotels and restaurants and nobody pays ant attention. But the little places don't let them in. They haven't got strong enough locks on theirsdoors. Negroes would ransack the place. Every one of them will steal. Every Negro you see on the street has got a knife or a razor in his pocket, maybe a gun. Did you ever see a Negro drunk? I've seem lots of them -- mean, big-mouthed.... But I ain't got nothing against them, and the way it is they can't do much harm.

This man's views are shared by a substantial element of Louisville's population -- though many would express them differently or not at all. Negroes are excluded from country clubs and civic clubs. White families tend to move away from neighborhoods where Negro families are moving in. Few white people are willing to dine with Negroes in a public place, and only a rare handful invite Negroes to their homes. Much subtle discrimination is practiced. Some Negro leaders say that "integration is a farce in Louisville."

Nevertheless, race prejudice may be said to be <u>contained</u> in this city. It is viewed by the community leadership as an evil to be combatted, and it is being combatted steadily and with increasing effectiveness. The interracial behavior pattern keeps almost entirely within the bounds of order and decorum. Discrimination on account of race is frowned upon in principle -- though still far from being eliminated in practice; it is recognized even by many

prejudiced people as inconsistent with Christian and American ideals and out of keeping with the changing order. New advances in racial integration are accepted cheerfully on the whole by the public. The city administration and the economic "power structure" are firmly behind a movement of civil-rights advance, which, not only has registered exceptional accomplishments, but is moving on to further progress.

Basic in the Louisville effort is a consciousness that this social change cannot be accomplished by a few dramatic steps, but demands a massive and continuous undertaking, with the dedicated efforts of many groups and individuals. In efforts of this kind the city is well served. In the private sector, a number of organizations are active -- the principal so-called "Negro" civil rights organizations and many other groups concerned with human relations. Several hundred individuals, in biracial organizations or independently, are giving much of their time to this cause. Yet the role of the public sector in race-relations reform has been particularly striking in Louisville. To an unusual degree initiative has come from the public school administration, mayors, aldermen, the police department, and other city officials and agencies. Since May, 1962, an official Louisville Human Relations Commission has marshaled a massive private effort in this field.

Background and Chronology

Though Kentucky is not one of the eleven states which formed the Confederacy, it is the border state most commonly regarded as southern. If the identification is less pronounced today than it was eight years ago, the change is largely due to Kentucky's progress in adjusting to the new order in race relations. Of the state's metropolis it is sometimes said that "Louisville has integrated itself out of the South."

In 1956, at a time when hostility in the South to the Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation was at its height, the public schools of Louisville were desegregated in a sweeping manner and without disorder. The late Omer Carmichael, the able and courageous superintendent of schools, to whom the fact was largely due, later collaborated with Weldon James, of the Louisville Courier-Journal, in producing a valuable book, The Louisville Story (Simon and Schuster) telling how it was done.

These writers noted that Louisville "long has had a strong two-party system, with a healthy balance of independent-minded voters." (However, Louisville elected its first Republican mayor in 28 years in 1961)) But the book added: "Politics aside, Louisville has faced the South since 1865. Itsecustoms and its outlook have been almost professionally Southern...." At the same time the atmosphere

in Louisville for a generation has been one of exceptional tolerance, moving toward liberalism, in race relations. This trend has been immesurably aided by the city's two excellent newspapers (under joint ownership), the morning Courier-Journal and the afternoon Louisville Times, and the administration and faculty of the University of Louisville have exercised a constructive influence.

Louisville elected the first Negro member of the Kentucky legislature, Charles Anderson, in 1934, and the first Negro member of the city's board of aldermen, Eugene S. Clayton, in 1945. Negro alderman William W. Beckett in 1955 served as Acting Mayor of Louisville. Two Negroes, James E. Smith and Arthur Johnson, are among Louisville's representatives in the state legislature now, and two, Mrs. Louise Reynolds and Russell Lee, sit on its board of aldermen, while a Negro, Woodford R. Porter, is a member of its board of education, having served last year as its president. Negroes have served on the library, housing, and other important municipal boards. Two Negroes were members of the 1962-1963 Citizens Committee to Evaluate the Public Schools. A distinguished Louisville Negro, Dr. C. H. Parrish of the University of Louisville, was recently appointed to the 50-member Kentucky Constitutional Revision Assembly.

The following moves preceded the 1956 school desegregation:

desegregation:

1948: The Louisville Free Public Library (downtown unit) was opened to Negroes. (The Library branches were opened to Negroes in 1952. Since 1959, a Negro lady, Mrs. Barbara S. Miller, has served as director of children's work for the public library system.)

1950: The new Louisville Catholic college, Bellarmine, was opened to Negroesaas well as whites, and Negroes were admitted to graduate study at the University of Louisville. The Louisville police were provided with a manual to promote racial tolerance and impartiality.

1951: Negro undergraduates were admitted to the University of Louisville.

1952: Public golf courses were desegregated following court action.

1953: The General Hospital School of Nursing was opened to Negro girls.

1954: Mayor Andrew Broaddus in his inaugural statement announced in January that city jobs would be open to all qualified applicants without regard to race.

1955: City swimming pools were integrated, quietly and without prior public notice.

1957: The Municipal Housing Commission announced desegregation of its housing projects. Some downtown hotels desegregated partially.

1958: Early sit-ins resulted in the desegregation of lunch counters in a few downtown variety stores.

The civil rights movement received new impetus with the wave of sit-ins which began in the South during the spring of 1960 and reached spectacular proportions in Louisville in 1961.

Louisville has long been free from the type of demagogic appeal to race prejudice which has plagued many southern cities, and the race question in that sense has not for a generation been an issue in Louisville politics. It figured, however, in a positive sense in the city election of 1961. Although steady progress had been made under three Democratic administrations, a belief that Republican candidates were more committed to take a leap forward in the fight against race discrimination was a factor in the election of a Republican mayor and board of aldermen. After the election, William S. Milburn, the defeated Democratic candidate for mayor, then president of the board of aldermen, commented aptly: "We came along at the end of an era and got squeezed in the gap when it closed."

Three months after taking office, on March 27, 1962, with the backing of Mayor William O. Cowger, the board of aldermen unanimously adopted an ordinance setting up a Louisville Human Relations Commission. On May 14, 1963, the board of aldermen adopted an ordinance, submitted by

the Commission, banning discrimination in places of public accommodation.

School Desegregation

Although the problem of school desegregation was met with sensational success in 1956, it is appropriate to glance briefly at the school situation in Louisville today.

Of the 50,249 pupils in the city's public schools, 19,366, or 38.5% are Negroes. The number of pupils attending integrated schools is 41,490, or 82.6% of the total. Only 8.6% of the pupils are in all-white schools, 12.5% in all-Negro schools. The figures tend to give an exaggerated impression of the extent of integration, since three predominantly white schools have only one Negro each in attendance and two predominantly Negro schools have each enrolled only one white pupil. However, 58 of the 71 public schools are integrated and the racial balance is generally substantial.

"De facto" segregation, now a subject of controversy in many cities, is present in Louisville in a number of instances, but it is mitigated in a sense by a liberal transfer privilege. Transfers are granted by informal arrangement within the capacities of the schools and with regard for preferences and conveniences of other parents and children; though not officially intended to do so, these

informal arrangements do undoubtedly permit some adjustment to social preferences, but of Negroes as well as whites. Transfers are not permitted to crowd out any pupils in the residential area of a school. Pupils are not "bussed across town", however, to achieve a racial balance in schools, or for any other reason; except in unusual cases, free transportation is not provided for a pupil attending a school outside his district of residence.

The transfer privilege does not markedly diminish the racial imbalance in schools, but it permits some freedom of choice for both white and colored pupils. It may affect the racial balance either way, and whites and Negroes both contribute to the degree of de facto segregation that results from it. Louisville's Central High School, in a heavily Negro residential area, is a conspicuous case in point. The handful of whites living in its neighborhood generally send their children to another school. At the same time, Central High, one of Louisville's newest and best schools, is especially popular with Negroes and draws Negro pupils from outside its attendance district.

At present 127 Negro teachers are serving in integrated faculties, and nine Negro principals preside over biracial schools. Two Negroes serve as supervisors in the central office of the public school administration.

The racial pattern of the public school system is not a source of serious complaint among Negroes nor a part of

their agenca of protest in Louisville.

The public schools of adjoining Jefferson County were also desegregated in 1956, as were the Roman Catholic parochial schools of the Louisville area. The Catholic school enrollment is approximately 28% of the total school population of city and county. The Louisville school district census shows 16,472 pupils enrolled in private and parochial schools. The integration of Negro teachers in the Catholic schools has presented a special problem due to the difficulty of obtaining qualified Negro lay personnel at the low compensation offered and the lack of Negro nuns, but seven Negro lay teachers are now employed.

The Sit-Ins and the Louisville Police

A few sit-ins which occurred in the latter half of 1960 and the large scale Negro drive to open places of public accommodation which came in March 1961 were both a part of the new wave of Negro militancy and a reflection of impatience on the part of Louisville Negroes with many aspects of race discrimination. They resulted in the ppening of 200 previously white-only eating places to Negroes, and caused the city to come to grips with the race problem in many of its ramifications.

The 1961 protest demonstrations, which were staged almost daily for several weeks and sporadically for a longer period, took a variety of forms of marching, picketing,

and sitting in. Scuffles occurred with police seeking to prevent obstruction of traffic and flagrant disorder, and with some white hoodlums. An estimated 1,000 arrests were made, but, many being arrested repeatedly, the number of individuals arrested was fewer than 500. The cases of all the demonstrators arrested were dismissed after negotiations. White harassment of the demonstrators was largely confined to a handful of youths who made repeated attempts to break the Negro picket line at an amusement park. A dozen of these whites were arrested and several were fined.

Massive Negro protest demonstrations were a new phenomenon for the Louisville police force, but its performance in this crisis is not a source of serious complaint in retrospect even in Negro quarters. (The behavior of some privately employed security officers aroused more criticism.) In routine law enforcement pains have been taken to school the city's police force in the avoidance of race discrimination, and it has made an important, though little publicized, contribution to the peaceful progress of Louisville in adjustment to the new order.

The Division of Police, in 1950, published a hardcover, 129-page manual, titled Principles of Police Work with Minority Groups. Adapted from a Chicago manual prepared by Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, Chairman of the Illinois Division of Correction, the book contains a comprehensive

and scholarly discussion of the race problem. It explodes some of the myths upon white race prejudice is often based, and then directs that whatever "personal theories on race relations" he may have, the officer must be completely impartial in the performance of his duties. The manual is still in regular use. For example, Colonel William E. Bender, Chief of Police, commented that "15 recruits are studying it now."

The manual project arose from a study instituted by Colonel David A. McCandless, Director of Public Safety, in 1948, following a conference with a delegation from the Urban League. A biracial committee was set up in that year to plan for the training of Louisville police in the application of the precepts of good race relations to police functioning. The committee included six representatives of the Police Division, two representatives of the Urban League, a professor of sociology from the Louisville Municipal College, and three members of the faculty of the University of Louisville. Many meetings were held by the committee before Dr. Lohman was called in as a consultant, and, after the resignation of Colonel McCandless in January 1950, it continued under the leadership of the new commissioner, John Moreman.

Colonel McCandless became director of the Southern Police Institute, sponsored by the University of Lousiville.

Three representatives of the Louisville police force attend each of the four seminars held annually by the Institute.

Negroes have served as policemen in Louisville for 35 years. Thirty-eight Negroes are now on the force, one of them being a lieutenant and four of them sergeants.

Places of Public Accommodation

A few restaurants, drug stores, lunch counters, and hotels in Louisville were already serving Negroes along with whites in the late 1950's, but segregation was in the general rule. Attention was drawn to the practice in an embarrassing manner by an incident which occurred in December 1958, when Mrs. Iris King, the mayor of Kingston, Jamaica, visited the city as a guest of the State Department. Mrs. King stayed in the presidential suite at the Sheraton Hotel and received generally VIP treatment. But a local drug store refused to serve her a cup of coffee. She retired to her hotel in teras, calling it a "gross insult." In the absence of Mayor Bruce Hoblitzell from the city, an administrative assistant expressed regret for the "unfortunate incident" -- which remained unfortunate nonetheless. An official of the drug store said its policy was to give "carry-out service only for colored customers" -- which made matters emphatically no better.

The determined Negro drive to bring discrimination to

an end in places of public accommodation may be said to have begun in 1959, though direct action pressure was not resotred to on a significant scale until 1961. Many white community leaders, including the major and members of the board of aldermen, expressed sympathy with the Negro drive, but hoped the feform could be accomplished by voluntary action. These attitudes themselves had prompted some voluntary desegregation here and there.

Resorted

The late Charles W. Anderson, Jr., a distinguished Negro attorney and a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations Assembly, led a delegation of 35 Negroes and whites who visited Mayor Bruce Hoblitzell on January 4, 1960. Anderson praised Louisville's "excellent race relations, particularly as compared to other southern and border cities" and urged the mayor to "take the lead in seeing that theatres, hotels, restaurants, stores, and other places of public service and accommodations cease to discriminate or segregate." Mayor Hoblitzell replied that Louisville had reached "a most enviable position" by its race relations accomplishment and that the city had done all that could be done to end discrimination in public facilities, but that "trying to force integration in private business is another matter."

Meanwhile, on February 10, William W. Beckett, the only Negro member of the board of aldermen, introduced a

proposed ordinance banning discrimination in theatres, hotels, and restaurants, but not in bars or taverne. After the City Law Department ruled that the city could "not pass any laws in conflict with constitutional guarantees of private property," the ordinance was rejected by voice bote. Alderman Clifford J. Haury, who had read the opinion, said: "I sincerely believe and hope that the good people of Louisville will iron out this problem voluntarily."

The Louisville Courier-Journal commented: "The issue was not squarely met ... the issue of further integration in Louisville is for the moment at a standstill. It could now move forward again, by voluntary choice of the community, or it could slip tragically backward...."

Alderman Beckett, insisting that a general lifting of racial barriers would not come by voluntary action, asked State Attorney General John B. Breckinridge for an opinion on his ordinance. A few weeks later the state attorney general ruled that "there is no conflict between the proposed ordinance and the Constitutions and laws of the United States and the Commonwealth, and the subject matter being within the police power of the state and the city of Louisville, it is our opinion that, if adopted, it would constitute a valid exercise of police power."

However, following a caucus at which letters and telegrams from opposing businessmen were read, the board

of aldermen on March 22, by a vote of 11 to 1, approved the following resolutions:

"We, the board of aldermen of the city of Louisville, are opposed to any ordinance which takes away the right of an owner of a private business to select his or its customers or clientele."

Beckett also urged the establishment of a human relations commission for the city, but this proposal was rejected by a vote of 11 to 1, opposing aldermen saying that it would "substantially duplicate the work of the state commission."

Alarmed at the continuing sit-ins in the South, the City Law Department now came forward with a proposed anti-trespassing ordinance. However, when this was vehemently opposed by Negro leaders, the city's two daily newspapers and others, both the police court prosecutor and Mayor Hoblitzell announced their opposition to it.

The biracial Louisville Ministerial Association took a strong stand against racial segregation in theatres and restaurants. It urged its members to seek voluntary desegregation by persuasion in personal contacts with businessmen, but it pledged support for a public accommodations ordinance should such efforts fail. The Mayor's Advisory Committee on Human Relations announced that it "considered any racial discrimination contrary to the public interest."

In conveying the Committee's finding to the board of aldermen, Mayor Hoblitzell expressed agreement, but reiterated his opposition to "any kind of force."

The Mayor's Advisory Committee represented a stage in the grouping toward an official body to deal with race relations, which had begun with the formation of an advisory group of religious leaders in 1958. It grew into more formal status in May 1961, as the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, under the chairmanship of Dr. Philip W. Davidson, president of the University of Louisville.

With the sit-ins and other pressures, considerable voluntary desegregation of places of public accommodation had taken place by the end of 1961, but Louisville Negroes were increasingly irked by the failure of the board of aldermen to adopt a public accommodations ordinance or set up a human relations commission. Numerous groups and individuals were now urging anti-deiscrimination legislation, including several owners of segregated restaurants who felt the need of an ordinance to protect them from criticism and from competition when they should take the step.

The Louisville Human Relations Commission was finally set up in May 1962. The ordinace establishing it was expressly aimed at the elimination of "discriminatory practices", and the Commission was directed to recommend "such legislation as may be necessary" for this purpose. The new

A survey made by the Human Relations Commission before the adoption of the ordinance in May found that accommodations in the chain and franchise category were "generally

commission and the mayor himself labored diligently -- and with some success -- to bring about desegregation of still segregated places of public accommodation. A survey showed that 268 of 410 restaurants in the city had desegregated by early 1963.

However, on February 9, 1963, the Commission adopted a resolution saying: "It is now evident that voluntary efforts by themselves are not sufficient to effectively accomplish the purposes set forth in the ordinance which established the Commission. Therefore, the Commission has decided to recommend to the mayor and the board of aldermen, the passage of appropriate anti-discrimination legilsation, the nature and scope of which will be determined in the near future." A sub-committee of the Commission's Legal Committee, including the chairman and the director of the City Law Department, went to work on an ordinance which was adopted by the board of aldermen on May 14, 1963, and signed by Mayor Cowger.

The ordinance was to run into legal difficulties and its status is not clear today, but the fact that a law had been passed banning segregation in places of public accommodation was effective in accelerating the desegregation of many establishments.

A survey made by the Human Relations Commission before the adoption of the ordinance in May found that accommodations in the chain and franchise category were "generally

open with the exception of two establishments... under single local ownership." The Commission reported further:

1. Approximately 65% of all restaurants are integrated; of the remaining 35%, few seem likely to desegregate in the near future.
2. The better restaurants downtown accept the Negro as a patron, as do the short order cafes and chain store facilities.
3. The Negro will encounter segregation in the better restaurants in outlying areas.
4. Near his home, only one out of five restaurants will serve the Negro.
5. When he is served he is treated the same as a white person.
6. Whites seem indifferent to his presence in the restaurant and apparently are equally indifferent to his being refused service.
7. Most managers state their policy of segregation dispassionately.

Bowling lanes the Commission found to be "the most tightly closed category of services in Louisville." Privately-owned amusement parks, ice and roller skating rinks were "generally tightly closed." All downtown theaters and two of the three drive-ins within the city limits, but only

a few of the neighborhood theaters, were integrated. The previously segregated Louisville Automobile Club, following conferences within the month, had begun actively to solicit Negro membership -- with the understanding that reservations could not be made in southern states.

The public accommodations ordinance (No. 66, Series 1963) became effective, 120 days after tis passage, on September 12, 1963. Promptly at the lunch hour on September, 12, a testing campaign began. Frank L. Stanley, Jr., chairman of Allied Organizations for Civil Rights and editor of the Louisville Defender, reported that within a few hours 73 Negroes, acting individually or as husband-and-wife teams, entered 49 restaurants "without objection or rejection." Restaurants "received Negroes courteously and served them promptly," Stanley said, adding: "These restaurants are to be congratulated, along with the bowlers association (the Bowling Priprietors' Association of Louisville) ... for their acceptance of desegregation." A total of 98 restaurants were visited in the initial testing period, with negative results in only three cases.

Four tavern operators, members of the Louisville Tavern Operators Association, filed suit in a circuit court asking that the authorities be restrained from enforcing the ordinance on the ground that "the plaintiffs have a constitutional right to restrict their customers to such

persons as they see fit to serve, and to refuse service to anyone for any reason." The case is still in litigation, but to a large extent the ordinance has done its work. Although, pending the outcome of the litigation, the Commission is unable to enforce the punitive provisions of the ordinance, it is following the situation closely and several recalcitrant restaurants have been persuaded informally to comply with it. In no instance has a restartant, once desegregated, returned to the practice of barring Negroes.

The Human Relations Commission

We come now to an examination of the Louisville Human Relations Committee itself, its organizational structure and its program.

The ordinance establishing the Commission (NO. 33, Series 1962) set forth the reasons for it and its purpose as follows:

> Whereas, the Board of Aldermen and the Mayor of the City of Louisville find that prejudice and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, creed, color, or national origin, is contrary to good public policy and detrimental to the peace, progress, and welfare of the City, and

> Whereas, for these reasons and to implement a constructive approach to the problems involved in improving inter-group and inter-racial relations leading to the elimination of discriminatory practices in the City,...

The commission was to be composed of eleven residents (later increased to fifteen), appointed by the mayor, as "nearly as possible representative of the several social, economic, religious, cultural, ethnic and racial groups. which comprise the population of the city of Louisville." No city official, elected or appointed, is eligible. Commission members serve, without compensation, for one year, except in the case of an interim vacancy, when a member may be appointed to fill the unexpired term, and members are eligible for re-appointment for additional terms. The mayor designates the member to act as chairman. The Commission is required, with the approval of the mayor, to employ an executive director, whose compensation is fixed by the mayor.

The executive director, with the mayor's approval and within the limits of his budget, employs staff and fixes its compensation. The Commission was voted as

initial annual operating budget of $25,000; its current operating budget is $26,055.80. It occupies offices in the Mayor's suite in City Hall, the only agency in such proximity to the city executive.

There is general satisfaction with the plan embodied in Ordinance No. 33, a copy of which will be found in the appendix, but the chairman and others suggested that in principle it might be preferable to have Commission members appointed for staggered terms to insure greater continuity of experience and policy during changes ofaaa administration.

Of the original eleven members of the Commission, eight were white and three Negro. The enlarged 15-member body contains eleven white and four Negro members. In appointments to the Commission and to its various committees it is sought to have the three major faiths, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, represented in each group.

Dr. Martin M. Volz, dean of the University of Louisville Law School, was designated chairman of the Commission. A treasurer and a secretary and such other officers as are deemed necessary are elected by the Commission. James A. Crumlin, a Negro attorney for the Kentucky NAACP, was chosen treasurer and Mrs. William Florsheim, secretary; the Rt. Rev. Alfred F. Horrigan, president of

Bellarmine College, was elected vice-chairman. These three, together with the Rev. D. E. King, a Negro clergyman, form the Commission's executive committee.

Mansir Tydings, executive director of the Lincoln Foundation and a veteran of race relations work, was engaged as executive director of the Commission. His staff now consists of Arthur Evans, assistant executive director, and Mrs. Erma B. Coleman, Secretary-treasurer. Both of these are Negroes.

In addition to the Commission a broad apparatus of Associated Committees was set up to carry forward the campaign against race discrimination in its many phases. During the summer of 1962 the Commission was chiefly engaged in enlisting community leaders to serve on these committees; by October, 180 had rallied to the undertaking. Approximately 200, about evenly divided between whites and Negroes, are now serving. Committee members include the directors of the employment and housing committees of the NAACP and the executive director and two other members of the Urban League.

Eleven Associated Committees were formed to work in the following areas: education, employment, housing, public accommodations, supportive community organizations, religious groups, institutions and agencies, professional advisory (legal), programming, research, and communications.

Associated Committee appointments are made by a letter from the mayor in each case, after informal consultation. Following the adoption of Ordinance No. 66, the Public Accommodations Committee was replaced by an Anti-Discrimination Division. The Research Committee was also later replaced by a General Advisory Committee, and the Institutions and Agencies Committee has been dissolved, some of its members being transferred to other committees, while a new Woman's Committee for Civil Rights has been formed.

The Commission meets regularly once a month, and its executive committee meets on call. The Associated Committees have regular monthly meeting days, and sometimes meet more often, with the exception of the General Advisory Committee, which meets semi-annually with the Commission and the Associated Committees for an overall revi review of the Commission's work. Its members are available for counsel at other times. A newspaper reporter atten attends every Commission meeting.

One is likely to be skeptical of a system which relies upon so many citizens to engage without compensation in any sustained altruistic endeavor. The Associated Committees plan semms, however, to be working. It may be the most valuable feature of Louisville's effort in the race-relations field. Not all committee members are active; about half of them give little time to this

work. But the fact that 800 respected citizens are committed in this manner to the elimination of race discrimination is a powerful influence. An estimated 100 Associated Committee members are very active indeed; they are rendering unflagging service in the many complex and often delicate phases of the battle against discrimination.

Actually, the ideal of interracial justice tends to make crusaders out of many who are imbued with it, but a dynamic and infectious enthusiasm on the part of its leaders is essential to the cohesion and success of so large a group of volunteers. This quality is not lacking among the leaders of the Louisville Human Relations Commission. It is present to a superlative degree in Dr. Volz, its chairman. Mr. Tydings brings also to the position of executive director a high degree of good-humored tact, which his duties of administrator and negotiator require.

When an official human relations agency is set up by a city or state government, the suspicion often arises that it is for appearances only and that it may be used even to frustrate Negro objectives. This view is not seriously held of the Louisville Commission in any quarter. As elsewhere, Negro leaders in Louisville are reluctant to express satisfaction with, or even approval, of, the accomplishments of their community in civil rights. It is considered bad form or un-militant. "Moderates" are

unpopular among many Negroes. However, even aggressive Negro leaders agree privately that Louisville is making exceptional progress in civil rights, that "the thing is moving" in that city. The Louisville Human Relations Commission, they say, is making an honest effort." Lyman T. Johnson, president of the Louisville chapter of the NAACP and a veteran of civil rights struggles, is less reserved than most in this regard and is sometimes la[illegible] a "moderate" for that reason. Johnson was active in earlier demonstrations, but has used his influence to prevent further demonstrations since the work of the Commission has gotten under way.

The establishing ordinance gave the Commission a scope broad enough to embrace the objectives of civil rights organiz[illegible] themselves. Its charter said: "The Commission shall cooperate with Federal, state and other city agencies in an effort to develop harmonious inter-group and interracial relations and shall endeavor to enlist the support of civic, religious, labor, industrial and commercial groups and civic leaders dedicated to the improvement of inter-group and interracial relations and the elimination of discriminatory practices." Louisville thus recognized this endeavor as a matter of concern to the city, and it has brought the civil rights movement largely into the framework of public administration.

After the completion of the organizational structure of the Commission and its Associated Committees, late in 1962, a word should be said about the manner of its embarking upon its task. According to its first-year report, "in less than six months the Associated Committees had held Sevmeetings. The Commission had had 27 meetings, of which 16 were with groups of citizens interested in knowing more about the Commission's objectives, as well as with business groups whose cooperation was sought for the removal of discriminatory practices. There were meetings with the Louisville Restaurant Association, theatre-owners, proprietors of bowling lanes, directors of secretarial schools, and similar groups. In a number of instances the mayor has participated personally,,applying the prestige of his office and his convictions by writing letters, by issuing invitations to conference? and by leading discussions in several of the meetings."

In establishing its alliance with private human-relations groups and agencies, the Commission's report continued: "A series of weekly conferences were held with individuals and with representatives of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, Inc., the Loncoln Foundation, Inc., Louisville Urban League, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Kentucky Civil Liberties Union, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Conference of Jewish Organizations, National

Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the American Friends Service Committee. Members of these organizations now actively participate as members of the Associated Committees...."

To learn from the experience of other similar bodies, the Commission devoted one full meeting to a conference with the executive directors of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee of Cincinnati and the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights. On February 9, 1963, there was held at the University of Louisville an all-day work-shop meeting of the Commission and its Associated Committees, attended also by the mayor and nine members of the board of aldermen. The executive director of the Kansas City Human Relations Commission served as a consultant at this meeting. Incidentally, all of the committees of the work-shop, on the basis of their experience in seeking voluntary action, recommended suitable legislation for the removal of racial barriers.

The Commission has since settled down to a routine of operation -- or as much of "settling-down" and as much of "routine" as the dynamic and changing situation permits. The more we delve into the problem of race relations, the more we are impressed with its magnitude and complexity. As the Commission's report said, "the more there is of personal involvement in this important task, the more it is apparent that there is much yet to be done."

Employment

A number of observers remarked that "the Commission is doing its best job in the employment field."

The public sector had already a good record in the matter of equal employment opportunity when the Commission was established. Apart from the integrated school administration, 23 ~~percent~~ city department jobs were held by Negroes and only about half of these are employed in non-skilled capacities. The police and fire departments are both integrated. The mayor's receptionist is a Negro lady. Judge J. Earl Dearing, who presides over the night court division of the police court, is a Negro and a former NAACP president. Charles J. Lunderman, Jr., assistant city attorney, and James A. Crumlin, traffic court prosecutor, are both Negroes. Other Negroes in public office in Louisville were mentioned earlier.

It is in the field of employment in private business now that the most intensive efforts are being made and most conspicuous results are being accomplished. In this endeavor a busy and efficient Louisville Urban League, under the able direction of Charles T. Steele, collaborates closely and constantly with the Commission and its Employment Com Committee. The Commission and the Urban League have been busy identifying Negroes in the ranks of elevator operators, janitors, and even floor-sweepers who are qualified for employment at higher levels, and have been successful in securing

securing the upgrading of many.

The Commission recently conducted a survey of employment integration in 26 leading stores, whose owners and managers were 1963 officers and directors of the Retail Merchants Association and the Retail Division of the Chamber of Commerce. These 26 stores employ a total of 3,304 persons, of whome 396, or 11.7% are Negroes. Of the latter, 299 or 75.5% are employed in the humble capacities in which Negroes traditionally served; 97, or 24.5%, now have supervisory or other superior positions. In non-traditional job categories, Negroes were reported as follows: department manager, three; sales supervisor, one; maintenance shop foreman, three; bookkeeper, one; cashier, one; office or clerical worker, ten; sales clerk, 21; price-marker, ten; fitter (men's clothing), six; sign-painter or window-dresser, eight; department clerk, 15; wrapper, ten; appliance repairman, three; customer service assistant, one; and security officer, one.

None of the Negroes employed in the drive, which began last August, in the 26 stores under survey has proven unsatisfactory in his new duties, though one man has been called up for military service. A department store recently asked for 15 Negro high school graduates to be trained for clerical positions. Two Negroes are now serving as bank tellers and two more are in training for this position.

The Courier Journal has one Negro reporter.

In the field of industrial employment accurate surveys are not available, but comparable progress is being made. Arthur M. Walters, industrial secretary of the Urban League, is a member of the Human Relations Commission's Employment Committee and the two groups collaborate diligently in negotiations with both management and labor to secure better jobs for Negroes. The League maintains a regular a register of job and apprenticeship opportunities and of Negroes seeking placement. The task of matching qualifications with openings is a principal activity. A number of Negroes are now employed as assistant personnel directors, time study engineers, and in other superior positions. Rufus Stout, personnel manager at the Air Reduction and National Carbide Corporation plant, is a Negro.

The Commission has prepared, for early publication, a directory of employment opportunities and of training programs available to Negroes in Louisville. It is recognized that long exclusion from the better jobs has left many Negroes deficient in the experience and education required for the positions that are now open to them. Consequently, present planning includes night classes and other vocational instruction for Louisville youth of both races. The Employment Committee and the Education Committee collaborate in this field. The Education Committee

has a subcommittee for jobttraining and another subcommittee seeking to reduce school drop-outs and raise the aspirations of Negro youth. The Commission has recommended that a separate Youth Commission be established to coordinate the efforts of existing organizations, and the schools, in this field.

A great deal remains to be done before the doors of employment are freely open to Negroes throughout the city, but a substanital entering wedge has been made. Though continued prodding will be necessary, something like a trend has been established.

Housing

The population changes registered in the Louisville area by the census figures of 1950 and 1960 indicate a movement of whites to the suburbs and of Negroes to the city. During the ten-year period the white population of adjoining Jefferson County grew from 125,486 to 220,308, while the Negro population of the city proper increased from 57,657 to 70,075. However, the number of whites within the city limits increased at the same time from 311,472 to 320,190 and the Negro population of the county increased from 4,858 to 8,275. Many well-to-do white families moved from city to county, but there are some signs now of a return trend: a new 28-story apartment building just opening is drawing some of these families back to the city, and a

contemplated housing development on the river front is expected to bring more.

The problem of housing or neighborhood desegregation -- the most widely encountered and in a sense the most baffling of all problems in the race relations field -- is centered in Louisville around a large residential area within the city limits known as the West End. At an earlier period the residents of this section were nearly all white. The influx of Negroes began during the housing boom after World War II, when many white residents moved to suburban homes and Negroes in better-paying jobs than before began moving into the vacated West End houses. The trend has continued and accelerated since, as is shown by the 1950-1960 figures for several West End census tracts: in tract No. 10, the Negro population rose from 1,457 to 3,270; in tract No. 11 it increased from 222 to 2,325; and in tract No. 12, from 177 to 1,460.

The West End is still predominantly white. If the racial elements were distributed and the pattern were stabilized the situation would be wholesome. What gives cause for [redacted] is the continuing trend -- whites moving away and Negroes moving in, and solid blocks of Negro homes developing. "Block-busting" tactics have been observed at times; they have not been in evidence in recent months, but similar influences have operated in a subtler manner. Most

realtors express a willingness to cooperate with the Human Relations Commission; a past president of the Louisville Real Estate Board and two other realtors are members of its Housing Committee. The State Real Estate Commission, at the instance of the Louisville Commission, has condemned tactics tending to promote panic selling.

But the problem is infinitely complex. For instance, many Negroes desire homes in the West End and many of them are unmindful of the danger of turning the area into a ghetto. In these circumstances thedduty of the real estate agent is not always clear to him; Negro realtors themselves feel obligated to satisfy the wishes of their customers.

The question also arises of where else the Negro can go to escape from the crowded old Negro quarters of the city. In the scattered white residential districts and the fashionable East End Negroes are generally unwelcome. Pressures are sometimes used to deter them. Lending agencies formerly refused loans to Negroes for the purchase of homes in these areas, and, though this practice has ostensibly ceased, it is said to be difficult still for a Negro to obtain credit for the purchase of a home in a white neighborhood.

The desires and conveniences of individual Negro families pose difficulties which underline the close relationship of the housing problem to the whole pattern of

prejudice and segregation in a community. Not only do many Negroes object to being pioneers in an unfriendly neighborhood, but the location of available houses is often inconvenient for them. The older Negro residential areas and the center of Negro social and civic activities are nearer the West End. A well-to-do Negro physician found an available home in the East End too far from his practice.

The Commission's Housing Committee and allied human relations groups are attacking the problem of finding suitable houses for Negroes outside of the West End, with steady success here and there. One dedicated white lady is in the real estate business with the sole aim of finding suitable non-West End homes for Negro families in places where they will be contented and where their presence will tend to break down the barriers of prejudice.

Meanwhile, the campaign to bring about a friendly assimilation of the Negro contingent in the West End community and prevent departure of white residents is a chief activity in the race relations field. The effort is aided by the relatively high cultural and economic level of the Negro new-comers. The educational status of West End Negroes, as reflected in the 1960 census is interesting in this regard. The Census Tract 11, where the white population was 3,190 and the Negro population 2,325, the median school grades completed by Negroes 25 years of age and older was 11.3 compared with only 10.7 median school grades completed

by the total adult population. In the same age category in Tract 10, the median school grades completed by Negroes was 10.6 and by the total population 9.7.

The direct attack upon the West End problem is centered in the West End Community Council, of which Dr. George B. Kimbrough is an energetic leader. This organization was launched last August, with the desegregation at the same time of the local Y. W. C. A., which became its headquarters. It is aided by the Commission and other human relations groups, notably a Catholic organization, the Christian Family.

Biracial block meetings are being held and couples and teams, with representatives of both races, are going from house to house to further the integrated community idea. "I know of instances where 'For Sale' signs have come down," Dr. Kimbrough said, "after families living in the homes have met some of their Negro neighbors." "Not For Sale" signs have been distributed and many of these have been posted by whites with good psychological effect. In one five-block section "Not for Sale" signs have been posted in front of nearly every house. Many white residents have also posted a sign saying simply: "We Welcome You."

A folder entitled, "Well, I'm Not Moving," prepared by the Community Council and published with financial help from the Human Relations Commission, has been distributed to West End Homes. The sub-heads in the folder's text are illustrative of its appeal: "This is a Good Place to Live"; "We Won't Lose Money If We Stay"; "In Fact, We'll Make Money If We Don't Move"; "Maybe It's All A Hoax"; "And We Prefer an Integrated Neighborhood"; and "Will You Help Us Build a Community?" A series of films is being shown of the same tenor.

In a survey of a section of the West End, conducted March 21, 1964 by the Community Council, 406 white families were visited. Thirty-nine said they definitely intend to move, 29 were undecided, and 17 refused to be interviewed; but 321 said they planned to stay, and 172 expressed an interest in joining the Community Council.

The campaign is proceeding with a genuine enthusiasm on the part of a large group, and in April 1964 was still gathering momentum. The West End Community Council meets twice monthly: 110 had attended its last meeting. WWe are only now getting into full swing," Dr. Kimbrough says.

Planning for F

Planning for Future

The tendency of the Louisville Human Relations

Commission, its Associated Committees, and the allied private organizations is not to taper off, but to expand to meet the formidable remaining problems in the city's race relations. Planning for the future has a large part in the movement's activity and concern.

The Commission's 1962-1963 report said with reference to the public accommodations ordinance that it is "mindful that similar remedies should be applied particularly in the areas of employment and housing." It added that though "these problem areas are much more complex and confront long-established customs based on a heritage of prejudice," its "experiences have already borne out that in due course the people of Louisville will accept the challenge of the changes involved." The Commission is studying legislation to promote equal employment opportunity and open housing.

Elaborate planning is being directed to the problems of youth and community improvement. As Negroes comprise a disproportionate number of the underprivileged, work in these areas has important bearing upon race relations and the problem of equal opportunity.

The underprivileged Negro has long suffered from a vicious circle in which poverty, squalor, and ignorance increase the prejudice against him and the same race

prejudice deprives him of the opportunity to escape from those afflictions. On the other hand, education and a clean wholesome environment for Negroes tend to open doors that were formerly closed to them, including the door of economic progress in which these advantages can be increasingly enjoyed. Education and vocational training are necessary to enable Negroes to qualify for many of the better-paying jobs to which their race itself is no longer a barrier. Hence a broad program of advance in these areas is essential to a solution of the race problem. In Louisville, this kind of program is supported by the same individuals and agencies engaged in the direct attack upon race discrimination.

In August 1963, a biracial commission of approximately 65 men and women was appointed by the mayor and the county judge to [redacted] Commission on Children and Youth for Louisville and Jefferson County. The executive director of the Human Relations Commission was prominent in this undertaking. This body, which rendered its report on February 24, 1964, was "unable to recommend an overall commission encompassing all the problems of youth," but it urged improved services for youth through the coordination -- and some consolidation -- of services to youth being provided by existing local and

state public agencies, such as the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Louisville Police Department, the Jefferson County Juvenile Court, the Children's Home, and the Welfare Department, the Kentucky Department of Child Welfare, etc. The study commission recommended further that "full support" should be given to a proposal known as "Futures Unlimited," and to a plan of the Louisville Board of Education for a school-neighborhood project in an area of the city producing major problems of youth. The board of education program is to start with the school and reach out to parents, neighborhood agencies, the juvenile court, the welfare department, thellibrary, the recreation department, and other agencies.

"Futures Unlimited" is a project advanced by the Health and Welfare Council, a body made up of representatives of organizations participating in the Community Chest. This project is also co-sponsored by the mayor, the county judge, and the city board of education. It has not been adopted; controversy has arisen over administrative and other details and it is unlikely to be embraced in its present form. It is interesting, nonetheless, as indicating activities envisioned for the future, and in part already under way, in Louisville.

The Health and Welfare Council's memorandum of

January 19, 1964 describes Futures Unlimited as, "A Plan to Assure a Future Unlimited for Youth, the Family, and the Neighborhood in Communities Bordering on Urban Renewal Areas." It states: "The general purpose is to improve the level of living in sections of the city fringing upon urban renewal and redevelopment areas, utilizing this change in the physical environment as the opportunity for human renewal as well...." In order to observe results of the contemplated program, "two areas of the most deteriorated central part of the city will be designated as 'Target Areas' A and B, which will in effect be laboratories for testing new and improved social work, educational and community organization methods...."

While these plans embrace the whole population of the designated areas, the population there is largely Negro and the objectives are closely related to the problems of equal opportunity in housing and employment and of the harmonious development of biracial communities. Some figures from the 1960 census on the comparative condition of white and Negro homes in Louisville are pertinent here: 88,270 of the white population was found to be living in "sound" housing units; only 59.7 % of the Negro population was so housed. Twelve and four-tenths percent of the whites and 28.4 % of the Negros were living in "deteriorating" housing units.

Eleven and nine-tenths per cent of the Negroes, but only 2.6% of the whites, had "dilapidated" homes.

The Health and Welfare Council's report notes that during the past year three neighborhood councils, or "block clubs" (self-improvement citizen organizations) have been initiated "with help from the Health and Welfare Council staff, the Louisville Urban League, andthe Louisville Human Relations Commission."

The Council expressly acknowledges the role of the Urban League, an organization long devoted to improving the lot of Negroes. "This agency," the report notes, "has long extended neighborhood services into this as well as other parts of the city and has established historical as well as practical priorities in Target Area A,..."

Among the objectives contemplated for Futures Unlimited are:

- further organization and development of block clubs;
- door-to-door surveys to gain information and enlist citizen support of block clubs and of the project as a whole;;
- a thorough program of code enforcement to be carried out by inspectors from the fire, health, sanitation, and city housing departments.

- "housing clinics," to which tenants, landlords, and developers can turn for advice on improving homes;
- recruitment of a corps of retired persons to serve as consultants on construction and finance problems;
- a continuous project of neighborhood beautification;
- communication and cooperation in the solution of neighborhood problems of all kinds;
- raising the educational and cultural level of the poor through closer cooperation between the schools and the social, recreational, and health agencies.

Jobs and preparation for jobs are prominent in the activities contemplated for Futures Unlimited, including personal counselling, job development and placement, and special technical classroom or on-the-job training -- with the openings in Louisville especially in view. This program is to be financed by the U. S. Office of Manpower and Development Training.

The organization plan and proposed first-year budget of Fu[illegible] Unlimited contemplate the employment of a director (at $9,000), four neighborhood organizers

(at $5,000 each), clerical help whose aggregate compensation would total $19,800, and part-time workers in research, casework, and youth services. Counting office-rent and other expenses, the total budget is $69,800, the money to come from a variety of sources: the Urban Renewal Agency, city and county governments, and local and foundation contributions.

This is a suggestive, if unexciting, note on which to end this story of Louisville. For perhaps the most revealing fact about the city's race relations now is that they are passing into the hands of boards, commissions, official and semi-official committees, into, that is, the normal, institutionalized processes of municipal life.

* * * * * *

December 2, 1959

Mr. Samuel Spiegler, Editor
Journal of Intergroup Relations
Room 1530
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Spiegler:

Enclosed is my review of the Greenberg book. It is being printed in this same form for New South, except that, because of space limitations, we had to cut out the second paragraph on page one.

You asked for some identifying information. I am a Ph.D. (Cornell, Political Science) and taught at Emory and Mount Holyoke and have worked at the Atomic Energy Commission, and I am now,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: book review

Race Relations and American Law, by Jack Greenberg (Columbia University Press, 1959); 481 pages, $10.00.

Here is a book which will be an indispensable tool to all who act or speak about race relations in the United States. Essentially a textbook, it deals, however, with a subject which we must all learn. I do not see how in the future one can venture to speak to any of the practical - as distinct from moral - issues of race relations without first "looking up Greenberg." Race Relations and American Law does not provide full-bodied discussion of any of the great cases or statutes, not even Brown v. Topeka; it is, rather, a comprehensive survey, analysis, and interpretation of the present state of the law.

Beginning with public accommodations and services, and ending with the armed forces, separate chapters treat the various categories in which the demand of Negro Americans for equality has found some satisfaction in judge-made and statutory law. Preceding this survey are chapters on, "The Capacity of Law to Affect Race Relations," and "A Legal Overview." A series of appendices contain some of the book's most valuable material: the correspondence on jury selection and sentencing for crime (Appendix D) is, for example, fascinating reading.

In a review of a treatise as detailed as this one, it is impossible to do more than sample the contents. Perhaps a more or less random mention of some conclusions and insights will give sufficient indication of Mr. Greenberg's methods. There is, for instance, the passage (page 20) which raises a deeply disturbing problem, and proposes a radical solution:

...a decree against one school district or park is enforceable against it alone. If others will not comply voluntarily, they must be sued separately...The antidiscrimination commissions of some Northern jurisdictions which enforce civil rights laws exemplify the best means of overcoming the problems of legal inefficiency.

Or, to taste another ingredient of the book, there is a brief, but skillfully drawn history (pp. 34-39) of "what might be called the NAACP program" of legal attack. In another place, (p. 239), Mr. Greenberg's method of looking at race relations law as a whole yields one of his several intriguing analogies. Discussing the constitutional validity of token desegregation, which leaves the Negro schools still all-Negro, he raises questions based on the law as already stated in regard to waiting rooms and jury selection. In this same context, Mr. Greenberg takes his stand on what is the basic unsettled question coming out of Brown v. Topeka. Does that decision merely protect the right of an individual child to be admitted, without regard to race, to a school?; or does it order an end to segregated education? Mr. Greenberg's answer is clear: "The right to desegregated education should be the right to attend school in a system in which no racial standards are employed." It is well that he says "should be", for as yet the courts have tended to follow the narrower interpretation of Brown v. Topeka.

Two final samplings may show the range of the book. In reference to miscegenation laws, Mr. Greenberg moves well-ahead of the actual law to declare (p. 345), "There is no doubt that these statutes are unconstitutional." And in discussing the success of integration in the armed forces he observes, (p. 369), with the shrewdness that frequently characterizes his insights, "Rarely are people required to act in a social context in which they can refer so little to the folkways in which they were brought up."

Non-lawyers as well as lawyers could with profit read the excellent presentation of the "state action" concept on pages 46-61. We are moving rapidly to the day when the further advance of civil rights in Southern states may well depend on what we do with or about private schools; or the sale of public recreational facilities to private persons; or the legal status of the voting registrars; or the prerogatives of restaurant keeper, real estate operator, and a host of others who administer the customs of Southern society. Mr. Greenberg closes his discussion with the second Girard case, wherein segregation was allowed at the famous Philadelphia school after its conveyance to private trustees; the Supreme Court gave no reasons for its dismissal of the appeal. In Pennsylvania Negroes vote freely and enjoy full civil rights. This leads Mr. Greenberg to speculation in which we all might join (p. 60):

> Does Girard portend that when or where the inequalities which Negroes suffer become no greater than those which life inevitably visits upon people at large - that is, when Negroes are able to defend themselves in the political arena without the disadvantages of special discriminations - then the courts may drop what seems to be a special alert? ...Perhaps it is tantalogous to say that the courts will stop protecting minority rights when those rights no longer need protection.

It is more than a little paradoxical that the improvement of race relations, involving as it does so much moral and religious idealism, has yielded the hugh mass of law which Mr. Greenberg presents. In fact, throughout American history, race relations have been as much a matter of law as of custom. We are now in a new era of law-making, although the South is as yet untouched. It is the period of anti-discrimination commissions, and of what Mr. Greenberg calls "affirmative integration." These new laws and policies of the Northern states and cities are a liberal victory, though it is well to remember that whenever law is brought to the aid of human relations, the

coercive spirit comes along. Mr. Greenberg is probably right in predicting (p. 371) that, "the legal momentum against racial bias will accumulate and intensify." It is the liberal's responsibility to see that it does, and also to see that it does not obscure the thin line between the pursuit of an ideal, and the intolerance of private desires.

With this Mr. Greenberg, who has written an immensely helpful book, would, I am sure, agree.

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begin A

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of equal protection." The implications of this are deep-running, and they have to do with the historic right of jury trial and jury independence. We ought not to purchase new rights and values at the price of old.

But his is a small and probably premature reservation about what is certainly an immensely helpful book.

--Leslie W. Dunbar

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But this is a small and probably premature reservation about what is certainly an immensely helpful book.

--Leslie W. Dunbar

It is more than a little paradoxical that the improvement of race relations, involving as it does so much moral and religious idealism, has yielded the huge mass of law which Mr. Greenberg presents. In fact, throughout American history, race relations have been as much a matter of law as custom. We are now in a new era of law-making, although the South is as yet untouched.

A- It is the period of anti-discrimination commissions, and of what Mr. Greenberg calls "affirmative integration." These new laws and policies of the Northern states and cities are a liberal victory, though it is well to remember that whenever law is brought to the aid of human relations, the coercive spirit comes along. Mr. Greenberg is probably right in predicting (p. 371) that, "the legal momentum against racial bias will accumulate and intensify." It is the liberal's responsibility to see that it does, and also to see that it does not obscure the thin line between the pursuit of an ideal, and the intolerance of private desires.

With this Mr. Greenberg, who has written an immensely helpful book, would, I am sure, agree.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ALABAMA PROFILE

Object would be to portray the visage of the state as it presents itself now. Do this by a straightforward selection of items from the press or other quotable sources which when combined deliniate the features of the important powers of the state: the items could be presented in simple chronological listing, or in narrative form. Successive sections of the report could deal with:

1. Legislature: enactments, public utterances of members, committee activities
2. Governor Patterson: campaign statements, public acts and statements
3. Judiciary: acts and statements of Wallace, etc.
4. Leading cities: acts (governmental and judicial), "climate" (including editorial slant of newspapers) - Birmingham, Montgomery, Bessemer - others?
5. Rural areas - ditto - Macon County, other?
6. Posture of private interests
   a. Citizens Council - activities, to what extent supported or led by leading persons
   b. Business leaders - silent or vocal, and how
   c. Churches - giving leadership? Embatled?
   d. In general, what is experience any individuals or groups who even slightly dissent?
7. Conclusions: can it be said that all this adds up to the thorough conquest of a state by racists, and an incipient reigh of terror?

If done in this way, the intention would be to use Alabama as a sort of horrible example (is this fair?) of the results of moderate retreat, public apathy, and bitter-ender leadership; a "It Can Happen Here" study.

Accordingly, I think the circulation should be altogether southern, and should emphasize:

1. Church leadership
2. Newspapers
3. Chambers of Commerce
4. Inter-group organizations
5. League of Women Voters

December 22, 1959

TO: HCF
BM
PR

FROM: LWD

This is a vague and inconclusive query about our program over the next few months.

Quite probably we are to be confronted with crises in Atlanta and New Orleans, possibly in Dallas and Houston. It seems to me not too early to be planning what SRC can usefully do, to be forcasting what SRC will probably be asked to do, next Summer. In other words, would it not be wise for us to begin now - in discussions at lunch, in staff meetings, etc. - to try to visualize what the problems of next Summer will be, and to shape now programs to su suit?

As a move toward this, I have tried below to list favorable and unfavorable factors in the Atlanta situation. I by no means think it is a thorough comparison; perhaps we could discuss these, evaluate them, add others that do not occur to me as of this writing. The same sort of thing could be done for New Orleans. Would this give us the basis for charting our program? For example, if I were a leader of HOPE, this comparison would suggest to me that one thing to do would be to work inventively at creating a climate of opinion which would allow the governor, if he wishes, to get off the hook of his campaign promise that there would be no desegregation during his term: the stor of statement which Dr. McClain included in his broadcast ~~xxx~~ sermon last Sunday seems to me a step toward that.

But what does this mean to SRC? I am not very clear.

Favorable Factors in Atlanta Situation as contrasted to Little Rock 1957, 1958; and Virginia 1958	Unfavorable Factors
1. Experience of Little Rock and Virginia	1. State administration (cf. Ark.) committed to closing
2. Confronted by tougher law	2. Stronger rural domination state politics
3. "Keep schools open" group already in existence; strong League of Women Voters	3. Deep South attitudes
4. Both Atlanta papers (in L.R. - 1 of 2; in Richmond - 0 or 2; in Norfolk - 1 of 2)	4. Opposing political factions composed of those more extreme in views - e. g. Griffin (cf. Va.)
5. City administration both pro (cf. Norfolk) and effective (cf. L.R.)	5. Both Atlanta papers committed generally to support Vandiver (cf. L. R.)
6. Able police force (cf. L. R.)	6. Coincidence of Presidential election ? ?
7. Coincidence of Presidential election ? ?	7. Nearer in time to Civil War centennial and emotions it may arouse

February 29, 1960

Harold Fleming Leslie Dunbar

Future publications; Research

The letter from Kenneth Vines affords an occasion for looking ahead at our publication program. One of the reasons (there have, of course, been others) why I have not done anything much as yet on voting is through concern over crowded publications schedule and consequent heavy financial commitments. On this latter point I am not sure that we can assume that anything worthwhile done on voting will not require some research funds to supplement what is left in the Field Grant. You understand as well as I do how tentative are publication estimates, and I have, in indicating these below, leaned on the optimistic side; in other words it is likely that these things will be coming out maybe a little later than I have shown. Nevertheless, it suggests that at least the possibilities are as follows:

March - Stallings report, with other L-report on academic achievement*

The Collins' speech

The Reif pamphlet on Norfolk

April - Next Steps

The Spearman-Meyer newspaper analysis

The Tarplee speech

May - nothing

June - The Donald-Dewey pamphlet

The analysis of educational differences in Georgia

The Directory of Convention facilities

July - The Johnson pamphlet on Negro Crime

July - continued,

The McMillan pamphlet on Little Rock police

August -The business men's guide

The annual background report on school desegregation

I doubt that we can do anything on voting very good, If we try to rush it, I think it would be wise to delay work until x there has been time for a period of reaction to whatever Congress does next month. What I would like to propose as the perhaps most useful thing we could do would be a survey analysis of the legal devices employed to hold down Negro registration; in other words, not try to measure the influence of apathy, nor the influence of intimidation or reprisals, nor try to measure the extent of Negro registration (presumably CCR will do this later, and their figures will command more authority than any we might get together).

If you approve, I would like to write to Vines to ascertain whether he would have any time this summer to work with us, and his interest in doing this. At the same time, I would like to keep the principle responsibility for this task here.

March 7, 1960

Professor Kenneth N. Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Vines:

Harold Fleming has shown me your letter of February 2nd. We had already read and liked your Nation article, and can join in your regrets that it was cut by the editors.

We are considering what we can and should next do on Negro voting. Until we see what comes out of Congress this session, and what the initial reactions in the South will be to it, I don't believe that we can intelligently set an objective for ourselves. We do have in mind, however, undertaking another study, and that some time soon. At this point our rather tentative thinking is that we should step aside and look to the Commission on Civil Rights for further fact-finding on the extent of Negro registration and the use of illegal or extra-legal tactics to hold down Negro registration and voting. This would leave the area of legal devices that we might study. It seems to us there would be considerable usefulness in a pamphlet which, in some detail:

a) analyzed the literacy requirements of each state which has them, including the provision for administering them;

b) offered some illustrative descriptions of the administration of literacy requirements;

c) evaluated, in the light of the proposed constitutional amendment, the present role and importance of the poll tax.

As I said, until Congress acts and the South reacts, we are not making any firm plans, but as we do have a bit of money left over in our grant, and as the literacy tests acquire greater and greater importance as a device for limiting registration, we do intend to do something, probably along these lines.

You seemed to agree about the usefulness of our investigation of literacy requirements when you remarked in your letter that there is nothing up-to-date on voting registrars and that they are the key to Negro registration. Do you think you might have some time this Summer, or earlier, that you could give to us? We would certainly like anything we do to contain a contribution from you.

I was at the Southern Political Science meeting in Gatlinburg last Fall and had hoped I would run into you there. Maybe the next time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

file

April 26, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: HCF

FROM: LWD

I have reviewed the Alabama field reports for the 1956 survey, and have below indicated the replies for every county where use of vouchers was reported.

We have no field reports on the following counties: Blount, Clay, Cullman, Lauderdale, Lowndes, Marion, Marshall, Montgomery, Washington, Wilcox, Winston.

Besides these, any counties not listed below are ones in which it was reported that vouchers were not used.

This raises the obvious question of Bulloch County. Our investigator was explicit, that no vouchers were required. Either he was in error, or the practice was adopted after 1956.

The replies for Madison, Macon, and Lawrence Counties (last on the list) seem wrong on their faces; which part of each answer is wrong is, however, only to be guessed at.

It should be emphasized (a) that these reports are as of 1956 and, (b) were not verified. Where towns are noted in parentheses, the data applies to the town, and not necessarily to the whole county.

* * *

Questions:

a. Does the board require white character witness or vouchers?
b. Must these witnesses actually sign the blank?
c. Is this required of white applicants?

County	a.	b.	c.
Mobile	*	yes	yes
Geneva (Slocomb)	yes	yes (1 signer)	n. a.
Conecuh (Evergreen)	yes	yes (1)	d. k.
Clarke (Thomasville)	yes (3 witnesses)	n. a.	n. a.
(Grove Hill)	yes (2)	n. a.	n. a.
Perry (Marion)	yes	yes	no
Houston	yes	yes (1)	yes
Marengo (Linden)	yes	yes (1)	d. k.
(Demopolis)	yes	yes (1)	yes
Chambers (Lafayette)	yes	yes	yes
(Lanett)	yes	yes	yes
Henry (Abbeville)	yes	yes (1)	yes
Choctaw	yes	yes	yes
Dallas (Selma)	yes	no	n. a.
Covington (Andalusia)	yes	yes (1)	n. a.
Sumter (Livingston)	yes	yes (1)	yes
(York)	yes	yes (1)	no
Elmore	yes	yes	d. k.
Hale	*	yes	no
Greene	yes	yes	no
Baldwin	*	yes	yes
Etowah	yes	no	* *
Franklin	yes	no	yes
Autauga	yes	no	d. k.

County	a.	b.	c.
St. Clair	yes	no	no
Madison	no (?)	no	yes
Macon	no (?)	yes	d. k.
Lawrence	no (?)	no	yes

* Requires character witnesses, but may be white or Negro

* * In some cases

CONFIDENTIAL

To: HCF April 28, 1960

From: LWD

I suggest that we give first consideration to the following counties, as subjects of voting studies:

a. Sumter and/or Mitchell counties - Georgia
b. Bossier and Webster parishes - Louisiana; also Ouachita
c. Florence and Orangeburg counties - South Carolina
d. Pittsylvania county - Virginia
e. Gadsden county - Florida

In selecting* these counties, I have observed several criteria:

1. A Negro population at least 25% of the total population

2. A ratio of Negro voters to total voters not over 1/5 the ratio of Negroes to total population; e. g. if Negroes are 30% of the population, Negro voters would have to be 6% or less of total registration.

Discussion: This is a purely arbitrary criterion and has no justification except to limit the number of counties dealt with. I have departed from it at the urging of other considerations (see South Carolina). On the other hand, by adhering to it some counties are included which have relatively high numbers of Negro registrants. Sumter County (Ga.) had, e. g., 483 Negro voters in 1958, and Florence County (S. C.) had 1,863.

There are, I think, persuasive reasons for including a county such as Sumter or Florence. If the Department of Justice can't win the Terrell County case, the presumption would be that it can't win any. If it does win that case, it probably will not need another equally clear cut case in order to establish a precedent. If the protection of the Civil Rights Act is to be limited to the horrendous situation, it will be of small benefit. It ought, at least, to be extended to the almost-horrendous situations, such as Sumter. Furthermore, if attacks are confined to the no-vote or nearly no-vote counties, we could very well get the voting equivalent of token desegregation.

3.

* Selection made from Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia--the states for which we had most complete data at last survey. Substantially the same approach can be adopted for the other states, except Tennessee.

3. Larger counties were preferred over smaller counties.

Discussion: This criterion is rooted in an assumed realism. Once firm precedents are established, it profits little to use scarce funds and lawyers for the prosecution of cases in, say, Union (Fla.), Baker (Ga.), or Tensas (La.). When the case is over and won only a handful of people have been rescued--worth doing, if other goals are not more pressing. I don't know myself how to construe the language of the new Act; but my wager would be that a Southern judge is most likely to limit any finding of a "pattern" to the narrowest geographical unit possible.

Consequently, I have preferred large to small counties. Indeed, I think one might go well beyond my criteria and investigate closely the possibility of discrimination in such populous counties as, e. g., Jefferson (Ala.) where there are 11,000 Negro voters: Negroes are 9% of the electorate and 37% of the population.

4. Counties with positive social and economic factors were preferred. Factors used were: median school year completed (census 1950); median school year completed by Negroes; median family income; median family income of Negroes. On the tables which follow, the counties meeting critera one and two are listed, and the state medians are noted. These counties would be expected to fall below the medians, and for the most part they do. Instances where they do not are indicated in the margin, as are a few other interesting cases.

Discussion: Almost without exception, the socially and economically backward rural counties are losing population. They are stagnant backwaters of the South, and a good proportion of them will undoubtedly remain incorrigible for a long while. Every county noted at the beginning of this memorandum has gained population since 1950, except Pittsylvania.

With schooling and education at or above state medians, the likelihood is enhanced that qualified voters exceed the number registered; that apathy or ignorance is not the principal cause of non-voting; that good informants and witnesses are available; that Negroes have somewhat more economic security than in other places. The presence of a Negro college contributes to all these possibilities. (Interestingly, considering the plethora of Negro colleges, had I not forced Orangeburg into these lists there would have been only one county--Bamberg (S. C.)--with a Negro college.

Selections

a. Sumter (county seat, Americus) is the largest in population of the Georgia counties. It is in the 3rd Congressional District, adjacent

to Terrell County, which is itself adjacent to Randolph. Peach County, which Brazeal studied, is in the same District. Thus a comprehensive record on the 3rd District is accumulating. Is this an advantage in the establishment of "patterns" ? If so, Sumter would be my recommendation (the 3rd District also includes these other counties from the list: Chattahoochee, Clay, Harris, Lee, Macon, Marion, Pulaski, Quitman, Stewart, Taylor, Webster). If not, if more attention to the 3rd would be a superfluity, I would suggest Mitchell, which is in the 2nd District, is adjacent to Baker, which is itself adjacent to Early, which Brazeal has studied.

b. Bossier and Webster parishes are adjacent to each other in the 4th Congressional District; Bossier lies across the river from Shreveport. With the exception of Caddo (Shreveport), every parish in the 4th is on the list: Claiborne, DeSoto, Red River, Bienville. Bossier is above state medians in two of four categories, and Webster in all four. So is Ouachita; is more work here superfluous ?

c. Florence and Orangeburg were included in the list because no other counties of South Carolina seemed particularly interesting, after McCormick had already been studied. Florence is, anyhow, close to the criteria. But Orangeburg is the county which is especially worth study, because of the opportunity of depicting voting conditions in a college locale.

d. There is no county in Virginia of special interest. If a Virginia study is desired, Pittsylvania would seem best to me, because of its size and because it surrounds the independent city of Danville, and because three other counties on the list are with it in the 5th Congressional District.

e. Gadsden, besides being the largest of the Florida group, and besides having the intriguing quality of lying next door to Tallahassee, is interesting because it was singled out by the CCR as a place where Negroes were afraid to register. Since then, Negroes have begun to register: 335 as of April 8, according to the UPI. This may substantiate the county's rebuttal of the CCR: Negroes didn't vote because of apathy. At any rate, a study of what has happened and is happening in Gadsden would be most interesting.

GEORGIA

a - median school year - 7.8
c - median income - $1,644.

b.- median school year, Negroes - 4.9
d - median income, Negroes - $909.

County	Population	% Negro	Registration % Negro	Notes
Baker	5,200	64	0	
Bleckley	9,100	30	1	
Burke	22,100	69	10	
Calhoun	7,600	67	7	
Charlton	4,800	29	2	b - 4.1, c - $1,606, d - n.k.
Chattahoochee	1,200	50	3	
Clay	5,200	69	9	
Early	17,000	55	5	a - 6.4 b - 3.8 c - $891. d - $613.
Effingham	9,000	37	7	a - 7.2 b - 3.7
Fayette	8,000	68	1	
Harris	11,400	56	6	
Hart	14,100	25	5	a - 7.7, b - 5.3, d - $451.
Jefferson	18,500	58	6	a - 6.6, b - 4.2, c - $857. d - $528.
Lee	6,200	68	2	
Lincoln	6,300	49	1 *	
Macon	13,500	65	6	
Marion	6,400	63	4	b - 5.2
McDuffie	12,200	44	9	
Miller	8,600	28	1 *	
Mitchell	22,700	50	5	a - 6.6 c - $1,060. b - 3.9 d - $ 707.

* plus

Georgia, continued:

County	Population	% Negro	Registration % Negro	Notes	
Oglethorpe	8,600	44	6		
Pulaski	8,400	46	8		
Quitman	2,800	64	6		
Seminole	7,700	38	1	d - $922.	
Stewart	8,600	73	6		
Sumter	24,600	52	9	a - 7.6 b - 4.2	c - $1,050. d - 605.
Talbot	7,600	71	13		
Taylor	8,300	49	10		
Telfair	12,400	34	2	d - 5.0	
Terrell	13,200	64	2		
Toombs	18,100	29	3	a - 7.2 b - 4.4	c - $1,091. d - 658.
Treutlen	6,000	32	1		
Twiggs	8,000	61	12		
Warren	8,000	64	9		
Webster	3,800	66	0		
Wilkes	10,900	53	8		
Worth	18,700	51	5	a - 6.3 b - 3.6	c - $830. d - 536.

FLORIDA

a - median school year - 9.6
b - median school year, Negro - 5.8
c - median income $1,950.
d - median income, Negro - $1,144.

Flagler	5, 300	28	1
Gadsden	50,100	57	4
Union	10,600	33	0
Jefferson	9,500	61	12

LOUISIANA

a - median school year - 7.6
b - median income - $1,810.
c - median school year, Negroes - 4.6
d - median income, Negroes - $1,023.

County	Population	% Negro	Registration % Negro	Notes	
Bienville	20,905	52	1	d - 4.8	
Bossier	50,376	33	5	a - 8.9 b - 4.1	c - $1,744. d - 1,0[illegible].
Caldwell	11,338	29	2	b - 5.3	d - 1,071.
Claiborne	27,325	53	1	a - 7.6	b - 4.5
Concordia	16,958	59	8		
DeSoto	27,434	58	8		
East Carroll	18,681	61	0		
Franklin	34,146	39	6		
Madison	20,156	67	0		
Morehouse	38,276	50	4		
Ouachita	87,967	34	3	a - 8.5 b - 5.0	c - $2,052. d - 1,132.
Plaquemines	17,714	38	1	c - $2,197.	
Red River	13,460.	52	1		
Richland	31,261	43	4		
St. Helena	9,958	55	8		
St. James	18,006	51	?		
Tensas	15,009	65	0		
Webster	41,189	37	1	a - 8.1 b - 4.7	c - $1,920. d - 1,132.
West Feliciana	11,405	73	0		

SOUTH CAROLINA

a - median school year - 7.6 b - median school year, Negroes - 4.8
c - median income - $1,647. d - median income, Negroes - $790.

County	Population	% Negro	Registration % Negro	Notes	
Abbeville	24,167	34	2	a-7.6 b-4.6	c - $1,630. d - 530.
Allendale	13,211	72	6		
Bamberg	19,733	59	11		
Barnwell	20,074	60	10		
Calhoun	16,490	73	4		
Chester	36,716	43	7	c - $1,847.	
Clarendon	37,376	72	9		
Culleton	31,684	55	11		
Dorchester	25,514	56	7		
Edgefield	18,950	62	8	b - 4.8	
Florence	90,885	46	10	a - 7.6 b - 4.4	c - $1,448. d - 813.
Hampton	20,258	57	7		
McCormick	10,859	64	0		
Marlboro	35,204	53	5		
Newberry	34,392	38	6	a - 7.9 b - 4.9	c - $1,757. d - 850.
Orangeburg	78,513	65	18	a - 7.1 b - 4.8	c - $878. d - 544.
Saluda	17,679	44	5	a - 7.9	b - 4.8
Williamsburg	51,222	69	4		

VIRGINIA

a - median school year - 8.5 b - median school year, Negroes - 6.1
c - median income - $2,172. d - median income, Negroes - $1,233.

County	Population	% Negro	Registration % Negro	Notes	
Charlotte	15,431	39	8		
Fauquier	24,401	25	4		
Halifax	43,418	44	9		
Henry	36,825	26	5	c - $2,228.	d - $1,532.
Mecklenburg	33,810	49	11		
Pittsylvania	60,674	36	7	a - 6.8 b - 4.7	c - $1,887. d - 1, 107.

b- ~~med sch w - 10.9~~
" " N - 5.8
a- med sch all year - 9.6
c- med income - 1950
~~" " w - 2303~~
d- " " N - 1144

Florida

Flagler - 5300 - 28 - 1
Gadsden - 50100 - 57 - +
Union - 10600 - 33 - 0
Jefferson - 9500 - 61 - 12

all below median

Georgia

med sch - 7.8
" " N - 4.9
med income - 1644
" " N - 909

Baker - 5200 - 64 - 0
Bleckley - 9100 - 30 - 1
Burke - 22100 - 69 - 10
2- Calhoun - 7600 - 67 - 7
Charlton - 4800 - 29 - 2
3- Chattahoochee - 1200 - 50 - 3
3- Clay - 5200 - 69 - 9
2- Early - 17000 - 55 - 5
Effingham - 9000 - 37 - 7
Fayette - 8000 - 68 - 1
3- Harris - 11400 - 56 - 6
Hart - 14100 - 25 - 5
Jefferson - 18500 - 58 - 6
3- Lee - 6200 - 68 - 2
Lincoln - 6300 - 49 - +
3- Macon - 13500 - 65 - 6
3- Marion - 6400 - 63 - 4
McDuffie - 12200 - 44 - 9
2- Miller - 8600 - 28 - +
2- Mitchell - 22700 - 50 - 5
Oglethorpe - 8600 - 44 - 6
3- Pulaski - 8400 - 46 - 8
3- Quitman - 2800 - 64 - 6
2- Seminole - 7200 - 38 - 1
3- Stewart - 8600 - 73 - 6
3- Terrell - 24600 - 57 - 9
Talbot - 7600 - 71 - 13

metrec 3.9 metinc 937
" " N 3.5 " " N 440

c = 1606 d - m.k.
b - 4.1

a - 6.4 c - 891
b - 3.8 d - 613
a - 7.2
b - 3.7

a - 7.2
" b - 5.3 d - 451
a - 6.6 c - 857
b - 4.2 " d - 528

~~med sch 7.6~~

b - 5.2

a - 6.6 c - 1060
b - 3.9 " d - 707

d - 922

a - 7.6 c - 1050
" b - 4.2 " d - 605

3-Taylor - 8300 - 49 - 10 d - 5.0
Telfair - 12400 - 34 - 2
3-Terrell - 13200 - 64 - 2 a - 7.2 c - 1091
Toombs - 18100 - 29 - 3 b - 4.4 d - 658
Treutlen - 6000 - 32 - 1
Troup - 8000 - 61 - 12
Walton - 8000 - 64 - 9
3-Webster - 3800 - 66 - 0
Wilkes - 10900 - 53 - 8
2-Worth - 18700 - 51 - 5 a - 6.3 c - 830 b - 3.6 d - 536

Louisiana

N. imelsed - 7.6 year
b. " " N - 4.6
c. imel. cum - 1810
d. " " N - 1023

4-Bienville - 20905 - 52 - 1 d - 4.8
4-Bossier - 50376 - 33 - 5 a - 8.9 b - 4.1 c - 1744 d - 1064
5-Caldwell - 11338 - 29 - 2 b - 5.3 d - 1071
4-Claiborne - 27325 - 53 - 4 a - 7.6 b - 4.5
~~Catahoula - 13566 - 36 - 8~~
5-Concordia - 16968 - 59 - 8
4-De Soto - 27434 - 58 - 8
5-East Carroll - 18681 - 61 - 0
5-Franklin - 34146 - 39 - 6
5-Madison - 20156 - 69 - 0
5-Morehouse - 38276 - 50 - 4
5-Ouachita - 87967 - 34 - 3 a - 8.5 c - 2052 b - 5.0 d - 1132 c - 2197
1 — Plaquemines - 17714 - 38 - 1
4-Red River - 13460 - 58 - 1
5-Richland - 31261 - 43 - 4
4th p
6 — St Helena - 9958 - 55 - 8
2 — St James - 18006 - 51 - ?
5-Tensas - 15009 - 65 - 0
4-Webster - 41189 - 37 - 1 a - 8.1 b - 4.7 c - 1920 d - 1132
4 — West Feliciana - 11405 - 73 - 0

South Carolina

a med red - 7.6
b " " N - 4.8
c med inc - 1647
d " " N - 790

Abbeville - 24167 - 34 - 2 — med a - 7.6, b - 4.6, c - 1630, d - 530
Allendale - 13211 - 72 - 6
Bamberg - 19733 - 59 - 11
Barnwell - 20074 - 60 - 10
Calhoun - 16490 - 73 - 4 — med c - 1847
Chester - 36716 - 43 - 7
Clarendon - 37376 - 72 - 9
Colleton - 31684 - 55 - 11
Dorchester - 25514 - 56 - 7
Edgefield - 18950 - 62 - 8 — med b - 4.8
Florence - 90555 - 46 - 10 — a - 7.6, b - 4.4, c - 1448, d - 813
Hampton - 20258 - 57 - 7
McCormick - 10859 - 64 - 0 — med a - 7.4, b - 4.4
Marlboro - 35204 - 53 - 5
Newberry - 34392 - 38 - 6 — med a - 7.9, b - 4.9, c - 1757, d - 850
Orangeburg - 78513 - 65 - 18 — med a - 7.9, b - 4.8
Saluda - 17679 - 44 - 5
Williamsburg - 51722 - 69 - 4 — med a - 7.1, b - 4.8, c - 878, d - 544

Virginia

a med red - 8.5
b " " N 6.1
c med inc - 1172
d " " N - 1233

Charlotte - 15431 - 39 - 8
Fauquier - 24401 - 25 - 4
Halifax - 43418 - 44 - 9
Henry - 36825 - 26 - 5 — med c - 2228, d - 532
Mecklenburg - 33810 - 49 - 11
Pittsylvania - 60674 - 36 - 7 — med a - 6.8, b - 4.7, c - 1887, d - 1107

65 - 18 co
46 - 10 so

Georgia

a-median school year - 7.8 b-median school year Negroes - 4.9
c-median ~~family~~ income - 1644 d-median income Negroes - 909

County	Population	% Negro	Registration % Negro	Voter
Mitchell	22700	50	5	a - 6.6 b - 3.9 c - 1060 d - 707
Seminole	7700	38	1	d - 922

Helen Fuller
New Republic
article

Bonnie City - across river from Newport: rural industrial center

Caldwell

Gadsden - Fla A&M in Tallahassee

Hunter Co: Ga Southwestern Coll in Americus
state - coed

Bleckley: Middle Ga Coll in Cochran
state - coed

Ouachita: N E La St Coll in Monroe
st - coed

Abbeville: Erskine Coll in New West
presb - coed

Newberry: Newberry Coll in Newberry
Luth - coed

Bamberg: Voorhees Tech & Jr Coll at Denmark
episc - coed

Pittsfield: Averett Coll in Danville
Bapt - women
Stratford Coll in Danville
priv - women

January 26, 1961

TO: HCF

FROM: LWD

I have been intending for sometime to write you a memo about the Council's appearance from where I sit, but I probably will not soon be more successful than lately in finding time. I have decided to set down, in lieu of a coherent memo, some disconnected notes (which cover about all I have in mind).

1. I continue to be concerned about the make-up of the Council's Board. As a staff, we may not especially desire a more active Board. The Council's public likeness, however, is in part set by the Board membership, and I think it is now a handicap and likely to become a heavier one. The problem is not so much that the Board detracts from the Council's work as it is that it adds so little. There are a handful who are publicly active, or active in counsel, or prominent liberal leaders in their homes; a good half or more, however, give us nothing. I believe there are two principal defects.

a. Under-representation of the newer Negro leadership. I know of people in Atlanta who would add strength: e.g. Carl Holman, Hollowell, Whitney Young (if he returns). There must be others like them in dozens of southern locales. The Board now, especially in its Negro membership, looks too much like a council of elders.

b. Too many whites who are not representative of the presently active liberal forces. Take Atlanta, for example (where, incidentally, we have a disproportionately large segment of Board membership: 11, with 5 of them on the Executive Committee). With a couple exceptions, these are not persons now at the forefront of liberal causes in the city, <u>nor commonly thought of as being</u>.

At the rate of 5 new members a year, by the time Board membership has embraced some more representative people from today's battles, they are likely to be yesterday's heroes themselves. I believe that we could well move faster, for a year or two at least; furthermore, I see no reason why we should not increase Board membership to, say 90 or 100 if that would be the simplest way of getting new blood into it.

2. Fast moving events require that we should be thinking now about the Council's future. I suggested to you once that we might ask ourselves what role the Council will have when the rest of the South (possibly excepting 1 or 2 states) is where Virginia and North Carolina are now. This happy situation may arrive sooner than a year ago we would have believed.

3. On the other hand, there is a very good chance that some of the stormiest of all days lie ahead. Reading the Times-Picayune since Summer, I have about concluded that the Louisiana state government has been captured by the Citizens Council. The CC is certainly no weaker in Mississippi; in Alabama there is the miserable hope of a return of Folsom: if he doesn't make it, the CC will remain strong and perhaps get stronger there. South Carolina will, I suspect, have a larger Citizens Council when it needs one. Some time ago we planned an approach to national business leaders with interests in the South; the project bogged down at my desk, and of that I am fully aware. I would, nevertheless, suggest that you and Ben actively re-consider it, from the standpoint of concentrating on these 4 states. I say "you and Ben" because my role could best be a supporting one. Furthermore, you and Ben might consider shifting the emphasis of RBF work away from the states which are moving, and toward the bitterly recalcitrant ones.

4. We have talked several times about the fortunes of the sit-ins. I think there is an opportunity here for a really important program, one which might have far-reaching effects. What I have in mind--though not very concretely or precisely--is this.

Are there localities where the pattern has been:

> sit-ins and mobilization of the Negro community (opinion politically, economically) plus desegregation of the counters plus continued mobilization and further success?

Knoxville seems to me to be fitting this pattern; there may be one or two other places as well.

What I want to suggest is that we (not just me) take out, as it were, a patent on this pattern and promote it. Not, of course, by "activist" methods. But by analyzing it, imaginatively, carefully, and with some depth (my job); by making our state groups and other agencies understand it (Paul R's job); by helping white leadership in cities over the South to be unafraid of it (Ben's job).

The key ideas are (a) protest is not enough; (b) there is a responsibility on the part of both Negroes and white realists to make "gradualism" finally work by maintaining a climate of steady change.

5. My own part continues to have its satisfactions and its discomforts. The latter are chiefly made up of things undone or inefficiently done. The length of time which the Johnson & Steamer manuscripts have been on my desk; the breakdown of the effort to reach national business leaders; the failure to get anything done on voting, even though there is some money left in the project; and more.

There is work which I can neither delegate nor find time to do. I don't think this suggest an enlargement of staff. I do think it is an aspect of the problem of using the staff budget we now have more rationally. This we have discussed so many times. Perhaps some day we shall have to face the problem forthrightly.

MEMORANDUM February 14, 1961

To: LWD

From: PA

Re: Suggested Budget for 8-State Study of School Facilities.

The following budget has been prepared on the assumption that the Project would run for a period of approximately twelve months; three months to organize the Project, select personnel in the states involved, and secure the cooperation of local citizens in each state; six months for the actual fact-finding and preparation of the report; and, three months for the printing, distribution, and follow-up of the study.

The Project would require a full-time director and a skilled clerical person in the central office and at least one skilled, part-time consultant in each of the eight states.

In order to secure serious interest and cooperation within the states and to insure an adequate use of the results, it might be well to require that local citizens raise a modest amount of the cost involved. This amount might be set at $500 or $1,000 -- and, of course, the amount raised would lower proportionately the total amount to be secured from a single source.

COPY

PROPOSED BUDGET
(For 8-State Study of School Facilities)

SALARIES:		
Project Director.....	$ 8,500	
Clerical Assistant	4,500	
State Consultants ..... (8 @ $600 ea.)	4,800	$ 17,800
ADMINISTRATIVE:		
Office rent, supplies and other expenses	$ 2,400	
Postage, telephone and other communication costs (@ $100 month)	1,400	
Equipment and furniture rental	600	
Travel	4,800	
Miscellaneous and unforeseen expenses	800	$ 9,200
PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION OF RESULTS	$18,000	$ 18,000
Total:		$ 45,000

April 14, 1961

Mr. Gideon W. Fryer
Health and Welfare Council, Inc.
Delaware County District
13 South Avenue
Media, Pa.

Dear Mr. Fryer:

Harold has passed your letter of March 17 on to me, and so it happily falls to my lot to express our gratification regarding your new program at the University of Tennessee. So far as we know, Miami is the only southern university offering training for careers in intergroup relations. What you are planning is welcome and interesting indeed.

We are pleased that you think of SRC as a desirable spot for student training. The four specific points you raised I have talked over carefully with Paul Rilling, who, as our Field Director, would be probably the key figure here in any arrangements that might be worked out. We would answer your questions this way:

1) We definitely will be on the alert for programs which might be suitable for field work placement. I suggest you also communicate with Wilton Hartzler of the American Friends Service Committee (P.O. Box 1307) in High Point, N. C.

2) We will be on the lookout for graduates who might be likely candidates for the program.

3) We have no immediate ideas concerning sources of funds for training scholarships for the human relations field. You probably know that NAIRO is exploring the possibility of renewing its internship program and is seeking funds for this purpose.

4) We would be willing to talk further of the possibility of SRC as a field work location and, if we participated, might be able to manage some pay for a student during the field work period. This would seem possible, however, only if you would approve one of our professional staff members as the supervisor. I don't believe it would be feasible for such a student to be working with us with an outside social work supervisor involved.

Sorry, but we cannot do a think for Dick Taylor. We must have had six or seven very able students--undergraduate and graduate--apply for work this Summer; we have engaged two, and are afraid we already have over-committed ourselves.

Your New South subscription ought to be now straightened out; if there are any more slip-ups, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

file

THE COSTS OF SEGREGATION

Herewith ~~There~~ are three approaches to an estimate of the cost of segregation. Each is valid, though each employs a different concept of "cost".

I.

Some costs can be itemized through patient and skilled fact-finding. As yet for example, no comprehensive investigation of the governmental costs of segregated facilities has been made. A systematic accounting would for the first time enable citizens and legislators to draw upon established facts for the shaping of policies. The accounting would be valuable even if confined to one state, or even if limited to one function (such as education or public health).

A second area wherein itemized costs, or reliable cost estimates, would be possible is that of the duplicate facilities which private businesses have to provide for customers and employees.

A third group of costs that can be itemized have to do with the funds, which must be vast, being spent to defend or eradicate segregation. These would include the expenses of litigation, to both sides; and the public funds used by Southern states for agencies, propaganda, special legislative sessions, and other efforts directed at preserving segregation.

II.

A second approach would probe the indirect costs of segregation. It would require that certain relationships be initially described, and here the economist might, at least in some cases, need the assistance of other social scientists. If valid relationships can be defined, the assignable costs would in all probability exceed those which could be itemized under the approach I.

Pg 2

The easiest relationship to establish is that between segregation and slums. By this time, the evidence has been well secured as to the high price which the whole community pays for the maintenance of slums. The bill includes abnormal

allocation for police, fire, welfare and other municipal services; put differently, it includes a high ratio of expenditures to revenues. There are also identifiable costs arising from inefficient land use and the deterioration of the central city.

The hypothesis that segregated housing, apart from slums, diminishes real estate values generally can also be tested. There is evidence that "exclusiveness" contributes less to value stability than does a wide, unrestricted market of potential buyers. If so, this may be a cost individuals are willing to bear; they should at least know what it is.

More difficult to describe quantitatively would be the relationship between segregation in the Southern states and their position as net migration losers. The question merits examination, however, both because of its implications for Southern industrialization, and because of its patent plausibility. In one important respect, a relationship is seemingly clear; i.e. the loss by the South of many of its best Negro talent, and the reluctance of many well-educated and highly productive white persons to accept positions in the South.

Another relationship is similar; i.e. the loss of new capital investment, because of the continuing Southern educational crisis. The obscurity of investors motivatesion would, however, probably make the loss, if there is one, difficult to demonstrate. Comparative data on a time and regional basis would be possible, and would provide an interesting test for an hypothesis which is worth investigating.

Pg. 4 – The relationship suggested by the Supreme Court, in its finding that no segregated school system can be equal throughout, could be studied. It is well known that education improves an individual's earning potential, i.e. enhances his value to society. If a segregated school system cannot provide an equal education for Negroes, can the resulting loss in potential value to society be stated quantitatively?

insert 2A
2B

The above are only several of the topics that could be researched; others will occur to any student of the southern economy. There are such issues, for example, as the inability of southern cities, because of segregation, to attract their full share of convention engagements; or the tendency of what is reportedly a growing number of middle class Negroes, especially those residing outside large cities, to buy personal and household effects through mail order houses instead of from local merchants; or the tendency of middle-class Negroes to go outside the South for medical, dental & hospital services.

A final note concerns a problem of considerable economic interest, and one which is on the border between the indirect costs proposed for study in this section, and the itemizable costs dealt with in approach I. It is well known that for some goods and services Negroes pay a higher average price than do whites. Whether this results in an eliminable cost for society probably depends on the circumstances. Negroes, for example, pay generally higher life insurance rates: if actuarial tables were recast on a non-racial basis, the resultant savings to Negroes presumably would be offset by an added expense to white insurors; whatever the gain to morality and justice, there might be ~~more~~ more to public purchasing power for other services and commodities. On the other hand, because Negroes, typically, pay more than do whites for housing, and because this price penalty results from the workings of a segregated market, there would be a clear gain in Negro purchasing power, in the entire measure of the differential, if segregation were ended; what now is pocketed solely by the landlord, landowner or lending institution, would be added to the general pipeline of economic demand.

III.

The most interesting approach to the costs of segregation would adopt a method unlike either of the above, more traditional, inquiries. It would form, instead, a chapter in the emerging science of development economics. Starting from a problem, rather than from observed facts or plausible hypotheses, it would seek to describe

the conditions and policies necessary for the equalization of Southern and national economic indices; or, alternatively, it might try to describe the perequisites of a selected annual growth figure for the regional economy.

Recent economic studies of underdeveloped countries have generally concluded that an economic "catch up" is often effect, and not cause, of altered cultural practices and attitudes, or that there is interacting cause + effect. There is, consequently, widespread attention to those non-economic factors which affect economic growth.

This sort of analysis could be applied to the South, and segregation brought into it only where, and if, it were encountered as an important element in the South's ability to reach economic parity with the rest of the country.

This would be an appropriate place to note that although this proposal has dealt specifically with the South, the study could be broadened to a national one. The development problem could be cast in terms of the effects of segregation - North and South - on the ability of the whole country to sustain some desired rate of increase in gross national product. Several of the questions raised in approach II are likewise susceptible to a national, as well as merely Southern, analysis.

New page - A General ~~Method~~ Project Plan

Article for New South

POPULATION TRENDS AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The size and composition of the population of any given city with biracial school systems is one of the principal factors affecting school desegregation. The relative difficulty that a particular school district may face is, to a great extent, determined by the number of students involved in the transition.

Population trends in the South have, therefore, a special meaning for school desegregation. Here is what is happening:

1. Population in rural areas is declining. Negroes and whites are moving to urban regions, both North and South. The Negro rate of departure was higher than that of white persons between 1940-50 and perhaps has remained higher; but the difference is only slight. Probably a larger number of the white migrants stop in southern cities. On the other hand, the larger family size of the Negroes means that the Negro rural school-age population stays larger than would be expected. Rural schools are emptying while city schools are being over-crowded. Rural school children must often travel far to attend segregated schools. Children attending these schools come from scattered and sparsely populated areas, as a result of the decreasing rural population. If schools remain segregated, we can anticipate a growing number of half or nearly empty schools.

   How dramatic has been the population shift from rural to urban residence is indicated by the fact that in the school year 1956-57 there were fewer white children enrolled in the rural schools of nine Southern states than there had been in 1939-40; these nine were Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas. In six states there were fewer Negro children enrolled: these were Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Tennessee. During the same years enrollments of both Negro and white children in the schools of metropolitan areas climbed sharply. White enrollment in the metropolitan

schools of Kentucky increased 34%, and Negro enrollment in the metropolitan schools of Mississippi rose 23%: these were the lowest increases in the whole region. The highest metropolitan increases for white children were in Florida (where enrollment jumped 165% in the 18 year period), Texas (137%), Virginia (119%), and Mississippi (101%). The highest metropolitan increases for Negro children were in Texas (137%), Florida (106%), Louisiana (67%), and Georgia (62%). /1

2. State population increases tend to be concentrated in urban areas. For example, since 1920, population growth in Georgia has occurred largely in five urban areas - Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Macon and Savannah. In this 36-year period, the proportion of the State's population in these centers almost doubled, rising from 22.4% in 1920 to 41.5% in 1956. While the state's population increased 7.8% from 1950 to 1956, the population of 115 of Georgia's 159 counties actually declined. /2

3. As migrants from the rural areas move into cities, the middle and upper-economic class whites are receding into surburbia. This tends to intensify and cause deterioration of the already congested central city. If this trend, which is evident in both segregated and desegregated centers, should continue, it is probable that residents of the city proper will tend to be chiefly Negroes and lower economic group whites. Furthermore, it is conceivable that Negro children will eventually constitute a greater proportion of the total city school enrollments than white children. Here again Atlanta is chosen for illustration: For the school year 1959-60, Negro enrollment was up 3,202 over the previous year; white enrollment was down by 1,272. The current ratio was 57.9% white, 42.1% Negro; in September 1958, it had been 60.6% white, 39.4% Negro.

Pg 3

1. From statistics prepared by Dr. John A. Griffin for Southern Schools: Progress and Problems, published by the Southern Education Reporting Service, 1959.

2. John L. Fulmer, Population Estimates of Georgia Counties for 1956-57 with Analysis of Reasons for Changes from 1950. Special Report No. 33, the Industrial Development Branch of the Engineering Experiment Station, Georgia Institute of Technology, 1957, pp. 5, 14, and 18.

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Here again Atlanta is chosen for illustration: For the school year 1959-60, Negro enrollment was up 3,202 over the previous year; white enrollment was down by 1,272. The current ratio was 57.9% white, 42.1% Negro; in September 1958, it had been 60.6% white, 39.4% Negro. The following figures show that in a representative sample of the South's principal cities, the nonwhite percentage of the total population increased or only slightly decreased from 1940 to 1950./3 All the preliminary evidence indicates that in the 1950's the exodus of middle and upper-economic class whites from the cities to the suburbs has accelerated, and that rural migrants, including Negroes, have continued to throng into the cities.

City	% Increase 1940-50 Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite Population % of Total Population 1940	1950
Atlanta, Ga.	16.1	6.2	34.6	36.6
Birmingham, Ala.	19.4	23.5	40.7	39.9
Charleston, S.C.	- 2.8	- .5	44.6	44.0
Charlotte, N.C.	19.4	38.9	31.1	28.0
Houston, Texas	45.2	57.9	22.9	21.1
Jackson, Miss.	65.7	53.4	39.1	40.9
Nashville, Tenn.	15.6	- .4	28.3	31.4
New Orleans, La.	21.9	12.5	30.3	32.0

4. Although the Negro population is shifting from predominantly rural to predominantly urban, the ratio of Negroes to whites in metropolitan areas

3. Figures in this table and in the next one are taken from a report by the Federal Housing Administration, Division of Research and Statistics, Market Analysis Section, August 15, 1953.

declines. The 1940 to 1950 nonwhite percentage of the total population of the metropolitan areas of the same eight cities illustrates this decline; in only one of the eight has the nonwhite ratio increased.

City	% Increase 1940-50 Nonwhite	% Increase 1940-50 White	Nonwhite Population % of Total Population 1940	Nonwhite Population % of Total Population 1950
Atlanta, Ga.	15.6	35.0	27.7	24.7
Birmingham, Ala.	16.4	24.8	39.0	37.3
Charleston, S.C.	14.7	56.9	49.2	41.5
Charlotte, N. C.	15.4	35.5	28.5	25.4
Houston, Texas	44.5	54.5	19.7	18.7
Jackson, Miss.	15.3	51.0	51.7	45.0
Nashville, Tenn.	13.5	28.4	22.1	20.0
New Orleans, La.	25.5	23.5	28.9	29.3

Another comparison can be made by examining more closely recent changes in Atlanta. The standard metropolitan area of Atlanta was enlarged by one county in 1956 and by another in 1958; it now includes five counties. For these five, the Negro population increased 20.4% from 1900 to 1959; but, the proportion of Negroes to the total population of these counties declined, from 33.6% in 1900 to 22.1% in 1959. In the city of Atlanta itself, the proportion of Negroes was, as is shown in the above figures, increasing. In 1952 and 1953, however, the climb was arrested when the City annexed large outlying areas which were mainly white in population: had these sections been part of Atlanta in 1950, the Negro proportion of the city's population would have been, not 36.6%, but only 31.2%. Yet, by 1959 the Negro population within the present city limits of Atlanta had risen to 36.5%. /4 And the Atlanta experience is illustrative of that of

4. Metropolitan Planning Commission, We're Feeling Like a Million, Atlanta 1959. p. 4

many cities throughout the South. It includes, as it were, three movements: heavy increase of Negro population; steady decline of the proportion of Negroes to total population in the metropolitan area; a stable or increasing proportion of Negroes within the city proper.

5. Emigration from the South as a while is going on at a slightly faster rate than immigration into the South. Most emigrants from the South are in the productive age group from 21 to 45, and as a result, net migration losses are not proportionately felt in school enrollments.

* * *

Even without considering school desegregation, these trends have important implications for the South's educational system. The gravity of this situation becomes evident as one looks at the growing school enrollments and the existing inadequate facilities with which to cope with them. In this regard, Professor John M. Maclachlan wrote:

"...it seems clear that the approaching educational crisis in the South may be one of the gravest proportions, without any regard to changes in the legal basis of biracial education in the region. The first and most basic consideration is that there will be in the South, by 1960, [compared with 1950] almost one-third more white and over one-third more nonwhite persons of school age." /5

If these estimates are fairly accurate, one can immediately perceive the gigantic task facing the schools. Herculean efforts will be needed to build new schools, provide adequate classroom facilities, secure additional teachers, and strengthen the overall school program to accommodate the growing army of school children from many varied backgrounds. Between 1940 and 1950, in the 13 states

5. John M. Maclachlan, "Population Factors Affecting Education in the South," Journal of Public Law, Spring 1954, pp. 114-115.

of the South, the white population between ages 10 and 19 declined more than 397,000; the nonwhite population between ages 10 and 19 declined more than 220,000. The statistics on population increases from 1950 to 1960 make a stronger impact, as Professor Maclachlan says, "when one pauses to reflect that one of the most serious problems of the late 1940's and early 1950's was a relentless increase in the need for schools and teachers,"/ despite the school-age population drop.

In addition to the economic problems created by recent population trends, problems of a cultural and academic nature are also of considerable consequence. The "hub" of the city, into which come the masses from the rural areas, houses the lower socio-economic groups, both white and colored. For the present and for the next few years at least, the best possible school administration and teaching will be necessary even partially to fill in the gaps that are the result of inferior environments. As Professor Homer L. Hitt has said, "To a large degree the future of southern cities and thus the quality of life in the South will depend on the contributions of the newcomers to the urban scene." /6

Counterbalancing forces are gradually coming into play which will perhaps change the direction of recent population trends. First of all, urban renewal: hundreds of cities are currently attempting to do away with the blighted areas surrounding their central business districts. The blighted areas are being replaced by business establishments and frequently by high rent apartments beyond the incomes of the previous inhabitants of these areas. Secondly, the exodus from the rural areas has almost reached its climax. Thirdly, practical considerations will almost inevitably necessitate the reduction of some discriminatory housing practices. On these last two points, Irene B. Taeuber, of Princeton University, expresses the following opinion:

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6. R. B. Vance and N. J. Demerath, editors, The Urban South, Chapel Hill, 1954, p. 77.

To project the migrations of the past into the future is impossible, for the sources of supply in the rural South are approaching exhaustion. To project a continuing exodus from the South and a continuing mobility in the metropolis without the reduction of residential segregation leads to results that are not consonant with real possibilities. Continually declining white populations and rapidly increasing Negro populations would lead eventually to the transfer of political power in the central cities and so terminate the segregation./7

Whether all or some of our schools desegregate in the future, today's school crisis calls for and demands cooperation and community organization. Our schools may operate on an efficient level but only if school board members, administrators, teachers, parents, community leaders, and other responsible persons are willing to apply the most feasible and workable solutions.

It seems apparent that many school districts are reaching that situation where segregation becomes immediately costly: i.e., where populations have shifted, leaving unused school capacity in one place, overcrowded school capacities elsewhere. The impact of recent population trends require that schools fulfill their primary objective - the development of the individual and of his potentialities in order that he may become a mature, participating member of our democratic society.

7. Irene B. Taeuber, "Migration, Mobility, and the Assimilation of the Negro," Population Bulletin, November 1958, p. 149.

Memo file

Plan of Pamphlet

A symposium on the Southern press' handling of racial news since 1954:
- its reporting of the news
- its guidance to its readers by responsible interpretation of the news.

Parts of pamphlet

1. Foreword by Harold Fleming: purpose and limitations of the pamphlet

2. Spearman

3. An essay by Southern journalist or someone close of Southern journalism, evaluating press since 1954 in terms of some such factors as following:
   - has it clearly indicated realistic alternatives on school question?
   - has it sought to calm the climate of opinion, or has it helped inflame it?
   - has it performed the press' historic role of a critic of public policy and policy makers?

   The essay would be keyed to Spearman's final conclusion, that "Southern newspapers are doing a better job in giving their readers the facts...than in revealing their meaning and interpreting the points of view of the people involved."

   Desirable length: 5,000 - 6,000 words

4. A similar essay, by a Southern Negro journalist or someone close to Southern journalism.

For Further Reading

(copies of these items are available on request from the Southern Regional Council, as long as supplies last)

The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools, by Erwin Knoll

Notre Dame Lawyer, Symposium 1959. (This issue was devoted entirely to problems of desegregation. It includes articles on the roles of public officials, churches, the Negro community, the legal profession, and education. The role of education is discussed by Carl Hansen, Superintendent of Washington's schools; Omer Carmichael, late superintendent in Louisville; and J. H. Wheeler of Washington and Lee University.)

The "Davis Report" and the Truth About the Public School Situation in Washington, D. C.; SRC Report No. L-6

1956-57 Figures

Arkansas -	Hoxie	12	
	Charleston	11	
	Fayetteville	9	
	Bentonville	2	34
Tennessee -	Clinton	6	
Texas -	data from S. S.		6-15-57

1957-58 Figures

Arkansas -	Bentonville	2	
	Charleston	11	
	Fayetteville	33	
	Ft. Smith	1	
	Hoxie	11	
	Little Rock	9	
	Van Buren	24	91

North Carolina - data from S.S., 4th Print.

Tennessee - "

Texas - "

1958-59 Figures

Arkansas -	Bentonville	2	
	Charleston	11	
	Fayetteville	36	
	Ft. Smith	2	
	Hoxie	9	
	Van Buren	13	73

North Carolina - Data from S. S., 6th Print.

Tennessee - "

Texas - "

Virginia 3 " (Warren County not included)

1959-60 Figures

Arkansas -	Bentonville	2	
	Charleston	8	
	Fayetteville	31	
	Fort Smith	4	
	Hoxie	8	
	Van Buren	23	
	Little Rock	8	
	Pulaskie	10	94

Florida - Orchard Villa - 468 (9 white)
source: SSN, Jan. 1960

Homestead	22	490

North Carolina - SS, 7th Print.

Tennessee - ditto

Virginia -	Alexandria	14	
	Arlington	23	
	Charlottesville	11	
	Norfolk	21	
	Warren	20	
	Floyd	13	102

A MEMORANDUM ON RECOMMENDATION NO. 5
OF THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Appointment of Temporary Federal Registrars

1. Opposition to the Commission's recommendation comes from several groups of people:

   - those who do not want the Southern Negroes to vote;

   - those who regard federal registration as a violation of constitutional principles;

   - those Southerners who, while sympathetic with the objective, regard federal registration as unwise and inflammatory tactics;

   - those who think federal registration is unnecessary in securing full voting rights.

2. There is no point in addressing arguments to the first group. Its adherents typically, however, profess (at least outside their home constituencies) one of the other objections.

3. This widely recognized practice should not cause the advocates of temporary federal registrars to assume that all opponents are insincere, or that the questions of principle, tactics, and policy need not be seriously met. The constitutional issue is raised seriously by what is, undoubtedly, only a small band of persons; but they are usually persons of stature and influence (e.g. ex-Commissioner Battle). A much larger number of Southerners are sincerely possessed of a mixture of ideas, vaguely defined, which they associate with "states rights." Another group of Southerners question the practical wisdom of the recommendation because of apprehensions as to public and official reaction, and a fear of further cramping the opportunities for Southern liberals to exert any influence; one representative example of this point of view would be the able chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the Commission, Mr. Sylvan Meyer. Finally, some Southerners may share what is apparently the administration's attitude, that federal registration is unnecessary.

4. Granted the impossibility of penetrating the self-interest or prejudice of those who are fearful of Negro voting, advocates of the federal registration proposal should seek to meet the dissent on other grounds. In other words, nothing is achieved (at least as far as Southern opinion is concerned) by charging a Senator Russell with a desire to discriminate; everybody knows that is so. Something is to be gained by emphasizing and answering the objections which thousands of Southerners (including some Congressmen) do seriously hold. Quite likely, few if any votes of Southern Congressmen will be won for the proposal. But if it passes, the attitude toward it in the South will make all the difference in its enforcement. The following paragraphs attempt to identify the chief objections which would occur to thoughtful Southerners and other opponents, with suggestions as to how they can be met.

A MEMORANDUM ON RECOMMENDATION NO. 5
OF THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Appointment of Temporary Federal Registrars

1. Opposition to the Commission's recommendation comes from several groups of people:

   - those who do not want the Southern Negroes to vote;

   - those who regard federal registration as a violation of constitutional principles;

   - those Southerners who, while sympathetic with the objective, regard federal registration as unwise and inflammatory tactics;

   - those who think federal registration is unnecessary in securing full voting rights.

2. There is no point in addressing arguments to the first group. Its adherents typically, however, profess (at least outside their home constituencies) one of the other objections.

3. This widely recognized practice should not cause the advocates of temporary federal registrars to assume that all opponents are insincere, or that the questions of principle, tactics, and policy need not be seriously met. The constitutional issue is raised seriously by what is, undoubtedly, only a small band of persons; but they are usually persons of stature and influence (e.g. ex-Commissioner Battle). A much larger number of Southerners are sincerely possessed of a mixture of ideas, vaguely defined, which they associate with "states rights." Another ~~large~~ group of Southerners question the practical wisdom of the recommendation because of apprehensions as to public and official reaction, and a fear of further cramping the opportunities for Southern liberals to exert any influence; one representative example of this point of view would be the able chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the Commission, Mr. Sylvan Meyer. Finally, some Southerners may share what is apparently ~~its~~ the administration's attitude, that federal registration is unnecessary.

4. Granted the impossibility of penetrating the self-interest or prejudice of those who are fearful of Negro voting, advocates of the federal registration proposal should seek to meet the dissent on other grounds. In other words, nothing is achieved (at least as far as Southern opinion is concerned) by charging a Senator Russell with a desire to discriminate; everybody knows that ~~it~~ is so. Something is to be gained by emphasizing and answering the objections which thousands of Southerners (including some Congressmen) do seriously hold. Quite likely, few if any votes of Southern Congressmen will be won for the proposal. But if it passes, the attitude toward it in the South will make all the difference in its enforcement. The following paragraphs attempt to identify the chief objections which would occur to thoughtful Southerners, & other opponents, with suggestions as to how they can be met.

Constitutional Principles

5. It will be said that federal registration usurps a state function and responsibility. The rebuttal on legal grounds is clear, and the purpose and scope of Article I, Section 4 and other Constitutional provisions, such as Amendment 17, should be discussed.

6. Perhaps more effective as a reply will be insistence on two features of the recommendation:

   a. The temporary federal registrars will administer the state qualifications, as they have been enacted, and without discretion to alter;

   b. Persons certified by federal registrars will be free to vote only in elections of federal officers.

7. It will be said that federal registrars will be interfering outsiders. Given the prevalent Southern dislike of outside meddling in local affairs, this is likely to be the most deeply-felt objection; it should, therefore, be countered over and over again, by pointing out that:

8. The temporary federal registrars will be local residents, raised in the South and probably in the district affected, known to their neighbors and sympathetic with their backgrounds;

9. Moreover, their exercise of the powers of registrar will be only temporary.

10. It will be said that federal registration is a form of vindictive harassment of the South, dictated by "bloc voting" in Northern states. In large part, this reaction is beyond rational refutation (to point out that "bloc voting" exists in the South - by whites - as well as in the North is probably as ineffective as it is true).

11. The safeguards against abuse, written into the Recommendation, ought to be strongly emphasized; i. e., the requirement of nine sworn complaints; the limitation of the complaints to denials because of race, color, religion, and national origin; the requirement of CCR investigation; the temporary nature of the plan; the administration of it by local residents.

12. It will be said that any nine persons, for whatever frivolous cause, can subject a Southern county, etc. to federal investigation; or that eight frivolous complaints plus a single valid one can lead to federal registration.

13. The stature of the Commissioners, the requirement that they (and the Staff Director) be confirmed by the Senate, and the membership of prominent Southerners on the Commission can be emphasized. The attached selection of editorials from Southern Newspapers may help in defending the Commission's responsibility.

14. Also, it can be pointed out that the affiants must (a) have made an actual attempt to register and been refused; (b) submit sworn complaints.

Tactical Disapproval

15. For those who are worried that federal registrars may further disturb and inflame the political climate of the South, it should be made clear that the alternative to federal registration is not no federal action, but another variety of federal action. The demand throughout the country for free access of all citizens to the ballot will not abate. If necessary, it will lead to invigorated prosecution, which, whether successful or not, will keep the voting issue constantly alive. Federal registrars are an alternative to litigation; administrative action is an alternative to criminal charges; CCR investigations of sworn complaints are an alternative to FBI investigations of suspicious situations. Under this Recommendation, noone gets tried, no one gets punished, no court serves as a sounding board for reckless oratory, no community will writhe in the spotlight of prolonged news attention. Federal registration offers a quiet means for solving a problem ~~minimally~~ decisively, rather than interminable scrapping over it. Moreover, federal registration would apply only to particular localities. It would not be imposed on a state-wide basis, and no localities which administer their state's own registration laws equitably would be affected.

Policy Reservations

16. For those who, while sympathetic with the objective of Recommendation 5, question its necessity, the following facts can be adduced:

17. Negro registration in some Southern localities has been frustrated by the resignation of boards of registrars, by the delay in appointing successors, and by the infrequent, irregular, and often unannounced opening of the registration books. In Macon County (Alabama) there was no board, and therefore no one to register voters, for about 42 months between 1946-57, and at other times in that period the existence of a board was not generally known. The CCR specifically found similar practices in Bullock County (Alabama).

18. Temporary federal registrars, holding regular appointments as Postmaster, U. S. Attorney, or Clerk of District Court, would be in continuous service. Typically, registrars are unpaid, or nearly so, part-time officials; to resign such an office is not hard. The empowering of a federal officer or

employee to act as a temporary registrar would ensure that registration could not be denied by default. Nor is it the case that an inactive or non-existent board is, in fact, an equal hardship to whites and Negroes; as the Commission's Report notes (page 140), "In all such cases, the majority of the electorate already registered were white persons." This is something of an understatement: in the Alabama counties mentioned, only five Negroes are registered in Bullock; and in Macon, 1,218 Negroes and 3,102 whites were registered in 1958, when the population was 27,000 Negroes to 3,177 whites.

19. That many Southern counties prohibit or rigidly limit Negro registration, by intimidation or chicanery, has been abundantly proven. For example, the Southern Regional Council has, in published reports, described without being contradicted the discriminatory practices employed in dozens of counties.

20. At present, there is no effective way of coping with registrar discrimination, and a greatly expanded enforcement staff in the Department of Justice would be required even to proceed under the present weak criminal statutes. As an example of the ineffectiveness of civil action against registrars, the case of Randolph County (Georgia) could be cited. On July 15, 1954, 525 registered Negroes were challenged; about 225 accepted the invitation to take a re-test under the Georgia registration law. Of these 175 of these failed. Before July, 700 or 800 Negroes were registered; ~~then~~ the purge cut the Negro registration to 225-325. On November 23, 1955 a federal district court ordered the names of 134 restored to the lists after a civil suit brought by 22 plaintiffs. But these 134 plus the others purged were prevented from voting in the September, 1954 primary and November 1954 general election. Damages were awarded to each of the 22 plaintiffs of $20 against each of two registrars; no damages were levied against the third registrar because he was "comparatively inactive." (Thornton v. Martin, Race Relations Law Reporter, 213.)

21. At least, however, the court in the above case permitted a class action. Under most circumstances, class actions are not allowed, and each Negro refused or deprived of registration must separately sue (see, e. g., Reddix v. Lucky, 152 F. 2d 930).

Shortcomings of Recommendation 5

22. In at least three respects, the Recommendation could possibly prove defective:

- where Negroes cannot register they frequently would not be safe if known to have sworn out a complaint;

- the Recommendation makes no provision against an immediate (or almost immediate) purge of voters certified by federal registrars;

- the Recommendation helps to enforce the right to register, but not necessarily the right to cast a ballot and have it counted.

23. Although sworn complaints are probably desirable, the CCR could be directed or authorized to keep the names of affiants confidential.

24. The statute could provide that only the federal registrar could receive a challenge of a registrant certified by him; or, alternatively, that the certification could not be revoked or challenged except in case of a revision of the states's registration law.

25. The right to cast a ballot and have it counted in a federal election is not protected by this Recommendation. Recognizing this to be so, the appointment of temporary federal registrars can still be seen to be a valuable contribution to equal citizenship.

Notes on staff discussion of Federal registrars proposal

1. In some instances - i.e. Macon county, Ala. - registrars do not exist, therefore local citizens have no opportunity to register. An examination of voting records in areas of most discrimination ~~x~~ reveals overwhelming percentage of whites registered - few Negroes registered. Thus, the two groups are not equally penalized.

Possible statistics on areas which may fit the above description.

2. Commissions' proposal would be workable if it became law since local federal officials, postmasters and others, would not likely resign their positions if called upon to act.

3. With this proposal as law, 5? precent local officials are less likely to resign or otherwise shirk their responsibilities and duties.

4. Law ~~xxx~~ could not be abused since requirement of nine complaints and definite findings of denial of rights in at least three instances make it certain ~~necessary~~ that real grievances exist. ~~xxxxx~~

~~5xxxx~~

5. Countering arguments of Southerns:

   a. Argument regarding "snoopers and outsiders" invalid since proposal states that federal registrars would be local officials - generally persons who are natives or long-time residents of the area.

   b. Local and state offices and elections are not affected.

   c. An act of the federal government determining the election of federal officials.

   d. Registrars would be charged to register persons under existing state laws.

6. Consideration of the "right to register" as distinguished from the "right to vote."

SOCIAL SECURITY LAWS
TITLE XI
SECTION 1110

Cooperative Research or Demonstration Projects

(a) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, $5,000,000 and for each fiscal year thereafter such sums as the Congress may determine for (1) making grants to States and public and other nonprofit organizations and agencies for paying part of the cost of research or demonstration projects such as those relating to the prevention and reduction of dependency, or which will aid in effecting coordination of planning between private and public welfare agencies or which will help improve the administration and effectiveness of programs carried on or assisted under the Social Security Act and programs related thereto, and (2) making contracts or jointly financed cooperative arrangements with States and public and other nonprofit organizations and agencies for the conduct of research or demonstration projects relating to such matters.

(b) No contract or jointly financed cooperative arrangement shall be entered into, and no grant shall be made, under subsection (a), until the Secretary obtains the advice and recommendations of specialists who are competent to evaluate the proposed projects as to soundness of their design, the possibilities of securing productive results, the adequacy of resources to conduct the proposed research or demonstrations, and their relationship to other similar research or demonstrations already completed or in process.

(c) Grants and payments under contracts or cooperative arrangements under subsection (a) may be made either in advance or by way of reimbursement, as may be determined by the Secretary; and shall be made in such installments and on such conditions as the Secretary finds necessary to carry out the purposes of this section.

Address inquiries to:

Mrs. Ida C. Merriam, Director
Division of Program Research
Social Security Administration
Dept. of Health, Education, and
Welfare
Washington 25, D. C.

LWD

HUMAN RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH

One of the most depressing facts about the South is its inability to hold on to its talented people. This loss of talent is neither new nor is it disappearing. Southerners of ability - both white and Negro - leave the region in discouragingly large numbers, and the South is deprived of the leadership and stimulus which they could offer. In the process, millions of dollars of the limited funds which Southern states have for education are spent on educating youth who pocket their diplomas and move away.

On the other hand, the South can be justifiably proud in being, as it has been for decades, a reservoir of talent and leadership for the whole country. Although in recent decades especially the South has benefitted from the many Northerners who have moved here, and brought with them managerial and professional skills, the South is still the nation's creditor.

This picture of simultaneous regional loss and regional contribution can be, and in part has been, shown statistically or described in sociological terms. But the essentially human quality of the picture can be lost - or, at least, not found - in doing so. To reach that essence, and to add to an understanding of the present day South and its people, are the purposes of the following proposals.

Loss of Southern talent

By examination of the alumni records of several representative graduate and professional schools, colleges, and high schools, the extreme dimensions of the draining-off of Southern brains and talent could be shown. Through a systematic searching of Who's Who and other more specialized biographical dictionaries, a selection could be made of prominent, productive men and women, of both races, who have left the South.

Negro achievement

The average white Southerner hardly knows an educated Negro; the white Northerner is in about the same situation. Consequently, the white man's image of the Negro is taken from those Negroes in menial occupations whom he does know, and this image operates consciously or unconsciously to affect his ideas about race relations and his attitudes toward desegregation. One way of correcting this image is to call attention to Negro achievement. The glamorous cases - Ralph Bunches and Marian Andersons - do not need publicity. What is more important is to reveal the thousands of Negroes who have filled responsible roles in society. A feasible and valid way of doing so is through the use of alumni records of Negro colleges to gather an overall view and individual cases for special treatment.

Contribution of the rural South

For no better reason, perhaps, than to illustrate the resources of human wills, an effort should be made to show how the country and small town have sent out men and women to achieve distinction in the professions, arts, and business. To do this thoroughly would be impossible. To do it by illustrative cases would be sufficient. Some of the stories of persons, white and Negro, who have come off the farm to assume positions of important leadership are inspiring, and the Negro stories in particular could have great value if, by planned distribution, they could be brought to the attention of rural audiences.

Scarcity of opportunities for Negroes

Important as have been Negro achievements, the career opportunities are still severely limited. Despite scholarly and official reports,

the conscience of Americans is not yet aware and challenged. By case studies and interpretation of statistical data, this social wrong can be put in its proper terms; i. e. the denial of individual fulfillment.

The exhaustion of human resources in the rural South

Hodding Carter once wrote an article titled "The Shrinking South" (Look, March 4, 1959) in which he told of the desertion of the country and of the farm-supported small town where "all we got is time." Almost any Southerner can tell a tale of some town of his acquaintance which is dying. Statistics give the same account: over half the counties of Georgia, for example, have lost population in the past decade. The rural Southerner, Negro and white, is caught up in an economic shift which is probably desirable and irreversible. Yet his situation is hard: he is forced out of a culture which he knows and which gives him self-confidence, and into the urban context. He becomes, often, the educational, criminal, and welfare problem of the Southern or Northern city in which he re-settles. Sensitive, sympathetic portrayal of the rural migrants and the cultures from which they come might, if skillfully distributed, do much to add to the understanding of their needs and capabilities, and to allay the resentment which urban centers widely feel toward the "hill-billies" (for whether they come from the plains or the piney woods they get this name) and the Negroes moving into their care.

These studies could be published in two or three pamphlets, circulated selectively to press, church groups, and schools. The studies and pamphlets would be in part prepared by the SRC staff, and in part by outside writers and researchers.

Interracial Review
Oct., 1959

The Negro Bourgeoisie

AT THE recent Soviet exhibition in New York City, there was a remarkable absence of any note that could be thought to jar upon American ears.

Peace and war were not featured. No doves fluttered over the electronics and the housing specimens. Practically the only direct Communist touch was a large motto in capital letters asserting that "the Communist reformation of society was indissolubly linked to the upbringing of the new man"—in moral and physical perfection. All the material assembled contributed to a definite impression: that this new Soviet man (which included his wife and children) was decidedly a regular fellow like his friends in the United States. His home was like an American bourgeois home; his schools like our schools (only a shade better); his vacations and cultural delights like our own. In short, the American bourgeois, in the best sense of the word, would be entirely at home under a Soviet regime. Implicit was the thought: "Bourgeois of the world, why not unite?" As the French Royalists say of a king for France: "Why not? *Pourquoi pas?*"

From reports of the recent United States' exhibit in Moscow, especially of the questions with which the Russian-speaking American guides have been plied, pretty much the same note would seem to appeal to Russian inquirers. They are far more interested in the moderately successful and comfortably fixed American business or professional man than in the situation of the struggling worker.

For this reason, one may take with a grain of salt the notion that the Negro bourgeois in the United States is a person that we can in no wise be proud of. One can ask whether the best service is done to our country when his accomplishments, his importance, and his growing presence in our American society continue, as they are, to be consistently played down in all the image material that is likely to reach the eyes and the minds of the people behind the Iron Curtain.

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, the distinguished Negro sociologist, has won widespread and well-earned attention by his sharp observations on the limitations and failings of the Negro bourgeoisie in the United States. (*Black Bourgeoisie. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press and Falcon's Wing Press, 1956).* He has rendered us all a genuine aid, since it is so easy to go overboard with upgrading of the relative minority who have succeeded in bettering their condition beyond their fellows. "Successful" men and women are truly successful only in so far as they have proved their worth before their Creator, who alone penetrates to the inner sanctuary of their souls. No matter how impressive their display, how big their "rep," they are worth no more than the mendicant ragpicker if they live only for themselves, and probably worth much less. But with all due consideration the significance of the Negro bourgeoisie still remains. For the *normal* course of events, the success of the Negro man or woman does signify a moral victory.

Successful Negroes have had to contend—again "normally"—against obstacles and discouragements far beyond those that confront the average ambitious youth or maiden in the white, the "majority," world. This is true despite a certain number of happy exceptions. The weaknesses, such as they are, that attach to the Negro bourgeoisie in the United States do not impair its importance as an exhibit of what this country is at its best, and of what it really stands for. Those of our Negro college youth who have acquired fluency in speaking the Russian language can do more to dissipate mistaken Soviet notions about the United States than reams of printed literature, not by their talk alone, but by their very existence.

The development of the Negro bourgeoisie is steadily building up a new image of the Negro in the United States. The image is the living antithesis of the persistent, slavery-rooted image which still permeates the imaginations of a majority of our fellow-citizens. The *individual* "successful" Negro, even the George Washington Carver or the James Weldon Johnson, does not suffice to shake the public imagination loose from a long-inherited, preconceived set of notions. But the building up of the Negro bourgeois as a class, as a massive social fact, is bound to exert this transforming influence on the public imagination.

By the same token, it is bound to exert a transforming influence upon the imaginations of other peoples, as the side of American life and culture of which so far they have been woefully ignorant. American image industries as yet do not project upon the world's imagination the true, rounded image of the part that the "advanced" Negro already plays in American life.

At a time when all of us are so concerned about our exhibits abroad, our most urgent task might well seem to be the adequate representation of what the Negro *can* hope for in sharing the progress of our own country.

—The Reverend John La Farge, S.J.

W. L. SNELL

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HF ✓ if you send off a proposal on "Negro achievement", the statement by Fox Farge would be a good testimonial. (And the article below reminds me that, despite my long-standing interest in the Collins plan, I included no reference to the question of substituting administrative for judicial action in any under-or-a public policy study.)

MA -

EW - insert for articles beginning 182 (Government) and 184 (Employment)

Clip Fa Farge statement + attach to file copy to proposal

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 22, 1957

MEMORANDUM

RE: Anticipated Public School Desegregation in Southern and Border States.

For your convenience and information, SRC has compiled the following summary material on previously all white schools which are expected to desegregate in September, 1957. We are also listing a further category of schools, some of which are prominently involved in litigation and some of which have received applications for admittance and face possible litigation. In this second category, there is apparently little likelihood of integration at the beginning of the academic year 1957-58, although in some instances there is a possibility of action leading to integration during the school year.

Schools and School Systems Planning Integration in September, 1957:

Arkansas	Fort Smith	Schools will start plan of gradual integration beginning with first grade level.
	Little Rock	Desegregation will begin at the high school level.
	Ozark	Ozark High School will begin desegregation at all high school levels.
	Van Buren	Under court order to desegregate in September.

Kentucky	Hopkins McCracken Scott Union Webster	Federal court orders requiring initiation of full desegregation programs were handed to these five counties. The last two were scenes of crowd disorders at Clay and Sturgis last fall.
Maryland	St. Mary's Co.	Desegregation will begin in elementary grades.
	Montgomery Co.	Two additional schools will desegregate.
Missouri	The following schools plan to desegregate:	
	Butler Co.	Poplar Bluff High (two upper grades)
	Daviess Co.	Gallatin Elementary
	Jackson Co.	Independence Elementary
	Johnson Co.	Holden Elementary
	Laclede Co.	Lebanon Elementary
	St. Louis Co.	Eureka Elementary
	Washington Co.	Potosi Elementary
North Carolina	Charlotte	The Charlotte school board announced assignment of five Negro students to previously all white schools: Harding High, 1; Alexander Graham Jr. High, 2; Piedmont Jr. High, 1; Central High, 1.
	Greensboro	The transfer of five Negro students to Gillespie School (elementary and junior high levels) and one Negro student to Senior High School was approved by the Greensboro school board.
	Winston-Salem	One Negro student was assigned by the school board to Reynolds High School.

Oklahoma	Kinta District	This district will desegregate for first time.
	Marietta District	Desegregation is planned for September.
Tennessee	Nashville	First grade integration in all Nashville public schools is scheduled for September, in compliance with a federal court order.
Virginia	Arlington Co.	Arlington County is under District Court order to abolish segregation in September; however, the District Court did not authorize parents to ignore the requirements of state pupil placement laws. If Virginia's Pupil Placement Act is used to bar Negroes from admittance to integrated school system, and if these cases are brought into court, the constitutionality of the Placement Act will then be considered.
West Virginia	Hardy Co. Mason Co.	Desegregation in these counties, planned for September, will leave only two counties, Jefferson and Hampshire, with segregated school systems.

Schools in Which Integration Action is Pending at Present Time:

*Delaware	All Districts	All presently segregated districts have been ordered by the District Court to integrate, and requested to ready a plan for the desegregation operation before fall term, 1957. The State Board of Education is seeking an appeal to the Circuit Court. This action will, in all probability, preclude any integration activity this fall.
Florida	Dade County	The Fifth Circuit Court reversed the decision of the District Court (which had dismissed a school entry suit). A decision

		by the school board as to their choice between two alternatives - preparing for trial or asking the Supreme Court to review the ruling - has not yet been made.
	Palm Beach Co.	An application suit was dismissed by the District Court on the ground that the applicant wanted to move outside of his normal school district. This decision is being appealed.
Kentucky	Allen Co. Anderson Co. Barren Co. Christian Co. Edmonson Co. Gallatin Co. Garrard Co. Spencer Co. Warren Co.	These nine Kentucky counties have plans for desegregation but dates have not been announced, as far as we can determine.
*Louisiana	New Orleans	The city school system is under Court Order to integrate; however, the order is being contested on a legal technicality. No planning has been done for integration in September.
North Carolina	Bryson City	Applications of six Negro students were refused by school board. There are no indications that the action will be reversed, unless the statement that if protest is made "the school board will probably hold another meeting" implies some chance of reversal.
	Caswell Co.	Forty-three Negro students have applied for admission to previously all-white schools for the fall term of 1957. The applications, "and possibly others," are expected to come before the Board of Education this fall.
	Chapel Hill	The application of one student was rejected. At the present time, the parent is undecided as to whether he will appeal the ruling.

	Old Fort	The McDowell County Board of Education rejected applications of 66 Negro students on the ground that applications were not on proper forms and should have been filed with the principal of Old Fort School.
	Raleigh	One request for admission was refused. A hearing before the School Board has been requested by the parents, as a preliminary step to court action.
South Carolina	Clarendon Co.	No time limit was set in the court order specifying integration in Clarendon County.
Texas	Dallas	Under court order to desegregate, but with no specific time indicated A policy statement will be made by the school board in August.
	Galveston	Plans to desegregate in September, 1957, were halted by an act of the state legislature prohibiting further integration except by approval of the district's voters in an election. No case testing the validity of this law has been filed.
	Houston	A suit has been filed asking District Court to set a definite date for integration. No subsequent action has been reported.
	Mansfield	Federal District Court has ordered Mansfield to integrate, but no actual integration has been accomplished and no plans announced
	Port Arthur	Plans to desegregate in September were halted by state legislature; see Galveston.
	Stanford	Plans to desegregate in September were halted by state legislature; see Galveston.
Virginia	*Charlottesville	The District Court will withhold desegregation decree until the U. S. Supreme Court has acted on

	the state's Pupil Placement laws. The Supreme Court does not reconvene until October 7.
*Newport News	Circuit Court orders to desegregate have been stayed pending Supreme Court action on pupil placement laws of the state. Schools will open on a segregated basis, since no action will be taken by Supreme Court prior to October.
*Norfolk	Circuit Court desegregation was stayed pending Supreme Court action, as in the case of Newport News.
Prince Edward Co.	Under court order to desegregate, but no definite time has been set.

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*Schools or districts in which possibility of integration action appears more immediate.

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HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM March 10, 1960

Confidential

To: Board Members

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Since the student protest movement has become a matter of major importance, we feel you should have a brief account of the activities of SRC and state councils in the situation.

Shortly after the "sit-ins" began in North Carolina, John Constable, Director of Information, made a quick visit to the major cities of that state. He talked with Negro leaders, students, city officials, and others. His findings were useful for immediate program planning and will be the basis of a forthcoming New South article.

Partly as a result of that visit, we sent two consultants to Raleigh, at the Mayor's invitation. A similar consultant service by John Hope, under the auspices of the Tennessee Council and its Nashville affiliate, has led to the establishment of a bi-racial negotiating committee in Nashville.

Benjamin Muse, for our Southern Leadership Project, has been at work among community leaders in Raleigh, Durham, and Greensboro, N. C. His current reports from these cities encourage our cautious hopes for an early solution through quiet desegregation of lunch-counters there.

The issue appears about to come to a head here in Atlanta. We are trying to be helpful in promoting a meeting of minds among the students, ministers, business men, city officials, and other community leaders of both races.

Several of the state councils have played constructive roles in the situation. The North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia Councils on Human Relations have issued statements in support of the students and peaceful change. In these states and in Tennessee, the councils have offered to serve as instruments of negotiation. In Alabama, the state council is doing what it can in Montgomery and Birmingham, but there is little immediate hope for solution in that harsh official climate.

SRC has given major assistance to the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Christian Science Monitor, the Wall Street Journal, the Atlanta newspapers, AP and UPI, Business Week, Newsweek, Time, Life, and other publications; also to the news departments of the three major television networks. Vice President Marion A. Wright represented SRC's viewpoint most ably on the Garroway "Today" show on NBC.

Feeling that facts and interpretation were badly needed, Leslie Dunbar and his research staff prepared and released in record time the special report called "The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960." The report has been widely publicized in the press and used by other concerned agencies. Because of the heavy demand for it, we are today preparing a "second edition", updated.

Throughout, we have worked closely with like-minded organizations -- student and religious -- that are constructively involved. A regionwide settlement is still a distant prospect, and the increase in repressive measures is gravely disturbing. We may expect to be heavily occupied with these problems for some time to come.

You may also be interested to know that the Council's material has again figured prominently in the civil rights debates of Congress. On February 27, Senator Jacob Javits made several references to SRC material and inserted into the Record a lengthy analysis from our background report on school desegregation. He pointed out, in introducing this material, that Senator Sparkman of Alabama had cited SRC as an authoritative source a few days earlier!

Best regards.

from Race & Reason
a Descriptive Bibliography
Thompson, Edgar T. on
Thompson, Alma Macy

October 22, 1963

Miss Sonya Starr
2736 Haste Street
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Miss Starr:

The only information we have published on Negro migration will not be of much help to you for your term paper on "Why the Negro Migration from the South to Northern and Western States did not get underway until almost 1914." We have a short article, published in 1959, on the effect of Negro migration on school desegregation, and a reprint from the Washington Post in 1961 on "New Census Look at Cities and Race." I am sending these to you, because you may find the tables and the general information useful for the latter part of your paper.

For the information you wish, I would suggest you try to get and read one or more of the following books, and surely some of them are in your library:

Johnson, Guy B. "The Negro Migration and Its Consequences," Social Forces II (March, 1924) 404-8. "The Northward movement of the Negro attracts attention because it is a Negro migration."

Lewis, Edward E. The Mobility of the Negro: A Study in the American Labor Supply. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 342. "A statistical study of the economic causes of the migration of southeastern Negroes to the industrial centers of the North between 1919 and 1924. The author concludes that the push of bad agricultural conditions outweighed the pull of industrial opportunity."

Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, Vol. II, Chap. 8, "Migration"

Ross, Frank A., and Kennedy, Louise Vanable. A Bibliography of Negro Migration. 1300 titles published in U.S. since 1865.

Scott, Emmett Jay. Negro Migration During the War. 1920. "A review of the facts concerning the movement of population among Negroes during World War I."

Woodson, Carter G. A Century of Negro Migration. 1918.

Woofter, Thomas J. Jr., Negro Migration: Changes in Rural Organization and Population in the Cotton Belt. 1920. "Statistical in method, this is a readable analysis of the factors involved in Negro migration within the United States. Prior to 1910 the migration was largely from one rural community to another. After 1910 industrial centers began to draw the migrants.

We do not have all these books ourselves, but from glancing through what we have in our own library, it would seem that a combination of two factors caused the migration to begin with a trickle around 1910 and increasingling after 1914. The economic situation in the South was very poor. For Negroes, the only work available was as house servants and as tenant farmers. The economic situation of the South caused these jobs to be fewer and even more poorly paid. Then, with the beginning of the boom in war materials and other materials for the first World War, jobs were available in the North. So, naturally Negroes, as well as whites, went to where the jobs were.

I hope y ou will be able to locate some of these, especially the last on the list.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
New South: November 1959, "Migration and Desegregation"
Washington Post reprint, April 20, 1961, L-25

October 14, 1963

Sonya Starr
2736 Haste Street
Berkeley 4, California

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am a student at the University of California, Berkeley, and am writing a term paper on, "Why the Negro Migration from the South to Northern and Western States did not get under way until almost 1914."

Upon writing to C. O. R. E. about this problem, I was given reference to your organization. If in any way you might be able to help (suggesting literature, or pamphlets) I would appreciate it very much.

Thank you for your kind consideration in this matter.

Yours very truly,

Sonya Starr

Sonya Starr

Intermarriage

March 31, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg.
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I think you are ahead of the game in looking for documentation on the points which you raise in your letter of March 24th. I know of none. I will, however, keep your request firmly in mind and maybe something will turn up or maybe something will occur to me. It does not at the moment. You might like to look at a new Unesco pamphlet by Harry L. Shapiro titled Race Mixture. The price is 25¢. This certainly is not addressed to your specific questions but might be background reading for somebody.

The fullest data on the Negro-white intermarriage in the United States are for Boston. I think you will agree from the quotation that follows that they are not particularly revealing:

Table 17.1 Number of Negro-White Marriages and Percent Negro-White Marriages of All Marriages Involving Negroes and of All Marriages Involving Whites, Boston, 1914-1938

Year	Number of Negro-White Marriages	Percent Negro-White Marriages of All Marriages Involving Negroes	Percent Negro-White Marriages of All Marriages Involving Whites
1914-1918	89	5.2	0.18
1919-1923	47	3.1	0.10
1924-1928	53	3.6	0.12
1929-1933	40	3.6	0.11
1934-1938	47	3.7	0.12
Total	276	3.9	0.13

"The Boston rate of Negro-white marriages in all Negro marriages in the period 1914-1938 was 3.9 as compared with 3.4 for New York urban areas exclusive of New York City in 1919-1937. The Boston rate changed little after 1919, whereas the New York rate, except during the period 1922-1924, dropped steadily. Whereas the former high rate of inter-marriage in Boston was unique, the present Boston rate does not seem to be atypical."

It will become a bit more meaningful if you keep in mind that the percentage of Negro population in Boston was pretty constant from 1900 to the late 1930s.

The above table and paragraph are copies from Simpson and Yinger Racial and Cultural Minorities.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

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MA
Richm. - Times Disp.
10/30/64

Mixed Couple's Plea Is Rejected

Race - Race Rela.

Federal District Judge John D. Butzner Jr. refused yesterday to issue a temporary order to bar the state from enforcing its anti-miscegenation laws against a former Caroline county couple.

After a 10-minute hearing, Judge Butzner ruled that the couple's lawyer had not shown that irreparable harm would result if the plea for a temporary restraining order was denied.

The plea was made in behalf of Richard Perry Loving, a white construction worker, and Mildred Jeter Loving, who were married in 1958 in Washington. Mrs. Loving said she is half-Negro and half-Indian.

Suit Planned

The Lovings have requested that a special three-judge court be convened to nullify the anti-miscegenation laws, which they contend are unconstitutional. No date has been set for the three-judge court hearing.

According to their suit, the Lovings live in the District of Columbia. Philip J. Hirschkop, the couple's lawyer, said Loving is working in Virginia.

Judge Leon M. Bazile of Caroline County Circuit Court sentenced the couple in 1959 to one year's imprisonment on violation of the state's laws that forbid marriage of persons of different races. He suspended the sentence for 25 years on condition they not live in Virginia.

Hirschkop of Alexandria told Judge Butzner that the threat of the jail sentence prevents the Lovings from visiting relatives in the state.

Appealed to Kennedy

Hirschkop told reporters that the case arose from a letter the Lovings wrote Attorney-General Robert F. Kennedy last year asking help from the Department of Justice. The letter was turned over to the American Civil Liberties Union in Washington, a private group that is involved in extensive civil rights litigation.

Hirschkop said the American Civil Liberties Union asked his law firm to interview the Lovings. The couple then asked the firm to take their case, he said.

Table 56.—RACE OF THE POPULATION, BY REGIONS, DIVISIONS, AND STATES: 1960

[Percent not shown where less than 0.1 or where base is less than 100]

Region, division, and State	All classes	White	Nonwhite								Percent of all classes			
			Total	Negro	Other races						White	Nonwhite		
					Total	Indian	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	All other		Total	Negro	Other races
United States	179,323,175	158,831,732	20,491,443	18,871,831	1,619,612	523,591	464,332	237,292	176,310	218,087	88.6	11.4	10.5	0.9
Regions:														
Northeast	44,677,819	41,522,467	3,155,352	3,028,499	126,853	26,356	17,962	53,654	10,650	18,231	92.9	7.1	6.8	0.3
North Central	51,619,139	48,002,617	3,616,522	3,446,037	170,485	98,631	29,318	18,413	8,600	15,523	93.0	7.0	6.7	0.3
South	54,973,113	43,476,636	11,496,477	11,311,607	184,870	127,568	16,245	16,834	10,720	13,498	79.1	20.9	20.6	0.3
West	28,053,104	25,830,012	2,223,092	1,085,688	1,137,404	271,036	400,807	148,386	146,340	170,835	92.1	7.9	3.9	4.0
Northeast:														
New England	10,509,367	10,242,389	266,978	243,363	23,615	6,044	3,398	8,527	2,156	3,490	97.5	2.5	2.3	0.2
Middle Atlantic	34,168,452	31,280,078	2,888,374	2,785,136	103,238	20,312	14,564	45,127	8,494	14,741	91.5	8.5	8.2	0.3
North Central:														
E. N. Central	36,225,024	33,253,272	2,971,752	2,884,969	86,783	31,560	22,938	14,750	6,467	11,068	91.8	8.2	8.0	0.2
W. N. Central	15,394,115	14,749,345	644,770	561,068	83,702	67,071	6,380	3,663	2,133	4,455	95.8	4.2	3.6	0.5
South:														
South Atlantic	25,971,732	20,047,496	5,924,236	5,844,565	79,671	47,538	8,728	8,555	7,322	7,528	77.2	22.8	22.5	0.3
E. S. Central	12,050,126	9,338,991	2,711,135	2,698,839	12,296	5,424	1,959	2,307	671	1,935	77.5	22.5	22.4	0.1
W. S. Central	16,951,255	14,090,149	2,861,106	2,768,203	92,903	74,606	5,558	5,977	2,727	4,035	83.1	16.9	16.3	0.5
West:														
Mountain	6,855,060	6,514,294	340,766	123,242	217,524	188,004	17,549	5,966	2,778	3,227	95.0	5.0	1.8	3.2
Pacific	21,198,044	19,315,718	1,882,326	962,446	919,880	83,032	383,258	142,420	143,562	167,608	91.1	8.9	4.5	4.3
New England:														
Maine	969,265	963,291	5,974	3,318	2,656	1,879	343	123	131	180	99.4	0.6	0.3	0.3
New Hampshire	606,921	604,334	2,587	1,903	684	135	207	152	41	149	99.6	0.4	0.3	0.1
Vermont	389,881	389,092	789	519	270	57	79	68	25	41	99.8	0.2	0.1	0.1
Massachusetts	5,148,578	5,023,144	125,434	111,842	13,592	2,118	1,924	6,745	809	1,996	97.6	2.4	2.2	0.3
Rhode Island	859,488	838,712	20,776	18,332	2,444	932	192	574	424	322	97.6	2.4	2.1	0.3
Connecticut	2,535,234	2,423,816	111,418	107,449	3,969	923	653	865	726	802	95.6	4.4	4.2	0.2
Middle Atlantic:														
New York	16,782,304	15,287,071	1,495,233	1,417,511	77,722	16,491	8,702	37,573	5,403	9,553	91.1	8.9	8.4	0.5
New Jersey	6,066,782	5,539,003	527,779	514,875	12,904	1,699	3,514	3,813	1,451	2,427	91.3	8.7	8.5	0.2
Pennsylvania	11,319,366	10,454,004	865,362	852,750	12,612	2,122	2,348	3,741	1,640	2,761	92.4	7.6	7.5	0.1
E. N. Central:														
Ohio	9,706,397	8,909,698	796,699	786,097	10,602	1,910	3,135	2,507	943	2,107	91.8	8.2	8.1	0.1
Indiana	4,662,498	4,388,554	273,944	269,275	4,669	948	1,093	952	402	1,274	94.1	5.9	5.8	0.1
Illinois	10,081,158	9,010,252	1,070,906	1,037,470	33,436	4,704	14,074	7,047	3,587	4,024	89.4	10.6	10.3	0.3
Michigan	7,823,194	7,085,865	737,329	717,581	19,748	9,701	3,211	3,234	1,134	2,468	90.6	9.4	9.2	0.3
Wisconsin	3,951,777	3,858,903	92,874	74,546	18,328	14,297	1,425	1,010	401	1,195	97.6	2.4	1.9	0.5
W. N. Central:														
Minnesota	3,413,864	3,371,603	42,261	22,263	19,998	15,496	1,726	1,270	646	860	98.8	1.2	0.7	0.6
Iowa	2,757,537	2,728,709	28,828	25,354	3,474	1,708	599	423	167	577	99.0	1.0	0.9	0.1
Missouri	4,319,813	3,922,967	396,846	390,853	5,993	1,723	1,473	954	719	1,124	90.8	9.2	9.0	0.1
North Dakota	632,446	619,538	12,908	777	12,131	11,736	127	100	47	121	98.0	2.0	0.1	1.9
South Dakota	680,514	653,098	27,416	1,114	26,302	25,794	188	89	59	172	96.0	4.0	0.2	3.9
Nebraska	1,411,330	1,374,764	36,566	29,262	7,304	5,545	905	290	123	441	97.4	2.6	2.1	0.5
Kansas	2,178,611	2,078,666	99,945	91,445	8,500	5,069	1,362	537	372	1,160	95.4	4.6	4.2	0.4
South Atlantic:														
Delaware	446,292	384,327	61,965	60,688	1,277	597	152	191	67	270	86.1	13.9	13.6	0.3
Maryland	3,100,689	2,573,919	526,770	518,410	8,360	1,538	1,842	2,188	1,670	1,122	83.0	17.0	16.7	0.3
Dist. of Columbia	763,956	345,263	418,693	411,737	6,956	587	900	2,632	1,158	1,679	45.2	54.8	53.9	0.9
Virginia	3,966,949	3,142,443	824,506	816,258	8,248	2,155	1,733	1,135	1,857	1,368	79.2	20.8	20.6	0.2
West Virginia	1,860,421	1,770,133	90,288	89,378	910	181	176	138	105	310	95.1	4.9	4.8	...
North Carolina	4,556,155	3,399,285	1,156,870	1,116,021	40,849	38,129	1,265	404	343	708	74.6	25.4	24.5	0.9
South Carolina	2,382,594	1,551,022	831,572	829,291	2,281	1,098	460	158	328	237	65.1	34.9	34.8	0.1
Georgia	3,943,116	2,817,223	1,125,893	1,122,596	3,297	749	885	686	433	544	71.4	28.6	28.5	0.1
Florida	4,951,560	4,063,881	887,679	880,186	7,493	2,504	1,315	1,023	1,361	1,290	82.1	17.9	17.8	0.2
E. S. Central:														
Kentucky	3,038,156	2,820,083	218,073	215,949	2,124	391	774	288	236	435	92.8	7.2	7.1	0.1
Tennessee	3,567,089	2,977,753	589,336	586,876	2,460	638	507	487	249	579	83.5	16.5	16.5	0.1
Alabama	3,266,740	2,283,609	983,131	980,271	2,860	1,276	500	288	127	669	69.9	30.1	30.0	0.1
Mississippi	2,178,141	1,257,546	920,595	915,743	4,852	3,119	178	1,244	59	252	57.7	42.3	42.0	0.2
W. S. Central:														
Arkansas	1,786,272	1,395,703	390,569	388,787	1,782	580	237	676	83	206	78.1	21.9	21.8	0.1
Louisiana	3,257,022	2,211,715	1,045,307	1,039,207	6,100	3,587	519	731	754	509	67.9	32.1	31.9	0.2
Oklahoma	2,328,284	2,107,900	220,384	153,084	67,300	64,689	749	398	267	1,197	90.5	9.5	6.6	2.9
Texas	9,579,677	8,374,831	1,204,846	1,187,125	17,721	5,750	4,053	4,172	1,623	2,123	87.4	12.6	12.4	0.2
Mountain:														
Montana	674,767	650,738	24,029	1,467	22,562	21,181	589	240	253	299	96.4	3.6	0.2	3.3
Idaho	667,191	657,383	9,808	1,502	8,306	5,231	2,254	311	193	317	98.5	1.5	0.2	1.2
Wyoming	330,066	322,922	7,144	2,183	4,961	4,020	514	192	99	136	97.8	2.2	0.7	1.5
Colorado	1,753,947	1,700,700	53,247	39,992	13,255	4,288	6,846	724	605	792	97.0	3.0	2.3	0.8
New Mexico	951,023	875,763	75,260	17,063	58,197	56,255	930	362	192	458	92.1	7.9	1.8	6.1
Arizona	1,302,161	1,169,517	132,644	43,403	89,241	83,387	1,501	2,936	943	474	89.8	10.2	3.3	6.9
Utah	890,627	873,828	16,799	4,148	12,651	6,961	4,371	629	207	483	98.1	1.9	0.5	1.4
Nevada	285,278	263,443	21,835	13,484	8,351	6,681	544	572	286	268	92.3	7.7	4.7	2.9
Pacific:														
Washington	2,853,214	2,751,675	101,539	48,738	52,801	21,076	16,652	5,491	7,110	2,472	96.4	3.6	1.7	1.9
Oregon	1,768,687	1,732,037	36,650	18,133	18,517	8,026	5,016	2,995	1,109	1,371	97.9	2.1	1.0	1.0
California	15,717,204	14,455,230	1,261,974	883,861	378,113	39,014	157,317	95,600	65,459	20,723	92.0	8.0	5.6	2.4
Alaska	226,167	174,546	51,621	6,771	44,850	14,444	818	137	814	28,637	77.2	22.8	3.0	19.8
Hawaii	632,772	202,230	430,542	4,943	425,599	472	203,455	38,197	69,070	114,405	32.0	68.0	0.8	67.3

Population Characteristics, U.S. Census 1960

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

March, 1963

Nebraska - legislature - bill 179, 1963 leg. session, approved 4-1-63 repealed misceg. law
eliminates provisions of state code which prescribed
mixed marriages

Utah - SB 80, 1963 legislature amended state's marriage laws so as to repeal restrictions on
interracial marriages

Race Relations Law Reporter

N.Y. Times
10-18-63
Dual Punishment
Misceg. - Mixed Marriages, Race Relations

August 13, 1962

Mr. W. H. Venable
Arcade Building
129 South Kentucky Avenue
Lakeland, Florida

Dear Mr. Venable:

I have checked back over Mrs. Albright's letter to you of last June, and with the exception of the following in Arizona, the laws ~~you~~ she cited for you remain intact. In Arizona, the situation is a follows:

SUPERIOR COURT, ~~In Arizona County~~ Pima County, Arizona, Dec. 23, 1959, found the state's miscegenation statute unconstitutional in Harry Oyama and Mary Ann Jordan v. Grayce Gibson O'Neill, Clerk of the Superior Court in and for the County of Pima;

Chapter 14 of the 1962 Acts of the Arizona Legislature, approved by the Governor on March 12, 1962, re-enacts a section of the Arizona code dealing with prohibited marriages, so as to exclude from the section an earlier provision which read: "The marriage of a person of Caucasion blood with a Negro, Mongolian, Malay, or Hindu is null and void."

Trusting that you will find this information helpful,

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

Gen DIY 8/10/62

AN Arizona superior court declared that state's miscegenation statute unconstitutional. Henry Oyama and Mary Ann Jordan v. Grayce Gibson O'Neill, Clerk of the Superior Court in and for the County of Pima. Superior Court, Pima County, Arizona, December 23, 1959, No. 61269
Race Relations Law Reporter, Spring 1960, Vol. 5 No. 1, pp. 136 - 137.

Chapter 14 of the 1962 Acts of the Arizona Legislature, approved by the governor on March 12, 1962, re-enacts a section of the Arizona code dealing with prohibited marriages, so as to exclude from the section an earlier provision which read: "The marriage of a person of caucasian blood with a Negro, Mongolian, Malay, or Hindu is null and void."
Race Relations Law Reporter, Volume 7 No. 1, Spring 1962. p.258.

COPY

Arcade Building
129 SOUTH KENTUCKY AVE.
LAKELAND, FLORIDA

TELEPHONE
MUTUAL 2-8926

W. H. VENABLE
BUILDING MANAGER

August 7th. 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

On June 6th. 1961, a Mrs. Ed. A. Albright, of your office was kind enough to give me some information on Race Laws, Miscegenation Laws Etc. You most likely have a copy in you files, of this letter. This letter makes the note that as of June 6th. 1961, or when the letter was written, there were 21 states with various kinds of these laws.

Would you please advise whether, to your knowledge, any more states have repealed these laws since that date. I can assure you that this letter is not being written through idle curiosity. The writer of this letter confesses that his heart has been burdened for many,many,many months with this integration problem in all its aspects. Unless communication and understanding between the two races is maintained between the two races, then we could have 100 "Albanys". This could be of benefit only to the enemies of our Country and should be avoided at all costs. Again let me assure you of my warm, sincere and long maintained friendship for the Negro and my concern and sympathy for him in his problems. A better day is dawning. Of that I am sure.

Very Sincerely Yours
W. H. Venable
W. H. Venable

June 6, 1961

Mr. W. H. Venable
C. R. Management Co.
Arcade Building
131 South Kentucky Avenue
Lakeland, Florida

Dear Mr. Venable:

In reply to your inquiry concerning the number and names of Southern states that still forbid by law any marriage between various races, I am listing the 22 states which still have such laws, according to Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law. 1959. Columbia University Press. If you find this book in your local library, I believe you would be interested in reading the entire section, pp. 344-354.

Alabama-- 1940--marriage, adultery, fornication between white and Negro prohibited.

Arizona-- 1956--marriage of persons of Caucasian blood with Negro, Mongolian, Malay, or Hindu; (Indians originally included, deleted by 1942 amendment)

Arkansas-- marriage between white and Negro or mulatto illegal; 1947--misdemeanor, fine, and/or imprisonment.

Florida-- 1944, up to 10 years or fine up to $1,000.

Georgia--unlawful for white to marry anyone but white; marriage void.

Indiana--1952--marriage between white and Negro void.

Kentucky--marriage between white and Negro or mulatto void; 1955--$500 to $5,000; if cohabitation continues, imprisonment 3 to 12 months.

Louisiana--1952--marriage between white and person of color void; marriage or habitual cohabitation between white and Negro punishable up to 5 years. 1951--marriage between Indian and Negro prohibited.

N & M Maryland--1957--prohibits marriages between white and Negro, Negro and Malayan, white and Malayan; 18 months to 10 years jail.

N & M Mississippi--marriage between white and Negro unlawful and void. Marriage between white and Negro or Mongolian void, punishable as if incestuous; fine $500 and/or up to 10 years. 1942, anyone advocating or publishing matter advocating or suggesting equality of races or intermarriage subject to fine of $500 and/or 6 months.

N & M Missouri--Marriage between white and Negro or Mongolian void--1949, marriage between white and Negro void; 2 years in penitentiary or not less than 3 months in county jail, fine not less than $100, or both.

X Nebraska--marriage between Negro and white prohibited. 1943--marriage ~~between Negro~~ void when one party white, other Negro, Japanese, or Chinese.

X Nevada--1957--gross misdemeanor for white to marry person of black, brown, yellow race. (California and Nevada repealed their statutes in early 1959.)

N & I North Carolina--1953--marriage between white and Negro or Indian void.

N Oklahoma--marriage of anyone of African descent to one who is not prohibited.

N South Carolina--1952--marriage of white with Negro, Indian, mulatto, or mestizo void; not less than $500 and/or not less than 12 months.

N Tennessee--1955--intermarriage of white and Negro prohibited; 1 to 5 years may be substituted on jury recommendation.

N Texas--unlawful for person of Caucasian blood to marry person of African blood; marriage void. (2 to 5 yrs.)

X Utah--1953--marriage between white and Negro, Maylayan, mulatto, quadroon, or octaroon void.

N ~~& I~~ + other than mulat & Am. Indian Virginia--unlawful for white to marry anyone except white, or person with no other admixture of blood than white and American Indian.

N West Virginia--white person prohibited from marrying Negro; up to $100, up to 1 year.

N & O Wyoming--marriage of white to Negro, mulatto, Mongolian, malayan void.

States which have repealed antimiscegenation Laws:

Colorado, 1957.
Idaho, 1959.
Iowa, omitted from code in 1851.
Kansas, omitted from code in 1857.
Massachusetts, repealed 1840.
Michigan, repealed and prior marriages legalized 1957.
Montana, repealed 1953.
New Mexico, repealed 1886.
North Dakota, repealed 1955.
Ohio, repealed 1887.
Oregon, repealed 1951.
Rhode Island, repealed 1881.
South Dakota, repealed 1957.
Washington, repealed 1887.

And, according to a footnote, California and Nevada repealed statutes in early 1959. You will note that this leaves 21 states with such statutes, rather than 22, as I have said at the beginning of this letter.

I hope you will find this information helpful, and if we can help you in any other way, please write again.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

C. R. Management Co.

Arcade Building

TELEPHONE
MUTUAL 2-8926

131 SOUTH KENTUCKY AVE.
LAKELAND, FLORIDA

MAY 27th. 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia.

Gentlemen :

I was directed to your office concerning the answer to a question directed originally to Dr. Martin Luther King.

As explained in the letter to Dr. King, this inquiry was made in a true Christian Spirit and was not pure thoughtless meddling.

I wanted to know the number and names of the Southern States that still forbid by law, intermarriage between the various races. Would you be so kind as to forward this information at your earliest convenience? I will certainly appreciate it.

Very Sincerely Yours,

W. H. Venable

W. H. VENABLE

After bitter custody case, Mrs. Sandra Baugh tearfully bids goodbye to daughter, Donna Potter, 3. Mrs. Baugh, divorced from Donna's father and now married to a Negro doctor, was denied Donna's custody in Detroit court. She holds Linda, another child she has had since remarriage.

Ebony
March 1963

ARE INTERRACIAL HOMES BAD FOR CHILDREN?

With her husband, Dr. Percy D. Baugh (center), Mrs. Baugh eats snack during court recess. She reaches for daughter (below) in courthouse corridor. At left is Donald Potter, her ex-husband who retained Donna's custody. Baughs plan to appeal decision of the court.

Adoption, custody cases raise questions

IN DETROIT, the white wife of a Negro surgeon lost custody of a daughter in a bitter legal wrangle with her first husband, who said: "My former wife and her daughter are of the white race, while her husband is a Negro. It is my firm opinion that my daughter will suffer if forced by court order to be brought up in a biracial household."

In Amityville, New York, a white couple who said they had been denied permission to adopt a Negro baby because of their race lost a crucial court decision.

In Cincinnati, two children of an attractive divorcee were placed in an orphanage shortly before her marriage to a Negro musician.

In Cleveland, a probate judge disapproved adoption of a little girl by an American father and a Japanese-born mother on grounds that mixing of races was unwise in adoption. Judge Leonard S. Frost said: "The good Lord created five races and if he intended to have only one, he would have done so. It was never intended that the races should be mixed."

In Michigan, in Ohio, in New York, in California, in communities from coast to coast, Americans have been agitated by a wave of court cases revolving around the question of whether children, especially white children, should be raised in interracial homes.

In a sense, as one judge pointed out, interracial custody and adoption cases are "symbols of our times." More white divorcees apparently are choosing Negroes as second husbands. In several of these marriages, the white mothers have lost custody of minor children. In other cases, white couples have been denied permission to adopt Negro children. For judges, for social workers, for parents, in-laws and, above all, for children, these cases raise disturbing questions about the nature of prejudice in our society.

It should be noted at the very beginning that there is no authoritative

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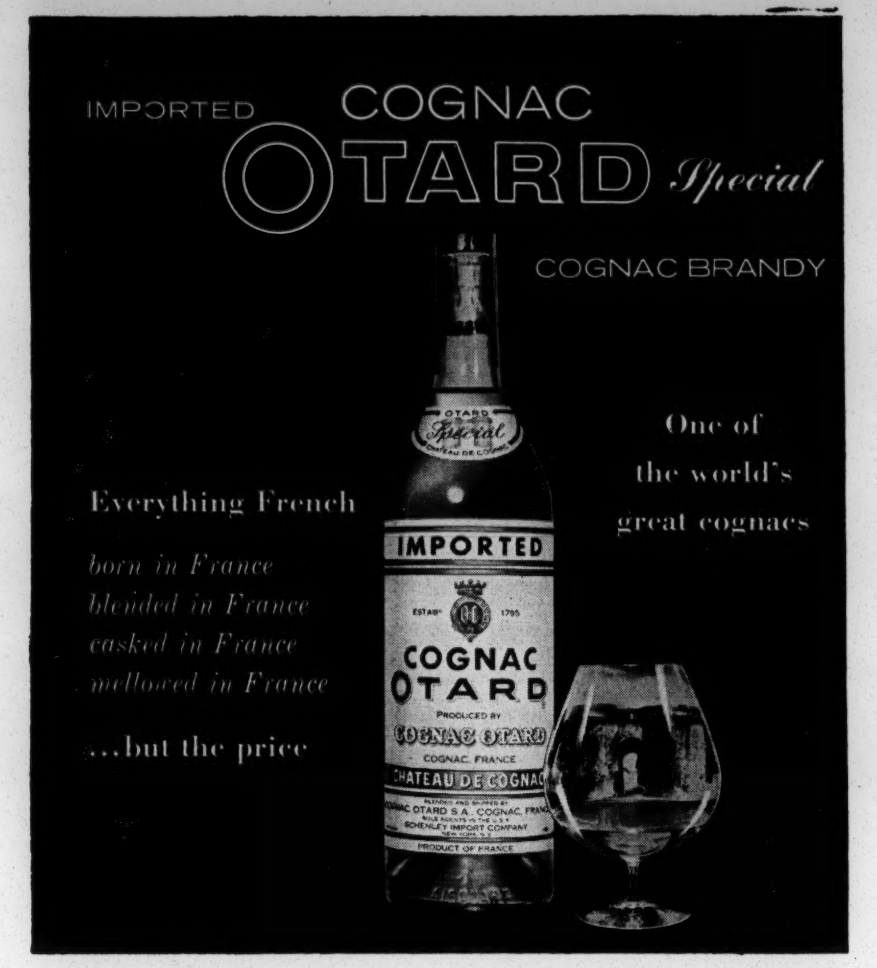

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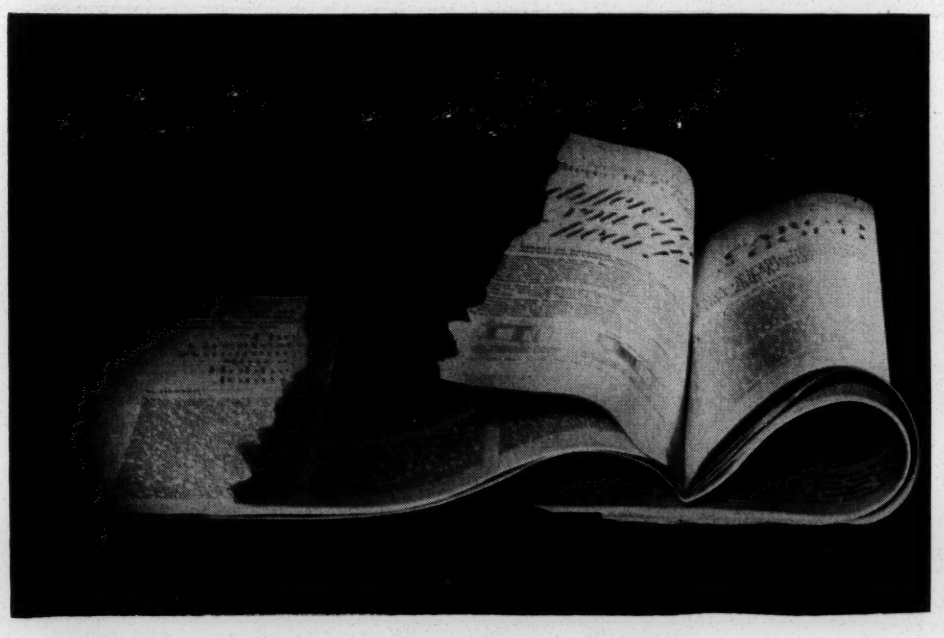

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Cincinnati couple, Donald and Helga Lewis, are principals in recent Ohio custody case. Mrs. Lewis won custody of three children in divorce action against former husband. Children were taken from her shortly before marriage to Lewis.

Bride's children, shown when young, are Rosemarie, 15, Michael, 7, and Virginia, 11. Michael and Virginia were taken from Mrs. Lewis and put in "protective custody" in orphanage in Madeira, a Cincinnati suburb. Oldest girl is in all-girls prep school.

INTERRACIAL HOMES *Continued*

evidence that an interracial home life is harmful to a child. Still, the idea persists that "like," as some professionals put it gingerly, "belongs with like." Forgetting for the moment that "like" is an extremely imprecise concept that covers a great deal more than skin color, let us examine the law, the rationale and the implications of "the skin color with skin color" theory.

The law on the subject is fuzzy in the extreme. Several states in the South forbid interracial adoptions. In South Carolina, to cite only one instance, it is a crime to give a colored person custody of a white child. In colder climes, the law is not so rigid, though, in practice, custom frowns on interracial adoptions. In fact, the adoption law in several Northern communities requires the judges to give "due regard to race."

The judicial dilemma in more enlightened communities was stated nicely by Judge George E. Bowles. Constitutional law, he noted, requires a judge to be color blind. But, he added, "it does not require or expect him to be blind." Not being blind, being, in fact, very much aware of the importance of skin color in American society, judges tread lightly in cases involving interracial adoption or custody.

In some cases, as in Montana, courts have held that the fact that the father and adopted daughter were of different races "constituted no obstacle to adoption." Similarly, in Vermont, a court permitted a white couple to adopt a Negro girl. But in Washington, D. C., Judge Alexander Holtzoff refused to permit a Negro stepfather to adopt the illegitimate son of his white wife. Judge Holtzoff said: "Another problem arises out of the fact that the stepfather is a colored man, while the mother and boy are white people. This situation gives rise to a difficult social problem. The boy when he grows up, might lose the social status of a white man by reason of the fact that by record his father will be a Negro if this adoption is approved. I feel the court should not fashion the child's future in this manner." On appeal, Judge Holtzoff's ruling was overturned. The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia said: "Nor can denial of the adoption rest on a distinction between the 'social status' of whites and Negroes. There may be reasons why a difference in race, or religion may have relevance in adoption proceedings. But that factor alone cannot be decisive in determining the child's welfare. It does not permit a court to ignore all other relevant considerations. Here we think those other considerations have controlling weight."

Continued on Page 134

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Vermont couple, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Miller, won right to adopt Negro girl, Cathy, 5, after protracted legal fight. Rutland County court overruled probate judge who had disapproved adoption. Couple also adopted son, Van, 2.

INTERRACIAL HOMES *Continued*

In recent cases in Michigan and Connecticut "other relevant considerations" worked to the disadvantage of white divorcees who had married Negro doctors. In both cases, the mothers had been granted custody of the children in the original divorce actions. In both cases, the custody arrangement was reopened after the women married Negro doctors. And, in both cases, custody was finally granted to the white fathers. In ruling against the white mothers, both courts gave as one ground the fact that the marriage (to a Negro) had alienated the mothers' parents and deprived their children of the good care and influence of grandparents. Other grounds in the cases were an alleged pattern of instability (Michigan), the wife's excommunication from the Catholic Church (Connecticut). Both courts stated that their rulings were not made on racial grounds alone.

The Detroit case presented several interesting problems. The wife, Sandra Potter Baugh, had married a Negro surgeon. At issue was the custody of her three-year-old daughter, Donna. The girl's white father, a teacher, said he was not prejudiced, but he expressed fears for the future of his daughter in an interracial home. "She will not grow up and mature," he said, "as a normal white child should but rather will be rejected, shunned and avoided by children of both races and as a result her entire life could, and unavoidably would, be adversely affected." His parents and his ex-wife's parents joined him in the fight for legal custody of the child.

During the trial, the chief psychiatrist and director of the Children's Center of Wayne County made some interesting observations on race and family. Called as a witness by Mrs. Baugh's attorney, Dr. Hunter H. Comley said it is "more favorable" for a child to live in a multi-racial neighborhood. Weighing the relative merits of Riverside, California, the integrated community where the white mother and Negro stepfather were living, and Detroit, where the white father and grandmother were living, Dr. Comley recommended that custody be awarded to the mother. Said he: "Although I do not consider the neighborhood as crucial in a pre-school child's psychological development as the immediate home situation, I believe that in the present case—that the multi-racial California neighborhood of Dr. and Mrs. Baugh would be better for the child than the Detroit neighborhood which is ringed about with anxiety about property values and unresolved conflicts about race." Dr. Comley said further that it would be very difficult for a child to be reared in an atmosphere where the grandmother displayed hostility toward the child's mother. He concluded: "On the basis of what I know of the case, and considering the age, aspects of the neighbors and based on a hunch of what relationship must exist (between the parties), I would advise the child being returned to the mother."

Judge George E. Bowles decided that "the best interests of Donna would be served by her remaining in the legal custody of her father, Donald, in the home of the maternal grandparents." He said, however, that the girl should be given an opportunity to decide where she

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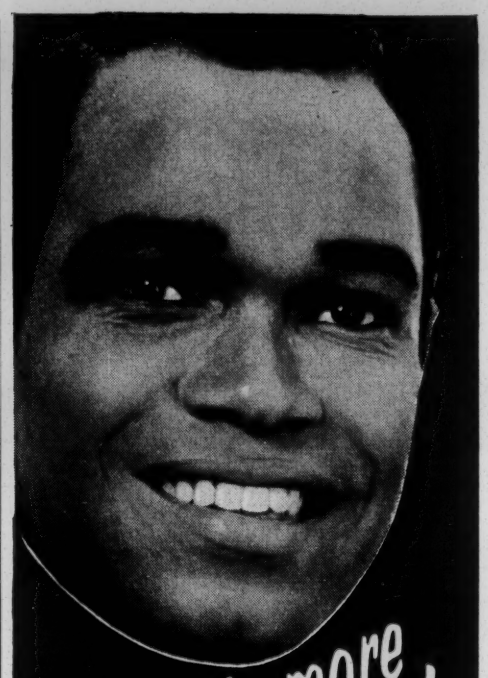
wanted to live when she reached the age of discretion—about 12 years.

The judge noted in his 13-page decision that there "is no legal authority that living in an interracial home which is otherwise favorable is injurious to a minor child. We have been exhibited no authoritative studies in the behavioral sciences that indicate hurt or injury to a child in an interracial home which is happy and stable." He added, however, that "none of us can anticipate what problems, if any, would develop as the child became older, particularly during puberty, when she, in school and other activities, becomes aware of the opposite sex."

Though the racial issue was at the root of the case, Judge Bowles indicated that his decision was not based on racial factors but on the relative stability of the contending parties. Mrs. Baugh's attorney said he would appeal the decision which, he said, was "based solely on the question of race."

Racial factors were in the background of a recent adoption case in New York. The James Rockefellers, a well-to-do white couple of Amityville, Long Island, tried to adopt one of the 30 Negro infants then boarded by the Nassau Welfare Department at the County Home for the Aged. In their application, the Rockefellers pointed out that they had five children—two of them adopted, a four-year-old Korean girl and a two-year-old Negro boy. Mrs. Rockefeller's attorney, Michael Radwin, said that when she first applied for a child a social worker told her "to fight prejudice somewhere else." He added: "Finally, she was asked, 'Don't you know you will have a problem explaining to the child the difference in skin color and the prejudice against Negroes?' Mrs. Rockefeller pointed out that since she has an integrated family, she might be in a better position to explain the situation than most people." On appeal, Judge Bernard S. Meyer upheld the Welfare Department—which said it had no racial policy—but said he did not do so on racial grounds. He cited other factors, including the size of the Rockefeller family, their physical ability to have children and Mrs. Rockefeller's announced intention to continue working as a kindergarten teacher. The judge said in his opinion that the director of child welfare at the Welfare Department was only voicing her personal opinions when she told the Rockefellers she opposed interracial adoptions.

These cases indicate how delicate and explosive interracial custody and adoption cases can be. They indicate also that race is always, at the very least, a minor consideration. In a manner that is difficult to pin down, for almost all judges insist that their rulings are not based on race alone, the theory has become implanted in the minds of many professionals that it is harmful to expose Negro children to white foster parents and white children to Negro stepparents. This argument, it should be noted, is advanced by many apparently sincere people who are considered "liberals." Prefaced almost always by the expression, "I'm not prejudiced myself," and grounded almost always on society's opposition to miscegenation, the argument claims that children and, in some instances, adults of an interracial family are exposed to intolerable community pressures.



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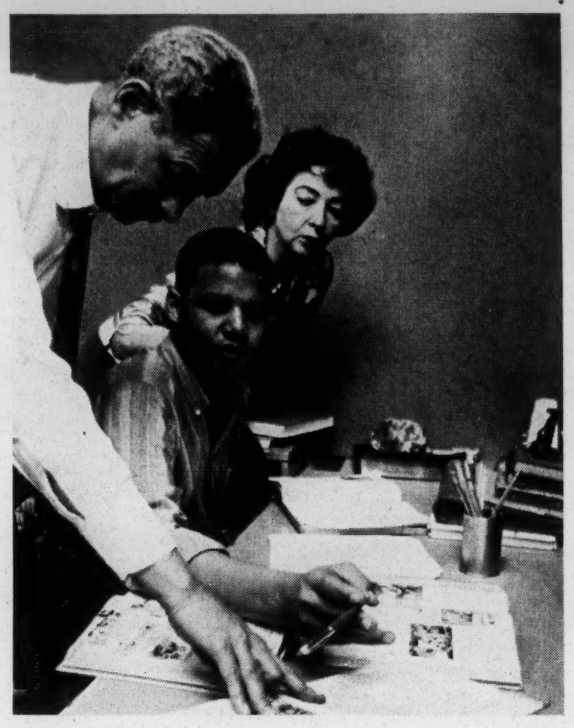

Urban League executive, Edwin C. (Bill) Berry and his wife, Betsy, are shown with their son, Joseph. Son was adopted by Berry and former wife. Mrs. Berry adopted Joseph after the marriage. Berry says Chicago officials did not question the adoption.

INTERRACIAL HOMES *Continued*

This theory was given classic utterance several years ago by an executive of the Child Welfare League of America. "With the exception of a few states in the South," he said, "there are no laws that forbid placement of children of one race in a family of another. But again this question must be looked at realistically. Miss (Pearl) Buck gave valuable leadership to adoption agencies in demonstrating that homes could be found for Eurasian children and many agencies in the United States have been successful in placing children of Oriental and white, Indian and white and so forth, in homes of white parents. But actually, how many white families in the United States will adopt a Negro child, and how often because of racial prejudice would the family and particularly the child be subjected to the cruelty of the adults and children in the neighborhood? In my opinion, the solution for adoption of minority children, at this stage of our country's position on racial questions, does not lie with the placement of children across racial lines. It rests with providing adequate services for all children."

Another argument, the "puberty argument," betrays anxieties about the potential dates and marriage partners of children raised in interracial homes. The "puberty argument," as we have seen, was touched on in Judge Bowles' decision. A variation of this argument was dangled before the eyes of Mrs. Helga Gilbert Lewis who married Donald Lewis, a Cincinnati musician, despite the possibility that she may lose custody of her children by a former marriage. An acquaintance told her: "No decent boy would call on your daughter with a Negro stepfather hanging around." Mrs. Lewis retorted: "No boy is decent if he's prejudiced against my daughter because her stepfather happens to be a Negro."

Judges, social workers and adoption agency executives, generally speaking, say their only concern is the welfare of the child in a world where definitions of decency differ widely. In one form or another, their arguments boil down to the assumed fact that it is excruciatingly painful to be a Negro or to be mistaken for a Negro in America—an assumption that is true enough as far as it goes. But some people think it is necessary to go a great deal further. Is it good public policy, for example, to require people who have no prejudices to conform to the standards of the prejudiced? Or to put it another way: is it wise to require the socially healthy to keep step with the socially ill?

Writer Pearl Buck, Urban League Executive Edwin C. Berry and Psychologist Kenneth B. Clark believe professionals have some responsibility to the socially healthy. Miss Buck and Berry, moreover, believe the whole social welfare theory of "matching" babies and prospective parents by race and religion is outmoded. "Many families," Miss Buck has said, "can accept and love children of other races and colors—*if they love children.* The crucial necessity in adoption is not similarity of religion or race, but that the individual child be suited in temperament to the individual family. Until social agencies are willing to take the lead in recognizing this basic truth, and to fight for it against limiting laws and deadening prejudices, providing a leadership they do not as yet exert, the children are not having a fair chance."

Continued on Page 138

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Novelist Pearl Buck chats with two of her adopted daughters, both of whom are part Negro. Chieko Walsh (l.), 13, and Johanna Walsh, 13, were both born in Japan. "A child," says writer, "is born as a child, without consciousness of race or religion."

INTERRACIAL HOMES *Continued*

The famous American novelist practices what she preaches. She adopted three part-Negro children and is rearing them in her home.

Edwin C. (Bill) Berry, the Chicago Urban League executive, echoes the Buck argument. People who argue that children will be subjected to extraordinary community pressure in an interracial home, he says, "are making an admission that our society is really rank in terms of race—and I think they are right: it is. By following this procedure (of barring interracial adoptions and taking children from white women married to Negroes), judges and adoption agencies are making society sicker. What they need to do is to take some action that will improve the society and not force people to conform to the sickness around them."

Racial and religious considerations, Berry contends, are irrelevant in adoption and custody cases. As a partner in an interracial marriage and the father of an adopted son, Berry does not think children are exposed to unusual emotional problems in an interracial home environment.

Kenneth Clark, the famous New York psychologist whose arguments were used in the Supreme Court fight over school segregation, offers a "personal opinion" that a child reared in an interracial home would not be damaged emotionally "just by the fact of his being in an interracial home." He added: "Emotional damage can be done to a child by specific things within the home. But I don't see race as a relevant factor."

Asked to comment on the argument that white children are exposed to "intolerable" community pressures in an interracial home environment, Dr. Clark retorted: "What about the problems of a Negro child with two Negro parents? What about the children of interracial marriages? No. I don't follow that kind of reasoning. The problem, if there is a problem, is related to specific qualities in the parents. And each case must be judged on its own merits. A child can make a very successful adjustment in an interracial home if he gets love, sympathy and understanding."

Television star Dale Evans relaxes with her adopted daughters, Dodie, a Choctaw Indian, and Debbie, a Korean. Star and husband Roy Rogers have two sons. An increasingly large number of white couples are adopting children from Korea.

Atl Const 9-15-63

DEEP FEARS

Racial Segregation No Answer at All

By EUGENE PATTERSON

DAVID LAWRENCE writes accurately that rationalizations "do not erase the deep feelings of fear and the emotional hostility" that many parents of both races feel about the possibility of intermarriage of their children.

Mr. Lawrence correctly defines the problem. But he offers no guidance as to how the two races might solve it or at least live with it.

Nearly everybody knows this fear is the main emotional base of segregation.

What they seek now is some indication of an answer for the future, now that the answer of the past has failed. Americans have learned what they cannot do. The job now it to learn what can be done.

Eugene Patterson is Editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

Segregation failed as a rational system for meeting the fear, no matter what point of view one assumes.

From the point of view of those who oppose mixing of the races, segregation failed because under it the races have been mixed on a monumental scale. It is a generally accepted estimate that nearly three out of four American Negroes now have white blood. Put the other way, three out of four are whites with Negro blood. That happened under a system that was ostensibly designed to prevent it.

In the face of what has happened, it is self-delusion to defend segregation still as a means of preventing race-mixing. Some sociologists think segregation in fact has contributed to the mixing, by holding down the Negro's pride and security and by investing the issue with the dark novelty of things clandestine.

ANOTHER VIEW

Additionally, from the point of view of those who wish to treat the Negro citizen in a civilized manner, segregation failed because his separate life was not made an equal life. It became simply a vehicle by which the white majority expressed its own fear by oppressing somebody else. The fear is real and unquestionable, as Mr. Lawrence said. But to express a fear by taking it out of another's hide is no longer a method that sits easily on the American conscience. Americans have learned what they cannot do.

Since segregation failed as a way to prevent mixing of the races, and since it failed as a worthy way of treating American citizens, there is no point in holding to the delusion that it is an answer.

Yet the fear, as Mr. Lawrence said, remains. It is deep, real and basic in many parents of both races.

What guidelines are there, then, as Americans turn away from the failure of forced segregation and search for a successful future way for the races to live side by side, with equal rights, in peace? There are some.

Northern public schools and colleges have educated children of both races in the same classrooms for generations. There has been no appreciable growth of any tendency toward intermarriage. Surely this is a guideline the apprehensive Southern white can note as he faces the unfamiliar.

"NOT A TREND"

And what does the Southern Negro feel, as he rises toward equality of rights? "We need not get excited about occasional so-called interracial marriages," says the Rev. M. L. Tobin, of the School of Religion at Atlanta's Morehouse College. "This is not a trend nor is it a harbinger of the future. There is a healthy and growing sense of race pride among Negroes that deters such a trend."

Dr. Tobin defends the right of any individuals to marry—"races do not marry"—but adds:

"Sensible Negroes do not consider it a badge of honor or distinction to marry a white person. 'If he did, he would be calling true what he knows is false, namely that the white person is innately superior' (Wentzel).

"Dr. W. E. B. Dubois expressed it admirably in his best book, 'The Souls of Black Folk.'

" '(The Negro) would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.' "

The fear is not erased, as Mr. Lawrence says. But if it is looked at rationally, the new answers that will develop as the future unfolds may prove more reassuring than the old answer of forced segregation, for that turned out to be no answer at all.

November 1, 1963

Miss Susan Asarian
5 Duer Place
Weehawken, New Jersey

Dear Miss Asarian:

Regarding miscegenation laws, ~~five~~ states have repealed state laws forbidding mixed marriages (Negro, Indian, Asian): California and Nevada, in 1959; Arizona in 1962, after Superior Court declared statute unconstitutional; and Nebraska and Utah in 1963.

States which have miscegenation laws on their books include the following: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Delaware Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, Wyoming. Most states specifically state the law is against Negro or Mulatto, but some include Mongolian, Asian and any mixed blood. If you are interested in obtaining more detailed information on these laws, may I refer you to: Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, 1959; and Race Relations Law Reporter, issued quarterly by Vanderbilt University. If these are not in your public library, you would find them in the law library of a University or in the office of a lawyer.

Regarding Harry S. Truman and Civil Rights, could you be more specific? Do you mean his attitudes and actions as president, or his statements as a private citizen? We have no publication on him, and know of none, other than his book (which includes his actions as president). He maintains an office and staff, perhaps you might write to him.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

P.S. You may also wish to look up and read the following: New York Times, 10-18-63, "Negro-White Marriages Rise Here," by Fred Powledge.

5 Duer Place
Weehawken, N.J.
October 23, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I would greatly appreciate receiving any data which you may have available on the following subjects:

Miscegenation Laws
Harry S. Truman and Civil Rights. — write him

Thank you for your courtesy in this matter.

Respectfully yours,

Susan Asarian

November 19, 1963

Miss Patricia Reynolds
Waterbury Hall, Box 150
Oswego, New York

Dear Miss Reynolds:

Regarding your request for information on interracial marriages (Negro-white) and the effect on the children of such marriages, I suggest you write to Dr. Joseph Golden, Director of Research, School of Social Work, Atlanta University, Atlanta 14, Georgia. Dr. Golden did a study on this, and would be able to give you some leads.

In our own files, we have several recent things which you can look up in your library:

New York Times, 10-18-63, "Negro-White Marriages on Rise Here," by Fred Powledge.
U. S. News & World Report, 10-7-63, "When Negroes and Whites Intermarry--The Problems"; 11-18-63, "Intermarriage and the Race Problem".

There have been articles in the Negro press, and I am listing those in the New York Courier:

"History Shows", column by J. A. Rogers, 9-7-63
"Blind No More", Column by Rev. Malcolm Boyd, 9-28-63
"The Stethoscope: Interracial Marriage", column by Earl B. Smith, 9-28-63
"Views and Reviews", column by George Schuyler, 10-12-63

Five states have repealed state laws forbidding mixed marriages (Negro, Indian, Asian): California and Nevada, in 1959; Arizona in 1962; Nebraska and Utah in 1963. States which still have such laws are: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Waterbury Hall Box 150
Oswego, New York
November 12, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am a student at the State University College of Education at Oswego and I am interested in doing a term paper on inter-racial marriages. I am concerned specifically with the marriage between a negro and a white and the effects this will have on the child.

Any information that you have on this topic will be greatly appreciated. If there is any charge, I will send it to you promptly.

Thank you for any assistance and information on this topic.

Sincerely,

Patricia Reynolds

Patricia Reynolds

A A Sociology
Pouledge - N 4 2nd - Oct.
Bob Barkow, Washington Post
Meeting - Washington
on racial inter marriage

November 20, 1963

Miss Julie Brown
Box 547
Madison College
Harrisonburg, Va.

Dear Miss Brown:

Regarding your request for information on interracial marriages (Negroid-Caucasoid) and the effect on the children of such marriages, I suggest you write to Dr. Joseph Golden, Director of Research, School of Social Work, Atlanta University, Atlanta 14, Georgia. Dr. Golden did a study on this, and would be able to give you some leads.

In our own files, we have several recent articles which you can look up at your own library:

New York Times, 10-18-63, "Negro-White Marriages on Rise Here," by Fred Powledge.

U. S. News & World Report, 10-7-63, "When Negroes and whites Intermarry--The Problems"; 11-18-63, "Intermarriage and the Race Problem".

You may be interested to know that five states have repealed state laws forbidding mixed marriages (Negro, Indian, Asian): California and Nevada, in 1959; Arizona in 1962; Nebraska and Utah in 1963. States which still have such laws are: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming. (19)

19

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

November 16, 1963
Box 547
Madison College
Harrisonburg, Va.
22802.

Dear Sir,

At present I am writing a sociology term paper on Caucasoid and Negroid mixed marriages and their effects upon children. I have been told that because of your publication, New South, you might be able to supply information on the subject. If this is possible, I would appreciate it very much. The paper is due on December 13.

Sincerely,
Julie Brown.

Microfilm Code No.

RSR Relations

SERS Library

BALTIMORE
AFRO-AMERICAN
p. 1

Date NOV 23 1963

Just how much intermixing of races in this country?

WASHINGTON

Just how much intermixing of races has occurred in the United States? Social scientists disclose some interesting figures.

Eighty per cent of colored Americans have white ancestry, Gunnar Myrdal finds.

Twenty per cent of white Americans have had colored ancestry, says South Carolina-born Dr. Brewton Berry.

There are one million interracial married couples in the United States, estimates Andrew D. Weinberger, a NYC lawyer.

A total of 2,500 colored persons pass over into the white race every year, says Dr. Berry, adding, "Some people put the number much higher than that."

April 13, 1964

Mr. Robert E. Lewis
Box 343
Rodgers Quadrangle, B.G.S.U.
Bowling Green, Ohio

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Regarding your question on the "attitudes of selected Negro organizations toward Intermarriage with whites," perhaps you do not know that the Council is an interracial organization (since 1944) and not a Negro action organization.

The only expressed opinion on interracial marriage made by the Council was included in a pamphlet purblished in 1959, School Desegregation: the first six years, p. 16, question 22: Do desegregated schools lead to interracial marriages?

> The idea that desegregation leads to an increase in interracial marriage is demonstrably false. Interracial marriage in the Northern states where it is legal, and where schools have never been segregated by race, us unusual and the percentage is so small as to be practically negligible. The fear of intermarriage is largely irrational, since there can never be a law or a court decision forcing persons to marry against their will. Marriage is and will remain a matter of personal choice.

The interests of the Council, as those of other organizations engaged in civil rights or civil liberties, would not include so personal a matter as marriage, which is always an individual choice and decision. However, any law which restricted or prohibited any persons right in this or any other civil and legal area would be regarded as an infringement upon civil liberties and upon the "certain unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

Regarding the Council's views on other aspects of racial justice, such as housing and education, we refer you to a recent policy statement by the Executive Committee, released to the press December 30, 1964 (enclosed).

As to the view of other leaders, I refer you to interviews with five Negro leaders by Kenneth B. Clark in the Sept. 29, 1963 issue of New York Times Magazine, "What Next? Five Negro Leaders Reply."

If you wish information on intermarriage from social scientists, I think you would find interesting the U.S. News & World Report, 10-7-63, "When Negroes and Whites Intermarry--the Problems." This article consists of interviews with seven nationally known social scientists: Gunnar Myrdal, Ernest von den Haag, James M. Nabritt, Jr., Margaret Mead, W. Montague Cobb, Brewton Berry, and Henry E. Garrett.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Ma'
Pls reply
Lwd

Robert E. Lewis, Box 343
Rodgers Quadrangle, B.G.S.U.
Bowling Green, Ohio

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Exe.Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn ave, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Sir

I am in the process of writing a research paper for my freshman English class at Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio. My research deals with the ATTITUDES OF SELECTED NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS TOWARD INTERMARRIAGE WITH WHITES. If you have any material dealing with this subject, I would certainly appreciate your sending it to me. I am particularly interested in the personal opinions of the leaders and members of your organization.

Dec. 30, 1964 statement of Exec. Comm.

If you have nothing dealing with this area, I would be interested in your viewpoints of the RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM OF INTERMARRIAGE WITH THE WHITES IN THE AREAS OF HOUSING AND EDUCATION.

My paper is due May 6, 1964. Will very much appreciate a prompt reply with any available material that you wish to forward. Thank you.

Yours truly,

Robert E. Lewis

Robert E. Lewis

See U. S. News & World Report, 10-7-63
"When Negroes & Whites Intermarry - the Problems"
interviews with 7 social scientists.

Dr. Gunnar Myrdal
Dr. Ernest van den Haag
Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr.
Dr. Margaret Mead
Dr. W. Montague Cobb
Dr. Brewton Berry
Dr. Henry E. Garrett

is to fly to *Ave Maria*'s defense. But on second thought defense is not what *Ave Maria* needs or desires from its friends. Congratulations are more appropriate. Father Reedy sees it that way: "For this unintended boost we are grateful. You would think that by this time almost everyone exercising substantial authority in this country would know that the best way to spread a critical comment is to seek to suppress it." We didn't see the editorial which raised western hackles, but it must have been a good one.

Court Will Consider Miscegenation Laws

✦ THE United States Supreme Court has agreed to consider the most delicate, sensitive, emotion-charged aspect of racial discrimination. It will examine a Florida law which prohibits unmarried persons of different races from habitually occupying the same room at night. Since the Florida law does not similarly restrict unmarried persons of the same race, it is obvious that the law is racially rather than morally discriminative and that it parallels the Florida law prohibiting racial intermarriage. In carrying a specific case to the Supreme Court, lawyers of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund hope to make a broad attack on all state laws against miscegenation. If the Supreme Court rules on the Florida ban on racial intermarriage as well as on the Florida law prohibiting the association of unmarried persons of different races, its decision will affect 19 states, all of which are southern or border states except Indiana and Wyoming. No part of the racial issue is as cluttered by ignorance, superstition, hypocrisy and misunderstanding as the debate over racial intermarriage. The white southerner forgets that the per capita rate of miscegenation is higher in those states which forbid intermarriage than in those which do not. He forgets that the miscegenation process began by the white man's initiative when Negroes first landed on this continent and continues principally because the white man wills it to continue. He forgets that the white male bears chief responsibility for the fact that most American Negroes have white ancestors and, due to the passing of light-skinned Negroes into the white stream, for the fact that more white people than realize it now have Negro ancestors. The white southerner irrationally ignores the total lack of biological, ethical, biblical or theological arguments against racial intermarriage. And – most brutal fact of all – he forgets (or perhaps he remembers) that by perpetuating laws against racial intermarriage he makes the Negro woman who bears a white man's child the victim of callous neglect. In 19 of our states the Negro woman cannot before the law compel the white father of her child to assume his full obligation as father of that child. No law which the white man has written to oppress the Negro offends the innate dignity of the Negro more than that one which encourages the white man to discredit and abandon the Negro mother of his child. No stampede into interracial marriage occurs where state law grants the Negro his full dignity. The Supreme Court should abolish antimiscegenation laws throughout the nation.

Help the Neediest First!

✦ HIS AVERAGE annual income is one-half the amount which has been determined to be the general poverty level for the poor in the United States. He can expect to live to age 42. His segregation from the rest of society makes the Negro's degree of acceptance look good. The level of unemployment among his people is seven or eight times that of his nation's average unemployment. He suffers more from poor health, malnutrition and ignorance than does any other ethnic group in his country. Who is he? Any American school child should know that the American Indian and only the American Indian answers to that description. Conquered, dispossessed, exploited, abandoned, the American Indian confronts the nation as its primary challenge. When President Johnson first addressed himself to the problem of poverty in the United States he promised that the Indian's poverty would have the nation's first attention. Speaking to 400 Indian delegates to the American Indian capital conference on poverty at the Washington Cathedral (Episcopal), Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) said that President Johnson would keep his promise and would use the 400,000 Indians of the nation in a pilot test to demonstrate "how the war on poverty can be won." Here the war on poverty should begin – among the group in American life most victimized by poverty. The nation can never pay its full debt to the Indians. It can for their sake and for its sake redress some of the injustices the white man has heaped upon the first American.

Hill

✦ THERE were five sandstones
On a hill
Before the rain fell,
And during the rain
Three of them tumbled
Down the hill,
Crushing the bramble;
The two remaining
Fell by the dry moon.
The wet hill
Wades in the crumble.

WILLIAM I. ELLIOTT.

Christian Century

July 2, 1964

Mrs. Morris Brown
5008 Andrea Avenue
Annandale, Va. 22003

Dear Mrs. Brown:

I was unable to locate the Life article you mentioned; I do doubt that it stated "if one's ancestors had lived in the South for as much as four generations, the chances were that one would have some Negro blood in him." There are, of course, many thousands of Negroes who have "passed" over to the "white" category, but generally they have moved out of the South to do this. Of course, some of them later, or their descendents, may have moved back. But when the Southern states define as "Negroes" anyone having a trace (some same one drop) of Negro blood or any known Negro ancestors ~~xxxxxx~~ the chances are that those who"pass" as white would not return for fear of exposure. The laws defining "colored" or "non-white" vary from state to state. For instance, in California a person is "colored" if one-eighth or more of his ancestry is not Caucasian. You may wish to look up the law in Virginia.

I am enclosing some references of articles that you can look up at your library. Also enclosed is a photo-copy of a page from the 1960 U. S. Census giving statistics on white/non-white by total, region, and state. From this you can get your statistics.

I hope the enclosures will be helpful to you for your paper and your crusade.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosed:
U.S. Census figures
References to articles
Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ statement on "marriage across racial lines"
photo-copy Christian Century editorial, Florida court case

June 25, 1964

Mrs. Mildred D. Brown
5008 Andrea Avenue
Annadale, Virginia 22003

Dear Mrs. Brown:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated June 16, 1964.

Mrs. Albright, who has charge of such requests, is presently out of the office due to illness; however, we do expect her return within the next few days. At that time, I will immediately bring your request for information to her attention.

I am enclosing a publications list which gives a brief description of our other publications available for distribution. If, after reading this list, you desire to place an order, we will be happy to be of service.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

/nm
Enclosure
(Publications List)

5008 Andrea Avenue
Annandale, Va. - 22003
June 16, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am writing a paper in which I would like to refer to the great number of persons who carry both Caucasian and Negro blood in their veins in the United States, but particularly in the South.

Several years ago I remember reading an article in LIFE magazine on this subject. I believe the article stated that if ones ancestors had lived in the South for as much as four generations, the chances were that one would have some Negro blood in him - but my memory is too vague to quote.

Since I am well known as a "dirty integrationist", I must be very cautious to have any statements I make on the race issue be completely accurate and preferably have sources at hand.

Do you have anything you can send me on the percentages of Americans in the different regions who are part Caucasian and part Negro? If you do not have anything to send, perhaps you will refer me to some other source of accurate information.

Thank you for any help you may be able to give.

Most sincerely yours,

Mildred D. Brown

Mrs. Morris Brown

PS: I was one of the founders of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

do you know about this

Interracial Marriage references: (from Race & Race Relations file)

Marriage Across Racial Lines, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ. Reprinted with premission by The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity; single copies 5¢, 100 or more, 3¢ each.

The Myths of Racial Integration, American Jewish Congress, "Myth 6 - If Negroes are permitted to live in same areas as whites and go to the same schools, intermarriage will increase." p. 9-10

U. S. News & World Report

4-29-63, "What the American Negro Wants," interview with Roy Wilkins, see question on intermarriage, p. 49.

10-7-63, "When Negroes and Whites Intermarry--the Problems," p. 63.

11-18-63, "Intermarriage and the Race Problem," as leading authorities see it--interviews with seven social scientists. Gunnar Myrdal, Ernest vanden Haag, James M. Nabritt, Jr., Margaret Mead, W. Montague Cobb, Brewton Berry, Henry E. Garrett.

"The Psychology of Persecution and Prejudice," by David Stafford-Clark, reprinted from Views, Quarterly Review, Spring 1963; available from Council of Christian and Jews in reprint form).

"Let us take a single example. Glass and Li calculated from blood group data that North American Negroes have about 30 per cent white ancestry. From the rate at which racial mixture has been occurring in this population, they estimate that American Negro and American white will have become indistinguishable, both races having become assimilated in a common population, in about 1,000 years, if racial mixture acontinues at a constant rate. Their observations also conclusively contradict the common belief that North American Negroes have a considerable amount of American-Indian ancestry. This kind of information, based upon the study of blood groups and other genetic factors, is objectively verifiable. It certainly tells us that races exist, but it also tells us that they mix; and it tells us, too, that their genetic diversity is the important thing about them."

St. Jude, November 1962, "Three Races, One Man" by Bob Senser. He quotes:

Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorckle, "But the overwhelming majority of Negores in this country have at least some white parentage in their background. It has been estimated that not more than 25 per cent of the persons called Negroes in this country are of unmixed Negro extraction."

U. S. News & World Report, 3-30-64, "One Plan to End Race Troubles" Table of percentage of Negroes in each State's total population

Commentary, October, 1963, "Race--the Dream and the Nightmare," Leslie A. Fiedler. (Essay included in Mr. Fiedler's book, Waiting for the End, Stein & Day, March 1964.)

"Ask any American for his attitude toward Indian and Negro, and you will discover his attitude toward his own impulsive life; or, conversely, find how any American deals with his own basic drives, and you can guiess his attitudes toward our colored minorities. The man who 'whops niggers' or 'shoots injuns' is, symbolically, trying to kill the savage in himself, though he may, perhaps must, at the same time lust for dark flesh. Mrs. Stowe, much more acute than anyone can ever quite remember, knew all this when she made Simon Legree a son of the Puritans to begin with, and portrayed him as pursuing black females when not tormenting black males. But maybe both, after all, are forms of exorcism congenial to the Puritan mind: whipping and rape--a double assault on the despised natural."

New York Times, 10-18-63, "Negro-White Marriages on Rise Here," by Fred Powledge.

Five states have repealed state laws forbidding mixed marriages (Negro, Indian, Asian): California and Nevada, in 1959; Arizona in 1962; Nebraska and Utah in 1963. States which still have such laws are: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Baltimore Afro-American, Nov. 23, 1963, "Just how much intermixing of races in this country?

Just how much intermixing of races has occurred in the United States? Social scientists disclose some interesting figures.

Eighty per cent of colored Americans have white ancestry, Gunnar Myrdal finds.

Twenty per cent of white Americans have had colored ancestry, says South Carolina-born Dr. Brewton Berry.

There are one million interracial married couples in the United States, estimates Andrew D. Weinberger, a NYC lawyer.

A total of 2,500 colored persons pass over into the white race every year, says Dr. Berry, adding, "Some people put the number much higher than that."

U.S. News & World Report, March 26, 1962, "Why Are People Brown or Black or Yellow or White? What the Scientists Say." Gives world totals by color: Of 3 billion people: 930 million are yellow (Mainly Chinese and Japanese); white, 930 million (mostly people of European descent); Brown-Red, 900 million (mainly peoples of Southern and Eastern Asia, East Indies, Phillipines plus American Indians; Black, 240 million (mostly African plus American Negroes and Melanesians of South Pacific.

Highest Court Asked to Void Ban on Racial Cohabitation

10-15-64

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Supreme Court Wednesday was asked to declare unconstitutional Florida's law prohibiting a man and woman of different races from occupying the same room at night.

Florida's Assistant Atty. Gen. James G. Mahorner defended not only this law but another barring interracial marriage. The second, or miscegenation law, is not directly at issue but has a bearing on the case.

The appeal was brought to the court by a Honduran-born Negro, Dewey McLaughlin, and a woman named Connie Hoffman of Miami Beach, who were convicted under the cohabitation law. They contended they could have used common law marriage as a defense if they had been of the same race but were prevented from doing so because of the miscegenation law.

AT NIGHT TIME

The law prohibits an unmarried couple of different races from occupying "in the night time the same room."

Two lawyers from the legal defense fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People attacked both statutes as violations of the 14th amendment's guarantee of "equal protection of the laws."

This clause was the basis for the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation ruling and numerous others striking down racial discrimination by states.

SEES RACE BASIS

Referring to Florida's cohabitation law, NAACP attorney William T. Coleman Jr. of Philadelphia said, "The guts of the statute is race."

He said past decisions of the high court show that any law based on race is unconstitutional, even though parties convicted under it are punished equally.

NAACP attorney Louis H. Pollak of New Haven, Conn., told the court that "a decision striking down root and branch the miscengenation laws of 19 states would accomplish the purpose of the 14th amendment." He urged the court to "remove this stigma of degradation from the fabric of American law."

ASKS DIFFERENCE

Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice Arthur Goldberg asked Mahorner if he could see any difference between Florida's statutes and any statute which prohibited interracial meetings in people's homes for meals.

Mahorner said use of one's home is a "clear case of property right." The justices then suggested the interracial meetings might take place at a neighbor.

10-29-64c

White-Negro Couple Fights Marriage Ban

RICHMOND, Va. (UPI)—A white man and his Negro wife Wednesday launched a far-reaching legal attack on Virginia's laws prohibiting mixed marriages.

The complaint was filed in the U. S. district court here by Richard Perry Loving and his wife, Mildred Jeter Loving, both formerly of Caroline County, Va., and now living in the District of Columbia.

Through their attorneys the Lovings asked that a three-judge federal court be convened to strike down a series of Virginia statutes that make it a felony for a white person to marry a Negro.

The laws provide for a penalty of from one to five years in prison and an immediate annulment.

In the meantime, however, the Lovings also applied to U.S. District Judge John D. Butzner Jr. for a temporary restraining order to permit them to enter Virginia without fear of imprisonment from their 1958 conviction.

"We've put the couple out of circulation until we get the order," said attorney Philip J. Hirschkop of Alexander. "From time to time Mr. Loving has reason to come into the state, but he's frightened out of his wits."

The Lovings eloped to the District of Columbia and were married June 2, 1958. Upon their return to Virginia as honeymooners they were arrested, indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced to one year in jail each.

The sentence was suspended on condition the couple not cohabit since their marriage was declared null and void without divorce proceedings under the state laws. Since that time they have been living in Washington.

11-8-64

Houston's Family Newspaper — Miss Classified, CA 4-6868 — THE HOUSTON CH

Chronical

Racially-Mixed Marriages and the Law

BY CHUHDAUNMT G. MOULTON

Washington (UPI) — The most sensitive of all racial discrimination issues is awaiting an early decision by the U.S. Supreme Court.

It is miscegenation — marriage, legal or common-law, between Negroes and whites, or sexual relations between persons of different races. In some cases it can be a general term for interbreeding of the races.

One thing is certain. The issue evokes even deeper emotions than public school desegregation even though comparatively few persons in the white or Negro groups desire to marry outside their races.

The case the court is weighing could bring down—or uphold—anti-miscegenation laws in 19 states—Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia and Wyoming.

The laws are designed to preserve racial integrity.

Only in California has a state supreme court found a miscegenation law unconstitutional. However, some legislatures have repealed their statutes.

Key to Question

The key to the question before the court is "due process of law" and "equal protection of the laws" guaranteed to individuals by the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The court relied on the equal protection clause to outlaw racial discrimination in the schools.

Marriage laws historically have been under state jurisdiction.

In its entire history the Supreme Court has decided only one miscegenation case on its merits. That one, from Alabama, dealt with cohabitation rather than marriage. The law was upheld in 1883 on grounds the same punishment was meted out to each party, regardless of race.

The case has been cited widely by lower courts as authority for the validity of laws against interracial marriage.

Two State Tests

Over the years the tribunal has required that state laws pass two tests to clear the hurdle of the 14th Amendment. There must be no discrimination in the way the laws are administered. If there are any separate classifications, there must be a reasonable basis for them.

The case now before the court concerns a Florida law which forbids a Negro and a white person of different sexes, who are not married, to "habitually live in and occupy in the nighttime, the same room."

The court heard arguments on the statute in mid-October. Florida's law against interracial marriages figures in the case indirectly. But it, too, could fall by the logic of an opinion striking down the cohabitation statute.

Florida Test Case

The Florida case arose in 1962 in this way:

Mrs. Dora Goodnick, a Miami Beach landlady, noticed a man whom she took to be a Negro going in and out of one of her apartments. The apartment was occupied by a white woman known as Connie Hoffman.

The man turned out to be a Honduran-born hotel employe named Dewey McLaughlin. Mrs. Hoffman told Mrs. Goodnick that McLaughlin was her husband.

Mrs. Goodnick, disturbed by idea of a Negro living in her house, reported the situation to police.

During questioning by police McLaughlin and Mrs. Hoffman admitted living together.

The couple was charged with violating the cohabitation law. At the end of the trial the judge instructed the jury that in Florida a Negro and a white person could not have been lawfully married, either by common-law or formally. The two were convicted, sentenced to 30 days in jail, and fined $150 each.

After the Florida Supreme Court affirmed the convictions May 1, 1963, the case was taken to the U.S. Supreme Court by the legal defense fund of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

NAACP's Arguments

The NAACP advanced three arguments why the conviction violated the 14th Amendment.

- Conviction under a law making race an element of the crime and punishing a Negro and a white person for acts not forbidden to persons of the same race.
- Evidence of a common-law marriage, recognized by Florida, could not be introduced because of the state law against interracial marriage.
- There was no proof of the race of either party and, in any event, Florida's legal definition of race is too vague to support a criminal conviction. (The law is that a Negro is a person with "one-eighth or more of African or Negro blood.")

State's Rebuttal

Assistant Florida Atty. Gen. James C. Mahorner argued the case for the state. He countered this:

- The authors of the 14th Amendment, ratified after the Civil War, did not intend it to affect anti-miscegenation laws.
- The couple was not entitled to the defense of common-law marriage because they had not proved marriage.
- Florida also prohibits habitual cohabitation by unmarried members of the same race.
- The NAACP abandoned the vagueness argument in state court and therefore cannot bring it up in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Justices' Queries

These points raised numerous questions in the minds of the nine justices. The NAACP side was argued by attorneys Louis H. Pollak of New Haven, Conn., and William T. Coleman Jr., a Negro and former law clerk of retired Justice Felix Frankfurter.

Mahorner argued that striking down intermarriage laws is quite different from outlawing segregated public schools because education has developed over the years while "marriage is the same institution it has always been."

Each side had an hour for verbal fencing.

Pollak concluded with an appeal to the court to strike down "root and branch" the miscegenation laws of the 19 states and "remove this stigma of degredation from the fabric of American law."

Shates which have repealed miscegenation laws since 1950 are Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota and Utah.

19 states w/ law

Ala. Md.
Ark. Miss.
Del. Mo.
Fla. NC
Ga. Okla.
Ind. South Carolina
Ky. Tenn.
La. Texas
Va.
W. Va.
Wyoming

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Rules Out Race Law In Florida

12-8-64 Const.

By JERRY T. BAULCH

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Supreme Court knocked down as racial discrimination today a Florida law prohibiting Negro and white persons who are not married to each other from habitually occupying "in the nighttime the same room."

At the same time, the high tribunal sidestepped a ruling on Florida's law which bars interracial marriages. However, the wording of the unanimous opinion read by Justice Byron R. White cast doubt on such laws, which are in effect in 19 states.

STATE POWER

He said: "There is involved here an exercise of the state police power which trenches upon the constitutionally protected freedom from invidious official discrimination based on race.

"Such a law, even though enacted pursuant to a valid state interest bears a heavy burden of justification, and will be upheld only if it is necessary, and not merely rationally related to, the accomplishment of a permissible state policy. . . ."

Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the legal defense fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said he views the decision as a long step toward legal equality of the races.

LEGAL MATTER

"As a legal matter," he said, "this knocks on the head the ultimate superstition upon which racial differences in law are supposed to be justified."

In Florida, state Atty. Gen. James Kynes said the ruling "has little or no practical effect on Florida because we have another statute — a similar statute — which pertains to all per-

Continued on Page 9, Column 1

Racial Law In Florida Ruled Void

Continued from Page 1

sons regardless of race." This statute prohibits lewd and lascivious behavior, he said.

In a day in which the justices touched on a variety of vital national questions, they decided:

1. To hear Billie Sol Estes' complaint that "a forest" of television cameras providing live coverage of his trial on swindling charges violated his constitutional rights.

2. To listen to arguments on the validity of a Connecticut law which bans the use of contraceptives and prohibits medical advice about their use.

3. To rule on the right of the postmaster general to destroy what he considers Communist political propaganda from abroad when the person to whom it is addressed does not indicate he wants it.

4. Not to review a ruling that the Justice department lacks power to compel desegregation of public schools near military installations in Alabama and Mississippi.

The court also handed its first decisions involving the 1959 Labor Management and Disclosure Act. The court:

1. Ruled, 8 to 1, that union members questioning the eligibility standards for union officer elections must appeal first to the secretary of labor rather than the courts.

2. Decided, 7 to 0, that a union may raise its dues based on the vote of delegates weighed and counted according to the number of members each delegate's local contains, rather than by a mere majority of delegates voting. Chitef Justice Earl Warren abstained from this case, presumably because he still considers himself a member of the musicians union.

Intermarriage Issue Sidestepped by Court

12-8-64 8

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Perhaps the touchiest issue in all the legal literature of civil rights is "miscegenation," which lawyers define as "the intermarriage or interbreeding of whites and other races."

Nineteen states still have anti-miscegenation laws. Eleven such laws have been repealed since 1950. Of those remaining, most are in Southern or border states, though Indiana and Wyoming still have them.

The Supreme Court Monday struck down Florida's interracial cohabitation law. But the decision — by Justice Byron R. White — emphasized that marriage between races was not involved. Thus the high court sidestepped a ruling on the constitutionality of such laws.

There are indications, however, that the issue will soon be back.

The Florida law forbids a man and woman of different races from "habitually. . .(occupying) in the nighttime the same room."

White said the Miami Beach convictions of a Honduras-born Negro man and a white woman were being reversed on the ground that their constitutional guarantee of equal protection under the law had been abridged.

Nevertheless, Justices William O. Douglas and Potter Stewart, in a separate but concurring opinion, clearly went on record as holding all laws of this type unconstitutional. They said:

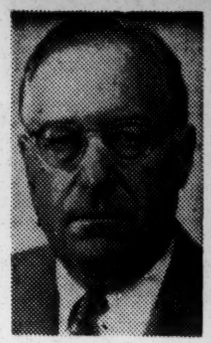
"It is simply not possible for a state law to be valid under our Constitution which makes the criminality of an act depend upon the race of the actor."

New York state Sen. Constance Baker Motley, who has argued many Supreme Court cases on behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), said the intermarrige question undoubtedly will come before the court in future cases.

She said there is no basis for distinguishing between penal laws dealing with cohabitation and those dealing with intermarriage.

Arthur Krock 12-9-64 Cont.

'Color' Is Rejected As Test of Crime



WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court was careful to set limits to its constitutional ban of a Florida statute which makes "color" the test of whether the cohabitation of individuals of opposite sexes is of itself a crime. The law struck down was so vulnerable to attack as a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment that it presented an issue sufficient for separate adjudication, without, as Justice White wrote for the court, "reaching the question of the validity" of the laws of Florida and other states that make interracial marriage a crime.

However, the rationale of his opinion could logically extend to the state miscegenation laws when these come before the court, on a specific test of their validity under the Equal Protection Clause.

Two of the nine justices, in concurring opinions, strongly indicated they are already prepared to make this extension. ". . . It is simply not possible," observed Justice Stewart, joined by Justice Douglas, "for a state law to be valid under our Constitution which makes the criminality of an act depend upon the race of the actor." And this is precisely the argument on which the forthcoming legal attack will be made on the state miscegenation laws.

The bridge on which a court majority could cross from Monday's limited ruling to the broader one was supplied by Justice White.

"We deal here," he wrote, "with a racial classification embodied in a criminal statute. In this context, where the power of a state weighs most heavily on the individual or the group, we must be especially sensitive to the policies of the Equal Protection Clause, which . . . were intended to . . . subject all persons to 'like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses and exactions of every kind, and to no other."

The court was able to discharge this obligation easily because counsel for Florida could not possibly justify the particular discrimination of the statute at issue on the ground they selected. They claimed that it was designed to "protect the integrity of the marriage laws of the state."

However, Justice White riddled this with no trouble at all. A law, he said, which "singles out" only one interracial couple as criminal per se for cohabitation which in all others must be proved to have included sexual intercourse to be a crime, is not possibly demonstrable "as a necessary adjunct" to the "protection" of the state's marriage laws, including that which bans interracial marriage. But it is clearly demonstrable as one of the "arbitrary and invidious" discriminations by a state against members of any race that are specifically banned by the 14th Amendment.

Newsweek 12-21-64 Miscog.

ready approved Ray Bliss, Ohio's nonsectarian GOP handyman, as Burch's eventual successor. And Bliss has agreed to serve. Ike himself put the frosting on the cake—talking up his own leadership scheme: Bliss as national chairman in tandem with Minnesota's retired Rep. Walter Judd (a conservative but no Goldwaterite) as party spokesman.

"Preposterous," said Burch.

THE SUPREME COURT:

The Bedroom Issues

Marriage between the races is against the law in nineteen states—the eleven members of the Confederacy, plus Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, Indiana, and Wyoming. But the Supreme Court shook the foundations of those ancient statutes last week.

At issue was an 83-year-old Florida "black code" making it a crime for an unmarried Negro and white to "habitually . . . occupy in the nighttime the same room." For violating the law in Miami Beach in 1962, Connie Gonzalez Hoffman, an Alabama white woman, and Dewey McLaughlin, a Negro seaman from Honduras, were fined $150 each and sentenced to 30 days in jail. The Supreme Court unanimously upheld their appeal and struck down the statute.

"There is involved here," said Justice Byron R. White delivering the Court's opinion, "an exercise of the state police power which trenches upon the constitutionally protected freedom from invidious official discrimination based on race." Justice Potter Stewart, in a concurring opinion joined by Justice William Douglas, was stronger: "I think it is simply not possible for a state law to be valid under our Constitution which makes the criminality of an act depend upon the race of the actor . . ."

The Court rejected a Florida argument that the law must be preserved to prevent intimacy leading to intermarriage. It did so, said Justice White, "without reaching the question of the validity of the state's prohibition against interracial marriage." But if it prudently side-stepped the miscegenation issue for the moment, few doubted that its views would demolish mixed-marriage laws as soon as the issue was directly posed.

■ The Court also agreed to hear again a case based on an 1879 Connecticut law barring the use and prescription of contraceptive devices. Passed by pious Protestants, the law has been stoutly defended since by Roman Catholics. In 1961, the court refused to rule on its constitutionality on the ground that it wasn't being enforced. But later, two Planned Parenthood members were arrested after opening a birth-control clinic in New Haven.

Staff Photo—Dwight Ross

JUDITH PAULA IS AMUSED BY DOLL HELD BY JULIUS BUTCHICK
Powder Springs Couple to Make Trip Back to Iowa to Complete Adoption

'PERSONS OF COLOR' 1-31-65 Journal-Const.

State Laws on Adoption Keeping Judy an Orphan

By LINDA GREENE

Last year a Clinton, Iowa, couple, Mr. and Mrs. Julius Butchick, now of Powder Springs, made a trip to Chicago's O'Hare Airport to meet a plane bearing a 7-year-old Korean girl for whom they had paid $370 to have her brought to the United States.

At birth she was named Oh Yung Mi. Then she was named Judith Paula by a nun at a Pusan, Korea, orphanage from which she came.

She had been found starving in the streets of a Korean city when she was a year old.

The Butchicks obtained Judy through the International Social Service. The adoption was to be like most others — after a year the Butchicks would sign papers to finalize it.

THEN MR. BUTCHICK was transferred to Georgia. That should not be a problem, the International Social Service people told them, because the agency would forward the processing papers to the Georgia agency.

But it was a problem. And they were not told about it for six months after they moved.

After living in Powder Springs for six months, Mrs. Butchick became tired of waiting to hear from the local adoption officials. She called the Cobb County agency. That was the first time she learned of the improbability of their adopting Judy in Georgia.

TWO STATE LAWS (Section 53-312) list oriental persons as "persons of color" and another section (74-411) charges adoption officials to consider such factors as racial suitability when advising the judge who makes the final decision.

Though the two sections appear harmless and only vaguely related, adoption officials have informed Mr. and Mrs. Butchick that it is unlikely that they could complete the adoption in Georgia.

Georgia Asst. Atty. Gen. Alfred L. Evans Jr. said that no case involving the interpretation of these laws has come before a Georgia court.

"The completion of such an adoption would depend largely on the attitude of the judge who decided the case. Some judges might feel a Korean child would be better suited with a Korean couple than a caucasian one," he said.

SINCE THEN Mr. and Mrs. Butchick have been in a "silent rage" because of the situation and the fact that they do not have the money to attempt the adoption in Georgia and appeal their case to a higher court if it fails.

They recently were advised by the Iowa State Department that the department would help them complete the adoption.

So when Judy is out of St. Joseph School in Marietta this summer, the Butchicks will make what they consider an unnecessary trip to Iowa.

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JACKSON DAILY
NEWS (MISS.) 5

Date: FEB 5 1965

Solons Might Reclaim Seats

By WILLIAM PEART
Daily News Staff Writer

Who would replace Mississippi's five members of Congress if the so-called Freedom Democratic Party's seating challenge is successful?

Strangely, they would probably succeed themselves.

Under state law, successors would be selected in a special election called by the governor.

And it's a near-certainty the five would seek the offices they were ousted from.

It's also highly unlikely that the electorate would fail to vote to return the congressmen to Washington.

The predominantly Negro FDP has agreed that the congressmen were properly nominated for office.

But the FDP insists that its candidates were illegally denied places on the 1964 general election ballot. The party claims discrimination in the fields of elections and voting.

The State Election Commission says the three Negro candidates didn't meet legal qualifications to have their names placed on the Nov. 3 ballot.

Attorneys for the outlawed FDP — Sen. James O. Eastland called it a "carpetbag" party Wednesday, since it was developed mostly by non-residents of the state — continue to take depositions in various areas of the state.

They will eventually present the testimony to Congress in its efforts to unseat the delegation.

Later — probably this spring —the House will vote on whether to permit the delegation to retain its seats.

Assuming the Negro candidates would qualify in a special election, it's improbable they could muster the votes to win election.

And the incumbents would be re-elected.

If they were, neither the FDP nor congress would be in a position to contest the election — since there should be no question about the legality of the special election.

The governor has the authority to fill a vacant Senate seat, a power which doesn't extend to members of the House of Representatives.

Under a recently enacted federal law, a poll tax receipt isn't required in a federal election. So all persons — white and Negro — could vote in the special election if they're properly registered according to Mississippi law.

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DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES (Greenville, Miss.)
Date: FEB 11 1965

County Beat

Too Few Mississippians Realize Danger In FDP's Seat Challenge

Foster Davis

For one reason or another there are not a great many Mississippians who realize the seriousness of the challenge to the five Mississippi members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

One reason is the general official silence in Jackson where Gov. Paul Johnson is acting like a man who wishes he dared to say something but doesn't. Another, I think, is the general information vacuum created by the slanted reporting of the Jackson papers, which circulate all over the state.

The five men whose seats are at stake are taking it seriously enough. Attorney General Joe Patterson and former governor J. P. Coleman are handling the defense strategy against the Freedom Democratic Party (FDP), which is an indication of how important the congressmen regard the challenge.

* * *

THE FDP is saying, essentially, that there is a widespread and systematic policy in Mississippi which denies Negroes the right to vote or to participate in any meaningful way in the political dialogue of the state.

They are saying that because of this policy the congressmen were elected unfairly. They are asking Congress to unseat the representatives from Mississippi. And 148 Congressmen agreed with this assertion when the matter came to a floor vote during the opening of Congress on Jan. 4.

The FDP lost that round. They have not yet lost the second round and there are knowledgable people who are giving them a real chance of winning it. I have no idea, nor does anyone to whom I have talked, what will happen if the congressmen are unseated.

Lawyers for the FDP have spent the last month or so going around the state collecting depositions from witnesses — mostly Negroes — concerning incidents of harassment and intimidation in connection with the exercise of the presumed right to vote.

These are mostly statements which say what has happened to Negroes who tried to register to vote. But they are also much more than that. The testimony which will be presented to Congress includes a great deal of frankly emotional material.

* * *

IN GREENVILLE last week, for example, the 1938 killing of Lee Groom was examined in some detail by FDP lawyers. Lee Groom was a Rolling Fork Negro killed by a posse after he killed a white man. The general story is that he was shot, dragged through the streets of Rolling Fork behind a farmer's truck and finally taken to a dump, where his body was drenched with gasoline and burned.

FDP lawyers frequently mentioned the story in quizzing their Negro witnesses. At one point, Miss Harriet Buhai, an FDP lawyer from Hollywood, asked a Negro concerning the killing, "That's part of the folklore of Sharkey and Issaquena counties, isn't it?"

Much of the material which will be presented in Washington will be similar. What Negroes from Neshoba and other "tight" sections of the state have testified to, I don't know. But incident after incident has been chronicled in the FDP testimony and it is a fair bet that it will have an impact in Congress.

It does not matter so much that some of the testimony is not accurate or that much of the questioning by FDP lawyers was leading and irrelevant to the direct matter of voting registration. What does matter is that many of the Negroes who claim discrimination in voting matters have a legitimate grievance. All the denials in the world don't erase the fact of reprisals and harassments against "smart niggers" who happen to want to vote.

* * *

I THINK Washington County's skirts are clean and the Greenville Negroes who testified last week bear this out. Circuit Clerk Erwin Henderson and Ed Cocke, his predecessor, have a reputation for impartiality in the administration of the voter registration test.

But one Mississippi lawyer said last week, after hearing testimony from Sharkey and Issaquena county Negroes, that, "I'm about ready to go down and join COFO (the Council of Federated Organizations) down there."

Of course he was joking, but his comment does point out that, as in most cases, there are two sides to this story.

The 40 days allowed the FDP to take depositions are over on Saturday. Then the congressmen have 40 days to collect counter - depositions. After that the FDP has an additional 10 days and then all the testimony goes to the Clerk of the House. He will screen the material and then present it to the House Administration Committee.

This takes it up to March 25

From there, it may or may not get to the floor for a vote. If it does, a simple majority can unseat the Mississippians.

Negroes are "sincere," that they have to do what they have to do. And the same thing appears with the sheriff of Canton, who, as Robert Moses reports, said to several Negro Snick workers: "Well, you are fighting for what you believe is right, and you're going to fight. And we are fighting for what we believe is right, and we're going to fight also." Here and elsewhere, we find the sense of both the Southern white man and the Negro being caught in the same unspecified thing—acting out a role.

It is easy to say to the Southerner that he should give up his Southern-ness and just be a good American. It is easy to say to the Negro that he should give up his Negro-ness and just be a good American—in incidental black face. Negroes and white Southerners do, in fact, want to be Americans, but by and large, they want to be themselves too; and the fact that both belong to minorities means that both may cling defensively to what they are, or what they take themselves to be. They may refuse to be totally devalued, gutted and scraped before being flung into the melting pot. But that is one solution, and some Negroes and white Southerners, in self-hatred or in self-seeking, accept it; they "pass."

It is not the only solution. For the Southerner, a much more significant and healthy solution is to inspect what his Southern-ness really means. If he chose to dip into the history of his South, he would find that it is a very complicated thing; that the orthodoxy of slavery (for which, in later times, read "segregation" as the emotional equivalent) was a very late growth, and did not number among its adherents many a man who gallantly wore the sacred gray, among them Robert E. Lee; that Charleston, S.C.—in fact, the whole Confederacy—between 1861 and 1865 was more tolerant of the dissident than is Mississippi today; that segregation was a latter-day artificial phenomenon that many a Confederate veteran, in his self-certainty, would have found absurd, or perhaps an insult to his own personal liberties.

THE modern white Southerner, if he looks a little deeper than the rhetoric of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the hustings, might decide that being against segregation would not necessarily mean that he is spitting on Grandpa's grave, or is lacking in piety for those who held ranks up Cemetery Ridge on July 3, 1863, or for those who rode with Nathan Bedford Forrest. The white Southerner might realize that human history is a story of the constant revision of values, and that the mastodon frozen in the glacier is not necessarily the creature most worthy of emulation. He might realize that a revision of values was implicit in the very past that commands his piety. He might find many ancestors, spiritual or biological, who would not see eye to eye with Faubus, Wallace, Paul Johnson or Bull Connor. Yes, the white Southerner might find some ancestors who, were they alive, would not agree with the current heroes of Klan or Council, and would not be afraid to say so. That fact might even give the present-day Southerner the courage to say that he, too, disagrees.

Discovering his past, the Southerner might find himself, and the courage to be himself. He might free himself from a stereotype that does violence to some of his own deeply cherished values and to the complexity of his history. He might realize that the obscene caricatures of humanity who have made Philadelphia, Miss., newsworthy are scarcely the finest flower of Southern chivalry or the most judicious arbiters of the Southern tradition. He might rediscover the strong and cantankerous brand of democratic temper that is part of his heritage—and then reapply it. He might begin the reapplication by insisting on his right to reject the ready-made attitudes of the local press or the local politico or the local bully boys, and to seek facts and make judgments for himself.

The Yankee, like the white Southerner, has been in for a shock. He has lived in his dream world too. I have heard many a Yankee say of Negroes, "Who do they think they are?" Or: "They've got every chance anybody has if they'd just get off relief." Or: "Look at the way they're acting, after all we've done for them up here." However little he likes the fact, the white man on the commuter train to Westchester has had to lift his eyes from the *Wall Street Journal*, to paraphrase Whitney Young, Jr., and look up the streets of Harlem. Or Harlem has come busting into his living room to dominate the TV screen. The Yankee white man, at last, has had to recognize the Negro as a human being, sometimes a rather appalling human being. And he has had to realize that the legal rights he had so complacently regarded all these years as his largess to the Negro hadn't, in themselves, amounted to a hill of beans.

If the Yankee is a liberal—even if he is what is called a "fighting liberal" and has signed statements and sponsored dinners and rung doorbells and made speeches and gone to biracial parties and has a life membership in the NAACP—he is apt to discover that nobody is very grateful to him. Nobody is going to be very grateful to him just because he gives a "freedom dance" (discreetly integrated) in Westchester or a "freedom garden party" on Long Island, tickets $100 a couple, and sends the take to help liberate Mississippi. In fact, in regard to Mississippi, he might find it a penitential exercise to ponder a remark by James Farmer, who says that, among Northern supporters, he has observed a slightly greater willingness to give to a project earmarked for Mississippi than for one next door, "for it is always easier to slay cobras in Borneo."

Not only may the Yankee liberal find that gratitude is in short supply; he may find that even the most charitable Negro is apt to regard him as a quaint figure of fun, a curious relic in the body politic like the spleen, without function. The only way he can be sure to regain function, and even then not in all circles, is to go to jail or get his head cracked by the "rosewood"—which is what the cop's stick is called in Harlem. Even then, his function is to play third fiddle and take orders. He is declassed; and this is the worst shock of all.

No, the worst shock for the Yankee is to discover what he, himself, really feels. He has to find out if he really wants a Negro family next door. If he really wants to take orders from a Negro department head. If he really wants to be arrested by a Negro cop. If he really wants to have his children bused into a school in a Negro neighborhood. If he really wants a tax boost for a crash program for the "disadvantaged"—i.e., Negroes. If he really wants his daughter on mixed dates. If he really wants for himself this, that and the other thing that he used to think was just fine for somebody else—usually some degrees of latitude down the social or geographic scale. He is, in fact, not only going to find out what he really wants. He is going to find out what he himself really is.

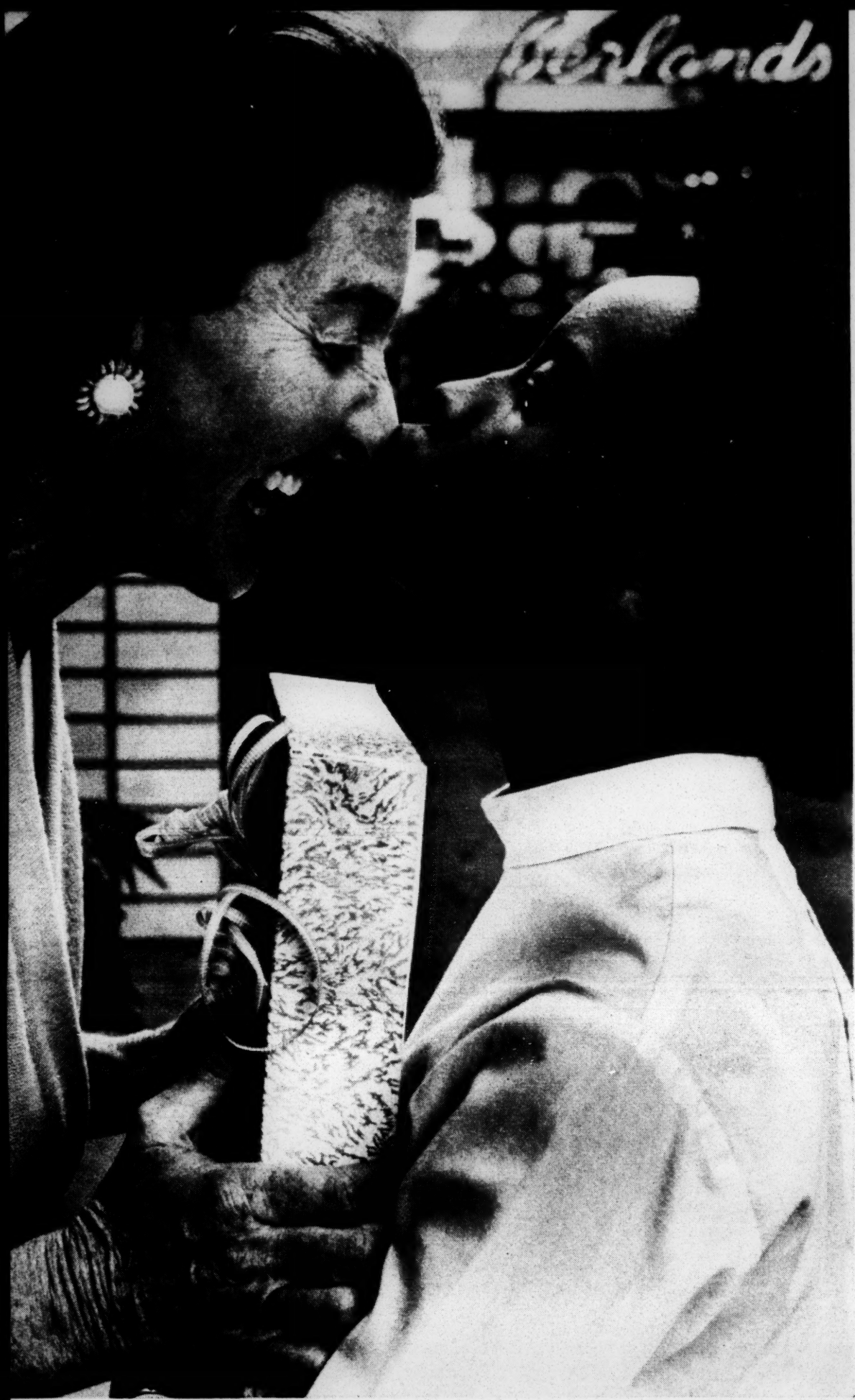
And if he is a book-reading man, he may find out, too, what his grandfather was. Even if his grandfather was a dyed-in-the-wool, card-carrying Abolitionist who regarded Abraham Lincoln as a minion of slaveocracy and, to quote Wendell Phillips, "the hell-hound of Illinois," he is apt to find out that the old boy—his grandfather—was also a dyed-in-the-wool racist. He is apt to find out that most Northern states then denied Negroes the franchise, and, even after the Civil War, Connecticut, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and Kansas voted down proposals for Negro suffrage, and that it wasn't until 1870 that the Fifteenth Amendment was passed; and that in New York City, a Negro couldn't ride the streetcar or attend an unsegregated ward school. He is apt to find out that Reconstruction was a time replete with shame, brutal grabs, ignoble deals on the back stairs and defaulting on high pledges, and that all this was not south of the Ohio River. He will find out that the noise he heard in his dream was somebody knocking the molasses jug off a very high shelf, and now he has to pick up the pieces, and they are sticky. He has to leave his dream and put reality back together again—the reality of America and himself.

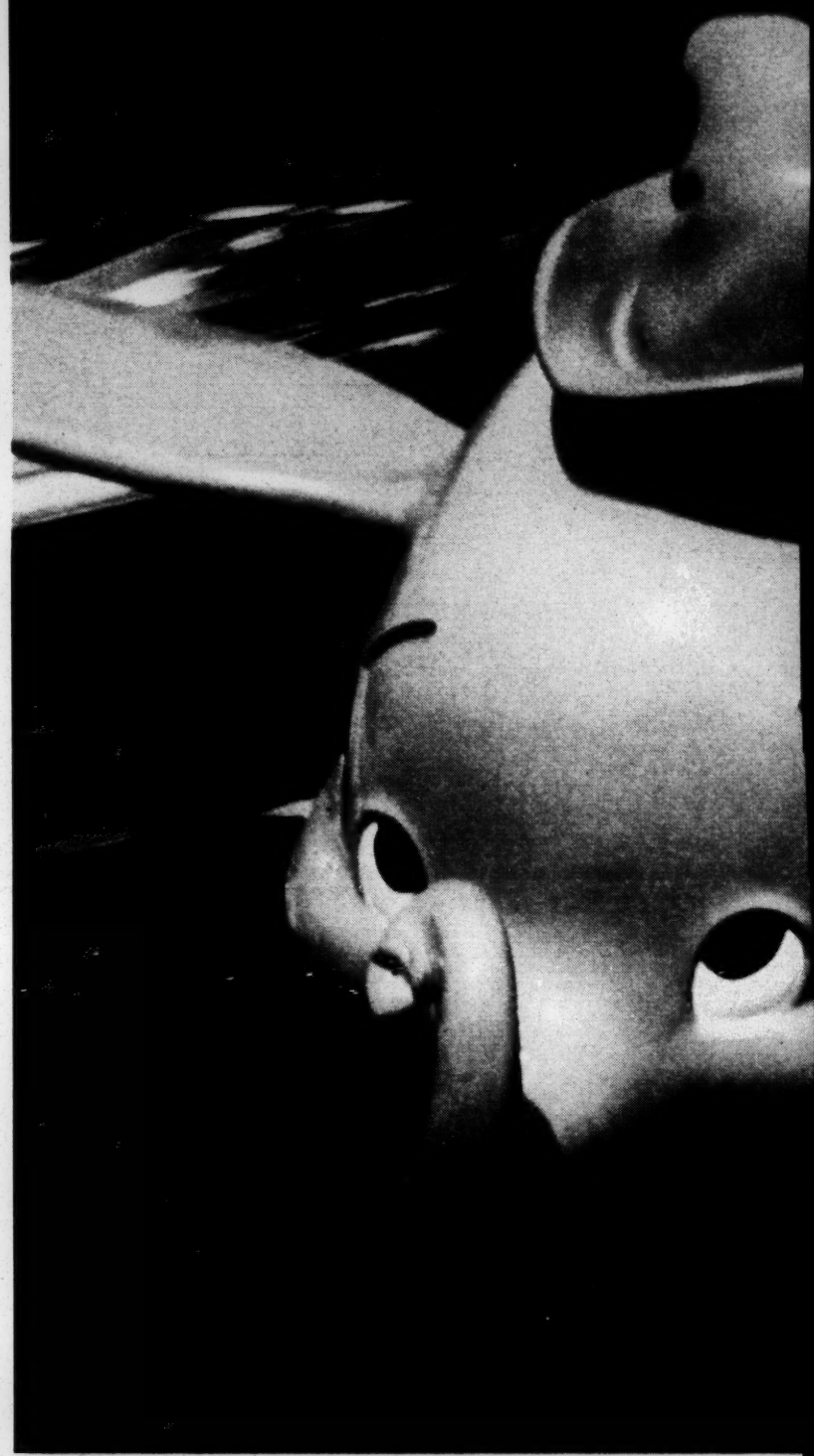
OUT OF THE TWO different kinds of shock that the Southerner and the Yankee have had, they may now be able to extract recognition of the desperate gravity of the situation. Out of the shock, they both may extract, too, self-discovery. Face to face with the Negro, and recognizing his human reality and the basic justice of his demands, they may now be able to substitute reasoned action for automatic reaction: to the Negro and to each other.

There is one kind of sentimentality that the white man cannot afford: a sentimentality about himself. He cannot afford to feel that he is going to redeem the Negro. For the age of philanthropy is over, and it would be a vicious illusion to think that, if he acts now to resolve the problem, he is giving something away, is being "liberal," or is performing an act of charity, Christian or any other kind. The safest, soberest, most humble and perhaps not the most ignoble way for him to think of grounding his action is, not on generosity, but on a proper awareness of self-interest.

It is self-interest to want to live in a society operating by the love of justice and the concept of law. We have not been living in such a society. It is self-interest to want all members of society to contribute as fully as possible to the enrichment of that society. The structure of our society has prevented that. It is self-interest to seek friends and companions among those whose experience and capacities are congenial with and extend our own. Our society has restricted such a quest. It is self-interest to want to escape from the pressure to conform to values that we feel immoral or antiquated. Our society has maintained such pressures. It is self-interest to want to escape from the burden of vanity into the hard and happy realization that in the diminishment of others, there is a deep diminishment of the self.

It would be sentimentality to think that our society can be changed easily and without pain. It would be worse sentimentality to think that it can be changed without some pain to our particular selves—black and white. It would be realism to think that that pain would be a reasonable price to pay for what we all, selfishly, might get out of it: our own freedom. END





A rare lesson about love

1957 *When* LOOK *first visited the interracial family of Sam and Katherine Roberts of Long Beach, Calif. (below), their part-Negro daughter, Kim, was a cute 4-year-old.*

1965 The girl kissing her mother (above, left) and taking a spin in Disneyland with her father (above, right) is an ordinary 12-year-old in an extraordinary situation. Kim Roberts and her family have a personal stake in the long struggle against racial hate. Kim was adopted privately at the age of three weeks from a white mother in Florida. When Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Roberts discovered later that their new daughter was part Negro, they took the tack of courage and love. They adopted for her a brother and sister with equally mixed backgrounds—Celtic-Norwegian-Spanish Sammy, now 11, and Caucasian-Japanese Mitsu, now 8. What the Roberts have learned may help solve a major U.S. problem: the growing number of homeless minority-group children.

PRODUCED BY STANLEY GORDON PHOTOGRAPHED BY EARL THEISEN

On a shopping tour with a friend, Kim pretends to be a high-fashion model. She loves to buy dresses, changes outfits three times a day. At left, Kim, Sammy and Mitsu talk to Pinocchio at Disneyland.

continued

Being 12 is having secrets, sharing life. High school may bring troubles.

Kim and her pal, Nancy Salem, love sleep-overs at each other's homes. They can talk "horse talk," a language peculiar to 12-year-olds, well into the night. Kim excels in softball and spelling at school, wants to be a nurse when she grows up. All of Kim's present playmates and friends are white. This may mean trouble when she gets a little older and faces the problem of dating.

continued

"So many of the problems we worried about never happened. The fear was the only thing."

Sam and Katherine Roberts and their interracial family represent one answer to a problem that is troubling child-welfare agencies in the United States: what to do about the increasing numbers of minority-group children, most of them Negro, for whom no permanent homes can be found.

There are perhaps 200,000 children in the United States who will have to grow up in orphanages and foster homes. These are the "hard-to-place"—the nonwhite, the handicapped and those who are past infancy. Thousands of families want to adopt a child, but almost all of these families are white and want only a healthy white baby. Last year in New York City, over 50 percent of the children needing adoption were Negro. In most adoption agencies, however, only 10 percent of the Negro children were placed. A study in the San Francisco area in 1959 revealed that while seven couples were applying for every available Caucasian child, there were from 10 to 20 minority-group children for every couple who wanted them, a difference in ratio of over 100 to one.

To remedy this sad disparity, some adoption agencies are beginning to encourage transracial adoptions. In Los Angeles County, the Bureau of Adoptions has placed 34 Negro children with white families during the past 12 years. A campaign launched by the Minnesota Department of Public Welfare in 1961 resulted in 30 Negro children's finding white parents. In Canada, the Children's Service Centre of Montreal, aided by a volunteer group of parents organized as the Open Door Society, succeeded in placing 197 youngsters in white homes in six years.

Minority children have been taken into white homes in Yonkers, N.Y., Seattle, Portland and a few other cities, and interracial home-recruitment programs are under way in Chicago and New York. Exact figures are not available on the number of Negro-white adoptions, but the total for the U.S. and Canada is probably around 400.

Families that adopt Negro children share one common characteristic, according to Dr. Judd Marmor, clinical professor of psychiatry and lecturer in social welfare at UCLA. They are "nonethnocentric"—unprejudiced in judging people on their "objective merits as human beings regardless of race, religion or other group identifications." They also tend to be professionals, above average in education and income, and likely to be active in church and community affairs.

Many agencies are still reluctant to encourage transracial adoptions, and in several states, such adoptions are prohibited by law. Some child-welfare experts question whether friends, relatives and neighbors will be as understanding as the adopting parents. They wonder what problems the children will encounter in their sensitive adolescent years and what the ultimate effect of their adoption will be on their relations with members of their own race, as well as with Caucasians. But Dr. Marmor believes that an unadopted minority child allowed to grow up in a series of orphanages and foster homes will have far greater problems than a child given love and security in an interracial home.

"Kim will be strong," her mother says, "because she has had to put up with things in childhood. Most of us don't get our mettle tested until we are older."

Kim Roberts now is completely accepted in the comfortable middle-class white neighborhood where she lives, but she felt the sting of prejudice at an early age. When she was four, her playmates thoughtlessly teased her about her color. At eight, in the second grade at school, the recognition that she was "different" caused her emotional turmoil. Her parents and teachers, however, kept her so busy that she rode out her troubles. Proud, graceful, fun-loving but reserved, Kim is now looking forward to junior high school, where, she confides, she hopes to meet "a nice colored boy."

Whatever problems may lie ahead, Kim's parents are confident that they—and she—will be able to cope. "We had fears at first," says Katherine Roberts. "We were so afraid of what the world might do to our daughter that we stood guard over her. But so many of the things we worried about never happened. We have found that people are fundamentally decent and fair, and our neighbors have been wonderful. Fear and suspicion and prejudice disappear when people of different racial backgrounds get acquainted. You can be told this, but you have to experience it to know it. We are all human beings, so what's the fuss about?"

END

March 23, 1965

Mrs. R. H. Hawthorn
3817 Sunset Drive
Harrisburg, Pa.

Dear Mrs. Hawthorn:

We are enclosing a copy of the requested record of desegregation in Atlanta, as of September, 1963, and also a list of public facilities and public accommodations open to Negroes as of April 7, 1964. Much more desegregation has, of course, taken place since these reports: schools, recreation (parks, playgrounds, swimming pools), employment, churches, hospitals.

Practically every Negro I have met in Atlanta is partially white, and this occurred before any desegregation. There has not been but one interracial marriage in Georgia since desegregation began. Perhaps we need to ask ourselves some questions about the children who may result from social contacts between people of different races: Is "mixed" illegitimacy to be considered more sinful than illegitimacy between persons of the same race? When practically all Negroes who live both in the North and the South are already of mixed blood (and they were not the aggressors) would the legitimate children of mixed marriages be in better or worse circumstances than the illegitimate children which have always been with us--often without the protection of either parent or the security of a home?

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

P.S. Regarding the attitude of Atlanta parents, perhaps this statistic from the State of the City Address of Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. will illustrate: "Paid attendance at public swimming pools was up more than 27% over 1963." He added that two new ppols were under construction.

3817 Sunset Drive
Harrisburg, Pa.

March 15, 1965

Southern Regional Council
Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Our Congressman from Pennsylvania, Hon. John C. Kunkel, has suggested that we write to you for an "historical day to day summary of the desegregation of recreational facilities in Atlanta". This was brought to his attention back in 1963 by your Congressman, Chas. Weltner, who represented Atlanta at that time.

We are urgently in need of this information relative to preliminary work being done with respect to teen-age Recreation facilities in Pennsylvania communities, prior to the coming Governor's Conference for illegitimacy in April. Would surely appreciate if this could be sent to us as soon as possible.

One question: "How do you cope with the fact that higher class parents of both races, do not want their teen-age children to dance or date youth of the opposite race? For the sake of children born of mixed marriages, we strongly feel that we should tell our children that it is wrong to promote relationships that will lead to this. What is the feeling of parents in Atlanta on this phase?

We urgently need recreational facilities, but are giving our dating-age nothing at this point, since the above question cannot be settled. Is it possible for the youth themselves to set up by-laws in their organizations not permitting dancing and dating of mixed races?

Awaiting your reply, we are

Sincerely yours,

M. E. Hawthorn

(Mrs.) R. H. Hawthorn

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

Racial Intermarriage
A Symposium

Feb. 1960 - Social Progress
reprint
United Presby Church of
USA, 1009 Sloan St.
Crawfordsville, Ind.

over

From this Vantage Point - Introduction
Marriage Is Not the Chief End of Man, Markus Barth
The Right to Be, Edler G. Hawkins
No Gradations in Human Dignity, Marguerite I. Hofer
Face It When It Comes, paul S. Wright
The Real Tragedy, Jean Russell
The Implication of the Question, H. Richard Sicilia no
Grandchildren and Society, Ben L. Rose
The Nurture and Adomonition of the Lord, Dean H. Lewis
A Matter of Personal Choice, J. Metz Rollins, Jr.
It Would Depend, John R. Bodo
To Be Discouraged, But..., Richard E. Gray
The Distant Future, John H. Marion
Desegregation and Intermarriage, Detroit Presbytery
About Books
Echoes
What's Happening

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Intermarriage

Gordon, Albert I, Intermarriage; interfaith, interracial; interethnic. Boston, Beacon Press. 1964. 420p.

TUESDAY

JULY						
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AUG. 1964

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SATURDAY

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APR. 1964

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Progression

Milton Mayer
1959 - 1959
"The Issue of Mission"

109 - 257 SAT., APR. 18

send Thursday
11/7

4053 GOODLETT COVE
MEMPHIS 11, TENNESSEE

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Sent 11-6-63 MA

Dear Sirs,

I understand you are publishing Dr. Silver's Paper on the "Mississippi Affair" — May I have a copy? Please bill me for the same.

Sincerely,

Miss Louise R. Clark

Sent
11-6-63
MA

3209 Cowden
Memphis, Tennessee
October 28, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me a copy of the paper concerning the affair at Ole Miss written by Dr. Silver, Professor of History.

Respectfully,
Josephine Hughes
Teacher of American History

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS
THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI CHAPTER
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Lud - fyi
MJ - file

November 10, 1963

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson, Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Many, many thanks for the copies of Dr. Silver's address. Mail to Atlanta took much longer than I thought it would. The air mail-special arrived in time for me to take the batch to Jackson, however; and the people there were deeply appreciative. As far as I have been able to determine, with the exception of a few very modest column-inches buried in the midst of advertisements, the Mississippi press has ignored the speech. The Jackson folks were thus understandably anxious to know what it contained.

My expression of thanks is thus on behalf of many people in the state as well as of myself.

Sincerely,

Tom J. Truss, Jr.

Tom J. Truss, Jr.
President

November 7, 1963

Professor Tom J. Truss, Jr.
President
American Association of University
Professors
University of Mississippi Chapter
University of Mississippi
Oxford, Mississippi

Dear Professor Truss:

Your letter dated November 3 requesting copies of the Silver address was just received in our office this morning. It is very likely that the enclosed six (6) copies will not reach you in time for your meeting.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures - 6.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS
THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI CHAPTER
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

November 3, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In the event that the possibility which I am about to describe exists, Dr. Silver has suggested that I write to you. He is in accord with the action which might be taken.

Friday night of this week, a group of people in the local AAUP Chapter plan to go to Jackson State College to participate in the installation of new officers of its new AAUP Chapter. It might be suitable and appropriate at that time to distribute a few copies of Dr. Silver's Southern Historical Presidential Address, if they are available.

The car from here going to the meeting will leave Friday afternoon at about 3 o'clock. Whatever reaches me in Friday morning's mail can thus be taken to Jackson.

Sincerely,

Tom Truss, Jr.

Tom J. Truss, Jr.
President

Aaron E. Henry
213 Fourth Street
Clarksdale, Miss.
November 10, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for the copy of Dr. Jim Silver's speech. I would appreciate it if you would supply me with several copies of it around 200 copies if possible. There is a large segement of the white commuinty here in the state really interested in securing the full text.

I will also be in a meeting with Paul Rilling in Cleveland Ohio next week and would like to make some copies available there. If you do not send them to me I will report you to Paul! ha.

Please send what you can this week end.

Your friend,

Aaron
Aaron.

Give my love to Margaret Long.

11-15-63

Bill Turner
611 Vincent Bldg
Jackson, Miss

Mailed 11/5-6/63

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

SILVER'S ORATORICAL OUTBURST TO BE SENT TO

Sent 11/1/63

William P. Fidler, American Association of University Professors, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.

Mrs. David L. Cohn, The Fairfax, 2100 Massahhusetts Ave., N. W. Washington 8, D. C.

Miss Sallie Burns, Willamette View Manor, 2705 S. E. River Road, Portland, Oregon 97222

Dr. Lawrence Noble, Drew University, Madison, New Jerse

Miss Wendy Wain, 6325 Saunders St., Rego Park 74, N. Y.

Franklin P. Howard, Dept of Economics, Box U-63, Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.

Aaron Henry, Fourth St. Drug Store, Clarksdale, Miss.

Arthur Schlesinger, The White House, Washington, D. C.

Thomas Bordeaux, Witherspoon & Bourdeax, Citizwns National Bank Bldg., Meridian, Miss.

Hodding Carter, 2906 Camp, New Orleans, La.

3 Copies Sent 11/4/63

P. D. East, Box 1486, Hattiesburg, Miss.

Mr. Richard Coe, 2713 Dumbarton Ave., N. W. Washington 7, D. C.

A. E. Cox, 933 Chambliss Road, Memphis 16, Tenn.

Richard Criswell, Apartado del Este 5133, Caracas, Venezuela

John Doar, Room 1145, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

John Emmerich, The Baltimore Sun, Baltimore, Md.

~~Oliver Emmerich, Mc Comb, Miss.~~ —— Sent 11/4/63

Frances Furlow, Presbyterian Survey, 341 Pomce de Leon Ave. Atlanta 8, Ga.

Judge Ed Green, Cleveland, Miss.

Dr. David Griffith, Dadeville, Alabama

Albert W. Heffner, Box 592, McComb, Miss.

James E. Jackson, ACWA, 218 West Pine St., Hattiesburg, Miss.

Lee Johnson, 1338 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

Dr. Robt. Kelly, Emory Univ. Hospital, Atlanta 22, Ga.

Easton King, 2426 Camp, New Orleans, La.

Elwood Maunder, 655 Montcalm Place, St. Paul, Minnesota

Dr. Fred McDuffie, 2217 Lake Circle, Jackson, Miss

Gilbert McLemore, Children's Hospital, Emory Univ. Atlanta 22

Len Propst, NBC News, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York

Les Campbell, Box 2235, University, Miss.

Billy Mounger, 1066 Avondale, Jackson, Miss.

Rabbi Perry Nussbaum, 3410 Old Canton Road, Jackson, Miss.

Owen Palmer, 2209 14th St., Gulfport. Miss

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

Sent 11/4/63 2 copies

~~William Peters, CBS News, 485 Madison Ave., N. Y. 22~~

Dixon Pyles, 507 East Pearl St., Jackson, Miss.

George Rogers, Power Co. Bldg, Vicksburg, Miss.

Charles Haywood, 801 Cragmont, Berkely, California

Gene Roper, Tannery Lane North, Weston, Connecticut

Marion Smith, Box 1377, Natchez, Miss.

W. O. Stanley, CWA, 509 Standard Life Bldg., Jackson, Miss.

Francis Stevens, Box 1250, Jackson, Miss.

George Thatcher, Dixie Guide, Gulfport, Miss.

Karl Wiesenburg, Canty Street, Pasgagoula, Miss.

A. W. Willis, 588 Vance, Memphis, Tenn.

James Wroten, 3404 Canton Aven. Jackson, Miss.

PROFESSORS AT UNIVERSITY, MSISSIPPI

Charles Nolan Fortenberry, Political Science
Russell Barrett, Political Science
Evans Harrington, Egls8ih
Tom Truss, English
Gerald Walton, English

Duncan Gray, Episcopal Church, Oxford, Miss.
Wofford Smith, Episcopal Church, Oxford, Miss.

John Wolfe, Psychology
Mrs. Anita Hutcherson, University, Miss.
Katherine Rea, Office of Dean of Women, Univ.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

Mailed 11/4/63

SEND SILVER's SPEECH TO

Neal Gregory, COMMERCIAL APPEAL, Memphis, Tenn.
Pete Sussman, US Commission on Civil Rights,
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington 25, D. C.
Judge Leon Schwerzmann, 1325 Sherman, Watertown, N. Y.
Arch Dalrymple, Amory, Miss.
John Leslie, Leslie's Drug Store, Oxford, Miss.
Oliver Emmerich, McComb, Mississippi
Prof. William P. Murphy, 1917 Vassar, Columbia, Mo.
Dr. R. J. Farley, Law School, Univ. Fla., Gainesville, Florida
Chancellor John D. Williams, University, Mississippi
Mr. William Winter, State Tax Commission, Woolfolk Building, Jackson, Miss.
Dr. Henry Tracy, 3595 Mynders, Memphis 11, Tennn.
Claude Ramsay, AFL-CIO, 133 South Lamar, Jackson, Miss
Sent 11/1/63 — Dr. A. D. Beittel, Tougaloo, Miss. Sent - Nov. 1, 1963
Henry A. Fly, Box 792, Pasgagoula, Miss.
Ira Harkey, Gen. Delivery, Reno, Nevada
Jo Drake Arrington, 410 Hewes Bldg. Gulfport, Miss.
Mrs. Nancy Balfour, The Economist, 22 Ryder, St. James's, London SW1, ENGLAND (air mail)
William H. Dean, Box 13893, Atlanta 6, Georgia

Oscar Cohen
[illegible] Richler [illegible] — P.D. Cash-3
[illegible] 1 Bill Peterson

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

Saturday Nov 2

Dear Leslie:

I can't imagine anyone going off to Cleveland or wherever it is that you are speaking. I thought that there was only one speech to be given between now and the end of the year.

I'll probably write you more at length later this week end, but right now I'd like to suggest that you send me a couple of dozen copies of the speech, c/o Geo. Vanderbilt Hotel, Asheville, N. C. We are leaving here Tuesday morning before the mail is put up, and wouldn't get anything mailed from Atlanta on Monday anyway.

I'll write up this notarized copyright this week end and will either send it to you (if I can find a notary public) or take it with me to Asheville, in which case I'll send it in on Wednesday evening - early enough anyway, I think.

I shall try to get out the billets doux to the members of the Exec. Council. You are too much worried, though, about what members of the SHA think. After all, they are only people. Most of them are on my side.

I have given the matter deep thought, and have duly conculted the oracles, and am still going to Brandeis. And I don't really think that I am going to assault them or change their minds about Mississippi. After all, where in hell do you think I got the name Silver? Also will make a little talk at Wellesley. May come back by New York to see Harcourt and Mr. Brace, and also by Washington to see Bill Silver, and I might even end up in Atlanta to see you. What the hell!

On next sheet are some names to send the work of genius to. I'll keep you advised. Yours,

Jim

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Mailed: ~~10/31/63~~ 11/1/63

Department of History

COPIES OF SILVER'S SPEECH TO BE SENT TO

Karl Fleming, Newsweek Bureau, Atlanta.
Claude Sitton, NYTimes Bureau, Journal Building, Atlanta.
Dr. George Tindall
School of Historical Studies
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey
William B. Goodman
Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York 17, New York
John de J. Pemberton, jr.
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York
Robert E. L. Baker
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Miss Rita Rivers
1665 Briarcliff Rd. N.E.
Atl. Ga.
(237-0382)

William P Fidler
American Association of University Professors
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Please change from

William Peters
CBS

Willie Morris
Harper's Magazine
49 E 33rd St
N Y 16

Buttell

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATION

TO: •

DATE

FROM: •

SUBJECT: •

"Mississippi: The Closed Society" by James W. Silver

Presidential address, to be delivered at annual dinner of the Southern Historical Association, in City Auditorium, Asheville, N. C. 7 PM, Thursday, November 7, 1963

NO PART OF THIS IS TO BE PUBLISHED PRIOR TO THE TIME OF THE SPEECH.

November 12, 1963

Miss Wendy Wain
63-25 Saunders Street
Rego Park 74, New York

Dear Miss Wain:

We do have a limited number of copies of Dr. Silver's paper on Mississippi, and we are sending you one copy. The paper will be published in the Journal of the Southern Historical Association, 2901 Byrdhill Rd., Richmond, Va., in case you wish to write them for reprints. In an expanded form, the paper will come out as a book in the early Spring, published by Harcourt, Brace & World. We understand, too, that the LSU Press will include the paper in a book to contain speeches by past presidents of the Southern Historical Society; this will not be out for about another year.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
Silver, Mississippi: the Closed Society

Miss Wendy Wain
63-25 Saunders Street
Rego Park 74, New York

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 7, 1963

Gentlemen:

I would appreciate your sending me ten copies of Dr. James W. Silver's paper entitled: Mississippi: The Closed Society. This paper was to be the Presidential Address before the Southern Historical Association, delivered this November 7th.

If there is any charge for these ten copies or for the mailing cost, please bill me and it will be promptly taken care of.

Thankyou very much.

Sincerely yours,

Wendy Wain

November 14, 1963

The Rev. Chester T. Ashby
White Stone Methodist Charge
White Stone, Virginia 22578

Dear Mr. Ashby:

Under separate cover we are mailing you the Mississippi "64 acts of violence" press release by our Voter Education Project and a copy of Dr. Silver's address.

When you and your wife are visiting in Mississippi in December, I would suggest that you see the following persons:

Dr. A. D. Beittle, President
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi
(member SRC board and Mississippi Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission)

Mrs. Wallace Scutt
955 Pecan Blvd.
Jackson, Miss.
same

and Dr. James Silver and/or Dr. Russell H. Barrett, University of Mississippi at Oxford. Of course Hodding Carter is at Greenville, if this is not too far.

Enclosed is one of our publications lists; if you note anything you would like to read before your trip, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

THE WHITE STONE METHODIST CHARGE
WHITE STONE, VIRGINIA 22578

November 11, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The New York Times of November 8, 1963 contains excerpts from an address by Dr. James Wesley Silver, outgoing president of the Southern Historical Society and Professor of History at the University of Mississippi in which he speaks of the climate in Mississippi in the field of race relations. He mentions a study made by the Voter Education Project and released on March 31, 1963 which lists 64 acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes in Mississippi since January 1961. If this report is available, I would appreciate your mailing me a copy. I would also like to have a copy of Dr. Silver's address, if you have that or know where it can be secured.

My wife is from Mississippi and we plan to go there in December to see her parents who live in Grenada. We would be interested in talking to persons affiliated with the Southern Regional Council in the Grenada Area, (which would embrace Oxford and Jackson) and thought perhaps you could suggest some persons who could give us a fairly objective report on conditions there.

Any other materials or suggestions that you might have regarding this matter will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Chester T. Ashby

Chester T. Ashby
Minister

Dr. Dan Beittle, Pres.
Douglass Sem. Chr. College
Douglass Miss.

Mrs. Wallace Scott
also St. Armining Commun.
915 Pecan Blvd. Jackson

November 21, 1963

Professor Samuel F. Wells, Jr.
Department of History
Wellesley College
81A Oxford Street
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Professor Wells:

Thank you for your comments on the work of the Council and on our publications. We think it is fine that there are Southerners in the North because liberal Southerners are really democratic and actively.

We are mailing you under separate cover a copy of Dr. Silver's speech and the 64 acts of violence VEP report you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

81A Oxford St.
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
18 November 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send me a copy of Dr. James Silver's recent speech before the Southern Historical Association in Asheville, N.C., on the current situation in Mississippi.

Also, if you have additional copies, I would like to have a copy of the list you have compiled of some 64 cases of brutality to Negroes in Mississippi within the last two years or so.

I appreciate the work that you are doing, and these reprints and factual surveys are of great assistance to those of us from the South who are trying to work both here in the North and back home to further the cause of equality for all Americans. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

Samuel F. Wells, Jr.

Samuel F. Wells, Jr.
Instructor in History
Wellesley College

November 22, 1963

Mrs. Denning Schattman
6220 Locke Avenue
Fort Worth, Texas

Dear Mrs. Schattman:

We are sending you the missing page 26; you are correct in that we were assembling the first run of Dr. Silver's address against a deadline. We have exhausted all copies, but are re-running it to fill the demand.

We do not have the right to give you permission to use Dr. Silver's paper in the American History and Government classes at Nolan Catholic High School. You should write to Dr. Silver at the University of Mississippi, Oxford, Miss., and request permission. I feel sure that he will grant it. The paper is to come out in expanded form in a book, and he has also a magazine article coming out soon. This is the reason for the copyright.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosure: p. 26

mrs. denning schattman . . . . 6220 locke avenue . . . . fort worth, texas

November 18, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I have today received from your office the copy of Dr. James W. Silver's address, Mississippi: The Closed Society, which I requested in a letter to Dr. Silver earlier this month.

I find as I read the speech that page 26 of the manuscript is blank, and I am certain that this error is one of mechanics, not censorship. I have had the same thing happen when producing multiple copies of lectures or articles for newspapers with pre-arranged release times cited thereon.

Will you be kind enough to supply me with the missing page? If so, I can place it in its proper place before having my teenage sons read the address.

Hist dept
w 9 mos
of fmr

I note also that Dr. Silver has a copyright on this text. Is there any objection to my permitting this address to be used in the American History and Government classes at Nolan Catholic High School here in Fort Worth?

Your attention to my request and attendant inquiry will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Denning Schattman

Mrs. Denning Schattman

Nov 20, 1963
279 Harvard St
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Sir,

Will you please send me two (2) copies of Professor James Silver's paper. He referred to this in a speech at Brandise University but I do not know the title.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Helen C. Garretson

11-22-63

Mardi Ann Taylor
Freeman Hall, Wellesley College
Wellesley 81, Massachusetts

November 18, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Could you please send me a copy of Mr. James Silver's speech which was delivered to the Southern Historical Association this month.

Gratefully yours,
Mardi Taylor, '64

11-22-63
71, A

DAVIS HALL
WELLESLEY COLLEGE
WELLESLEY, MASS.
NOVEMBER 19, 1963

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTHE STREET
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

GENTLEMEN:

WOULD YOU PLEASE SEND ME A COPY OF DR. JAMES SILVER'S SPEECH. THANK YOU VERY KINDLY.

VERY TRULY YOURS,
JOAN M. KANAVICH

11-22-63
mA

MACDONALD, HOAGUE & BAYLESS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

KENNETH A. MACDONALD
FRANCIS HOAGUE
ALEC BAYLESS
DANIEL BRINK
LANDON R. ESTEP

1410 HOGE BUILDING
SECOND AVENUE AT CHERRY STREET
SEATTLE 4, WASHINGTON
MAIN 2-1604

November 14, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am interested in obtaining a copy, if easily available, of the recent speech of professor Silver of the University of Mississippi given before a meeting of the Southern Historical Association, report of which appeared in the New York Times last week. Please let me know of any charge, check for which will be sent by return mail. Many thanks for your assistance.

Very sincerely yours,

Alec Bayless

Alec Bayless

AB:rp

sent post card 11-18-63
explanation —
to be mailed when
re-rec'd.
11-22-63
MA

MISS JUDY SOLOMON
28 MELLON STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38
MASSACHUSETTS

11/20/63

Dear Sir -

Would you please send a copy of Professor James Silver's speech of Nov. 7 delivered to the Southern Historical Association. I am most anxious to have the full text.

Please send it to the above address and bill me accordingly.

Thank you -

Judy Solomon

11-22-63
MA

11-22-63

November 18, 1963

Dear Sirs:

Would you please forward me a copy of Dr. James Silver's speech delivered at Asheville, North Carolina a short time ago at a banquet of your association in his honor as outgoing president?

Thank you.

Zoë Sarbanes

Freeman Hall Wellesley College Wellesley, Mass.

November 18, 1963

Dear Sirs:

I would appreciate your sending to me a copy of Prof. Silver's recent speech on "Mississippi: The Closed Society."

I also would like to be added to your mailing list. I am a foreign service officer for the U.S. Information Agency and within a few months I shall be going to Africa. I think it would help facilitate my job if I am able to quote white Southerners who have spoken out against segregation in the south.

Sincerely,

John D. Garner

11-22-63
MA

2501 20th Rd. N.
apt. 105
Arlington 1, Va.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM, MASSACHUSETTS

11/21/63

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs,

Would you please send me a copy of Prof. James Silver's speech presented to the Southern Historical Society? Thank you.

Jon Abramson
Brandeis University
Waltham, Massachusetts

11-22-63
MA

Brandeis University
Waltham 54, Mass.
November 20, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir,

I would appreciate it if you would send me Dr. Silver's paper concerning the state of affairs in Mississippi.

Thank you.

Sincerely,
Carol Bassuk

11-22-63
MA

November 26, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta
Georgia

Gentlemen:

Kindly forward me a copy of Dr. Silver's Speech.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Arlene Lewis

Arlene Lewis
6 Beacon St. Rm.#411
Boston, Mass.

12-2-63
MA

MA

859 North Longfellow Street
Arlington 5, Virginia
November 27, 1963

Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am much impressed with the Presidential Address of Professor Silver before the Southern Historical Association. A number of my friends would like to have copies of the speech, but unfortunately I have only one. Would it be possible for you to send me six or seven copies?

Thank you for your kindness.

Sincerely,

Alex Fanelli

Alex Fanelli

12-2-63
MA

Orders for James Silver speech

11-29-63

Mrs. Katherine Boyd
Southern Pines, North Carolina

from "Dutch"
Young Women
U of Miss.

Mr. Paul H.Vaughter, Jr.
Assistant Prof. of History
St. Cloud State College
St. Cloud, Minnesota

Mr. Bruce F.Kennedy
1508 N Street Apt.4
Sacramento, California

Mrs. Paul H. Hardacre
P.O.Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville, 12, Tennessee

12-2-63

plus:

Dr. Wm. H. Feldman
3210 - 38th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Fred Gareau
Dept. of Government
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

* * *

LITTLE ROCK---Arkansas is "over the hump" in improving race relations but Mississippi is still going downhill, a University of Mississippi professor said this weekend.

Dr. James W. Silver, the professor who spoke out three weeks ago against what he called the "closed society" imposed on Mississippi, spoke to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Silver said there is no hope for improvement in Mississippi in the near future.

"It's going to be bad for another four or five years," he said.

Silver said he was disappointed at the results of his speech of three weeks ago. He has been denounced, he said, but no one has attempted to answer his charges.

Mississippian

12/3/63

MA
PA

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

Dear Leslie:

Would you send copies of THE speech (if you have them) to:

Dr. Alan Watson, Oriel College, Oxford, England
Mrs. Katherine Boyd, Southern Pines, N. C.
Dr. May Ringold, History Dept., Clemson College, S. C.
(2 copies)
W. L. Sherwood, 25 Tudor City Place, New York, 17, N. Y.

Had a pleasant visit with the people at the ACHR over the week end. Whether I did them any good is highly questionable.

Some day I'll sit down and tell you how things are going in the never-never land. Not bad, at the moment.

Yours,

Jim

Jim Silver

to nm—

Susan Zeller
63-25 Saunders St.
Rego Park 74, N.Y.

Airmail

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I would appreciate your sending me a copy of Dr. James Silver's paper on Mississippi which he delivered before the Southern Historical Society.

Thank you.

Very sincerely,

Susan Zeller

Sent 12-10-63
MA

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
216 NORTH OVAL DRIVE
COLUMBUS 10, OHIO

Rec'd 12/16/63

December 12, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I have recently seen a copy of Professor James W. Silver's speech, "Mississippi: The Closed Society," distributed by your office. I would like to know if other copies are available; if so, I would very much appreciate the receipt of a copy. Thank you very much for your kindness.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph D. Gray

Ralph D. Gray
Instructor

Fwd
1-8-64

ck $1.50
12/11/63
LK

Mardi Ann Taylor
Freeman Hall, Wellesley College
Wellesley 81, Massachusetts

December 7, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I have enclosed a check covering the copy of Mississippi: The Closed Society, and I would like two more. Please send one to: Miss Elizabeth Gibson
6427 Handy Lane
Richmond 26, Virginia

And the other to me, at my home address:
2806 10th Court South
Birmingham 5, Alabama

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,
Mardi Taylor

1-8-64

STATE OF MINNESOTA
STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
55 STATE OFFICE BUILDING
SAINT PAUL 1

Rec'd
12/16/63

December 12, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I would very much appreciate being put on your mailing list to receive your publications, both the L-report and also New South. I am particularly conscious of the fact that your next publication will be of significance and interest to those of us who were present at the national NAIRO meeting.

It is my understanding also that you have reprints of James Silver's statement and I would appreciate receiving a copy of this if it is available.

Cordially,

Viola May Kanatz

Viola May Kanatz
Assistant Director

VMK:sw

1-8-64

COMMISSION MEMBERS:—William E. Cratic, Minneapolis, Chairman; M. J. Daly, Belle Plaine; John W. Evans, Montevideo; Donald T. Franke, Rochester; Arthur N. Goodman, St. Paul; The Venerable Frederick F. Kramer, Bemidji; Mrs. F. Rodney Paine, Duluth; Kennon V. Rothchild, Mahtomedi; Rabbi Max A. Shapiro, St. Louis Park.
James C. McDonald, Executive Director CApital 2-3013—Ext. 2896 Mrs. Viola May Kanatz, Assistant Director

January 6, 1964

Mrs James Silver
3196 Rilman Road, N. W.
Atlanta 27, Georgia

Dear Mr. Silver:

Enclosed is a copy of the Silver speech which you requested by telephone this morning.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

Memo from **MILDRED JOHNSON**

22 copies each of following

M. Price's pamphet
Negro & the Ballot

L Report #40
Gov. Sanford's Speech

L Report 1
Publications List

The Carolina Inn
Chapel Hill, N. C.

James Silver
3196 Pilman Rd. N.W.
Atl., 27, Ga.

(Send Silver
Opus)

File Silver Requests

January 21, 1964

Mrs. Clarice Collins Harvey
1072 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Harvey:

In response to your letter of January 18, to Les Dunbar, please find enclosed 5 copies of Jim Silver's speech "Mississippi - The Closed Society." We have on reserve 50 copies for you to take back when you return from Atlanta.

Looking forward to seeing you next week.

I am

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures
5 copies - Jim Silver's Speech

to BCC
Ok.
1-24-64
N.M.

STUDY WITH US

In The FIRST

Workshop on RACE

Sponsored by

WOMANPOWER UNLIMITED

4:00 P M

SUNDAYS at PEARL STREET AME CHURCH

January 19 1964

THE RACES OF MANKIND
led by a member of the Tougaloo College Faculty

January 26 1964

THE BIBLE, THE CHURCH AND RACE
led by Dean Charles Jones, Campbell College

February 2 1964

MISSISSIPPI -
A CLOSED SOCIETY WITHIN AMERICA, LAND OF OPPORTUNITY
led by a panel of community leaders

RACE RELATIONS DAY

February 9 1964

TERRELL LITERARY CLUB'S ANNUAL OBSERVANCE
4:00 P M
at
Central Methodist Church

You and Your Family and Friends are

INVITED and URGED to SHARE IN ALL

OF THESE PROGRAMS AND DISCUSSIONS

FREEDOM CANDIDATES

AARON HENRY

FOR

GOVERNOR

REV. ED KING

FOR

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

WHAT IS THE FREEDOM VOTE? ▮▮▮▮ IT IS A PROTEST VOTE TO ACHIEVE .....

- ▮ VOTES
- ▮ JUSTICE
- ▮ JOBS
- ▮ EDUCATION

FREEDOM TO CHOOSE THE MEN YOU WANT TO GOVERN YOU AND THE LAWS YOU NEED FOR A GOOD SOCIETY WITHOUT FEAR OF LOSING YOUR JOBS OR ENDANGERING YOUR FAMILY....

FREEDOM TO HAVE A JUST TRIAL WITHOUT FEAR OF BRUTALITY OR INTIMIDATION BY POLICE....

FREEDOM TO WORK AT ANY JOB FOR WHICH YOU ARE QUALIFIED, TO EARN A GUARANTEED WAGE WITHOUT FEAR OF HUNGER AND WANT....

FREEDOM TO LEARN, TO ATTEND GOOD SCHOOLS, TO BE ABLE TO FINISH SCHOOL WITHOUT FEAR OF HAVING TO DROP-OUT AND GO TO WORK. THIS MEANS ONE GOOD SCHOOL SYSTEM, NOT TWO INFERIOR ONES.

WHAT TO DO ON...

NOVEMBER 2, 3 and 4

ALL REGISTERED AND UNREGISTERED VOTERS 21 OR OVER:

GO TO THE FREEDOM VOTING CENTER IN YOUR AREA. YOUR PASTOR AND LOCAL LEADERS CAN DIRECT YOU TO IT. IF THERE IS NO VOTING CENTER IN YOUR AREA, MAIL YOUR BALLOT TO:

Aaron Henry Headquarters
1072 Lynch Street Room 10
Jackson, Mississippi

WHAT TO DO NOV. 5

ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

ON YOUR OFFICIAL BALLOT, WRITE IN THE NAMES OF AARON HENRY FOR GOVERNOR AND REV. KING FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR. DO NOT VOTE FOR THE DEMOCRATS OR THE REPUBLICANS....VOTE FOR FREEDOM.

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS, PLEASE CALL: 948-0690 (Jackson)

NOW

EVERYBODY WANTS FREEDOM

...GAINING FREEDOM COSTS MONEY...VOTE ON NOVEMBER 2, 3 OR 4, BUT GIVE NOW FOR FREEDOM.

SEND ALL CONTRIBUTIONS TO:

Aaron Henry Headquarters
1072 Lynch Street Room 10
Jackson, Mississippi

MAKE OUT CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO.."FREEDOM VOTE FOR HENRY"

Moderates

July 5, 1961

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Mr. Dunbar asked me to see what could be found on the "silent moderates" and send it to you. I have a few things which may be helpful.

I don't know what else can be found, unless you wish to include the save-the-sschools people who have become vocal on that issue in the past few years and seem to be getting stronger and bolder. Then there are the law-and-order people who want to preserve the peace in order to attract industry. Probably the more vocal of these do have convictions that are more noble than those expressed, and they are saying only what they think people will accept at this point. I'll try to find a few quotes you could use along this line.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosed:
Morgan, The South's Uneasy Moderates, New Leader, 6-26-61
Pettigrew, The Myth of the Moderates, Christian Century, 5-24-61
Sessions, Are Southern Ministers Failing the South? Saturday Evening Post, 5-13-61
Hill, This I Believe
The Education of the South, Time, 4-7-61
Newsclips,

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

March 9, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Here are some requests and suggestions in the spirit of an aggressive and imaginative distribution program:

Birmingham List

To the addresses to be culled from the page ad in the Birmingham News I would send first only L-31 (the reprint from the Wall Street Journal). A week or so later I would send them my "A Virginia View of Race and Reason". Then L-29, L-25 and L-26 each after a similar interval of a week or so. With L-26, we might enclose the unnumbered leaflet, describing the SRC and listing other reports available. The addresses should be added to the list to receive regularly those L-Reports suitable for chambers of commerce and business men.

Individuals

Please send the publications listed below in one package to:

Rev. H. Paul Osborne
8 Archdale Ave.
Charleston, S. C.

unnumbered L-Report sheet
L-1, L-6, L-16, L-18, L-22,
L-25 and L-29
"A Virginia View of Race & Reason"

Please send the publications listed below in one package to:

Rev. Charles J. Moloney
119 Broad St.
Charleston, S.C.

tell PA
BM - out
of print

Unnumbered sheet
L-1, L-6, L-13, L-16,
L-17, L-25, L-29
"A Virginia View of Race & Reason"

Put Father Moloney on list to receive L-Reports and other reports of general interest to a liberal and an educator. He is editor of the Catholic diocesan paper and will share with the diocesan superintendent of schools. ✓

"Race and Reason" is doing a great deal of damage, probably most of all in Louisiana and Mississippi, where it has been officially recognized and endorsed. I think we should do what we can to overtake it. I would like to see the widest distribution given to my "Virginia View" (for want of a better antidote); we might hit it again with an L-Report on the subject, which Jim Moss has in hand.

I think the large supply of my "Virginia View" should be put in circulation as soon as possible. For instance, a dozen copies each might be sent to CHR directors and other friends likely to distribute them. Copies should go to our list of editors and communications media. I am trying to get some addresses in Lotisiana from De Blieux, as you will note from the copy of a letter enclosed.

In Mississippi I suggest the following mailing:

✓ all

Hon. William Forest Winter
State Tax Collector
Jackson, Mississippi

Hon. Joel Blass
Wiggins, Mississippi

Governor James P. Coleman
Ackerman, Mississippi

Rep. Joseph E. Wroten
Greenville, Mississippi

Senator David F. Lambert, Jr.
Belmont, Mississippi

Mr. J. Oliver Emmerich
Editor, Enterprise Journal
McComb, Mississippi

Hon. Sam Lumpkin
Tupelo, Mississippi

Mr. George McLean
Publisher, Daily Journal
Tupelo, Mississippi

Mr. Hunt Howell
Editor, The Panolian
Batesville, Mississippi

Mr. Curtis Mullen
Editor, Madison County Herald
Bay Springs, Mississippi

Mr. H. H. Crisler, Jr.
Editor, Jasper County Herald
Canton, Mississippi

retd - "welcome"

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith
Editor, Lexington Advertiser
Lexington, Mississippi

Hon. John Kennedy
Holly Springs, Mississippi

Mr. Travis McCharen
Director, Vocational Rehabilitation
State Department of Education
Jackson, Mississippi

Senator James R. Christenberry
Rolling Fork, Mississippi

Senator John Clark Love,
Kosciusco, Mississippi

Senator Gillespie V. Montgomery
Meridian, Mississippi

Representative James N. Bailey, Jr.
Coffeeville, Mississippi

Representative Edgar Lee Boteler, Jr.
Grenada, Mississippi

Representative Philip D. Bryant
Oxford, Mississippi

Representative William C. Butler
Eupora, Mississippi

Representative James P. Dean
Corinth, Mississippi

Representative Charles M. Deaton
Greenwood, Mississippi

Representative Eugene B. Gifford
Rienzi, Mississippi

Representative John D. Guyton
Kosciusco, Mississippi

Representative Horace L. Meridith
Greenville, Mississippi

Representative Ray S. Mikell
Kosciusko, Mississippi

Representative Albert V. Miller
Rolling Fork, Mississippi

Representative George W. Rogers
Vicksburg, Mississippi

Representative Billy W. Shelton
Tupelo, Mississippi

<u>10 Copies Each</u>

Rev. Murray Cox
2316 27th Ave.
Gulfport, Mississippi

Dr. James W. Silver
University of Mississippi
Oxford, Mississippi

Dr. A. D. Beittel
President, Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

50 Copies

Mr. A. Eugene Cox ✓
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

March 7, 1962

Mr. J. D. DeBlieux
DeBlieux, Wilson & Guidry
105 Courthouse Office Building
233 St. Ferdinand Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. DeBlieux:

We are most grateful for the listing of district attorneys and assistants, received today. If we can be of any possible assistance to you, please call on us.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

DE BLIEUX, WILSON & GUIDRY
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
105 COURTHOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
233 ST. FERDINAND STREET
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

J. D. DE BLIEUX
BILLY ORAN WILSON
CARL A. GUIDRY

TELEPHONE DI 4-2686

March 6, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In answer to a request from Mr. Benjamin Muse, I am enclosing a list of the district attorneys and their assistants, of the judicial districts of the State of Louisiana.

With best regards, I am

Very truly yours,

J. D. DeBLIEUX

JDD/mm

Enclosure

cc: Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

DISTRICT ATTORNEYS AND ASSISTANTS of the STATE OF LOUISIANA

First Judicial District (Caddo Parish)

District Attorney	John A. Richardson Shreveport, Louisiana
1st Assistant	Albert S. Lutz, Jr. Shreveport, Louisiana
2nd Assistant	C. J. Bolin, Jr. Shreveport, Louisiana
3rd Assistant	Garner R. Miller Shreveport, Louisiana

Second Judicial District (Bienville, Claiborne and Jackson Parishes)

District Attorney	Fred L. Jackson Homer, Louisiana
Assistant	W. Jackson Emmons Jonesboro, Louisiana

Third Judicial District (Lincoln and Union Parishes)

District Attorney	Ragan D. Madden Ruston, Louisiana
Assistant	James T. Spencer Farmerville, Louisiana

Fourth Judicial District (Morehouse and Ouachita Parishes)

District Attorney	Albin P. Lassiter Monroe, Louisiana
1st Assistant	Gilbert T. Brown, Jr. Monroe, Louisiana
2nd Assistant	Joe Rolfe White Bastrop, Louisiana
3rd Assistant	Hillyer S. Parker Monroe, Louisiana

Fifth Judicial District (Franklin, Richland and West Carroll Parishes)

District Attorney	E. Rudolph McIntyre Winnsboro, Louisiana
1st Assistant	William R. Coenen Rayville, Louisiana
2nd Assistant	W. Sartis Bassett Oak Grove, Louisiana

Sixth Judicial District (East Carroll, Madison and Tensas Parishes)

District Attorney	Thompson L. Clarke St. Joseph, Louisiana
Assistant	Cliff C. Adams Tallulah, Louisiana

Seventh Judicial District (Catahoula and Concordia Parishes)

District Attorney	D. W. Gibson Harrisonburg, Louisiana
Assistant	Roy S. Halcomb Vidalia, Louisiana

Eighth Judicial District (Grant and Winn Parishes)

District Attorney	Sam L. Wells Colfax, Louisiana

Ninth Judicial District (Rapides Parish)

District Attorney	F. Jean Pharis Alexandria, Louisiana
1st Assistant	A. M. D'Angelo Alexandria, Louisiana
2nd Assistant	Jules L. Davidson, Jr. Alexandria, Louisiana

Tenth Judicial District (Natchitoches and Red River Parishes)

District Attorney	George T. Anderson Coushatta, Louisiana
Assistant	Ronald C. Martin Natchitoches, Louisiana

Eleventh Judicial District (DeSoto and Sabine Parishes)

District Attorney	J. Reuel Boone Many, Louisiana
Assistant	Jack Edward Burgess Mansfield, Louisiana

Twelfth Judicial District (Avoyelles Parish)

District Attorney	A. J. Roy, Jr. Marksville, Louisiana

Thirteenth Judicial District (Evangeline Parish)

District Attorney	L. O. Fusilier Ville Platte, Louisiana
Assistant	Jean William Pucheu Ville Platte, Louisiana

Fourteenth Judicial District (Calcasieu and Cameron Parishes)

District Attorney	Frank T. Salter, Jr. Lake Charles, Louisiana
1st Assistant	Henry L. Yelverton Lake Charles, Louisiana
2nd Assistant	Jack C. Watson Lake Charles, Louisiana
3rd Assistant	Charles W. Richard Lake Charles, Louisiana
4th Assistant	Jennings B. Jones Cameron, Louisiana

Fifteenth Judicial District (Acadia, Lafayette and Vermilion Parishes)

District Attorney	Bertrand DeBlanc Lafayette, Louisiana
1st Assistant	Charles T. Everett Crowley, Louisiana
2nd Assistant	J. Nolan Sandoz Abbeville, Louisiana
3rd Assistant	William E. Logan, Jr. Lafayette, Louisiana

Sixteenth Judicial District (Iberia, St. Martin and St. Mary Parishes)

District Attorney	Knowles M. Tucker New Iberia, Louisiana
1st Assistant	Michael J. McNulty, Jr. Franklin, Louisiana
Assistant	Patrick T. Caffery New Iberia, Louisiana

Seventeenth Judicial District (Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes)

District Attorney	Wilmore J. Broussard, Jr. Houma, Louisiana
Assistant	Herbert O'Niell Thibodaux, Louisiana

Eighteenth Judicial District (Iberville, Pointe Coupee and West Baton Rouge Parishes)

District Attorney	Samuel C. Cashio Plaquemine, Louisiana
Assistant	Charles H. Dameron Port Allen, Louisiana

Nineteenth Judicial District (East Baton Rouge Parish)

District Attorney	Sargent Pitcher, Jr. Baton Rouge, Louisiana
1st Assistant	Alex W. Wall Baton Rouge, Louisiana
2nd Assistant	Ralph L. Roy Baton Rouge, Louisiana
3rd Assistant	John F. Ward, Jr. Baton Rouge, Louisiana
4th Assistant	Mrs. Charlie Holcombe Pitcher Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Twentieth Judicial District (East Feliciana and West Feliciana Parishes)

District Attorney	Richard H. Kilbourne Clinton, Louisiana

Twenty-First Judicial District (Livingston, St. Helena and Tangipahoa Parishes)

District Attorney	Duncan S. Kemp Amite, Louisiana
1st Assistant	W. M. Dawkins Livingston, Louisiana
2nd Assistant	Leonard E. Yokum Amite, Louisiana

Twenty-Second Judicial District (St. Tammany and Washington Parishes)

District Attorney	Woodrow W. "Squinch" Erwin Franklinton, Louisiana
Assistant	Julian J. Rodrigue Covington, Louisiana

Twenty-Third Judicial District (Ascension, Assumption and St. James Parishes)

District Attorney	Aubert D. Talbot Napoleonville, Louisiana
Assistant	Charles Stanlye Becnel Convent, Louisiana

Twenty-Fourth Judicial District (Jefferson Parish)

District Attorney	Frank H. Langridge Gretna, Louisiana
1st Assistant	Waverly A. Henning Gretna, Louisiana
2nd Assistant	Nestor L. Currault, Jr. Gretna, Louisiana
3rd Assistant	Richard A. Thalheim Gretna, Louisiana
4th Assistant	Gordon L. Bynum Gretna, Louisiana

Twenty-Fifth Judicial District (Plaquemines and St. Bernard Parishes)

District Attorney	Leander H. Perez, Jr. Pointe-a-la-Hache, Louisiana
Assistant	Leander H. Perez Pointe-a-la-Hache, Louisiana
Assistant	August A. Nobile, Jr. Chalmetter, Louisiana

Twenty-Sixth Judicial District (Bossier and Webster Parishes)

District Attorney	Louis H. Padgett, Jr. Benton, Louisiana
1st Assistant	John B. Benton, Jr. Minden, Louisiana
2nd Assistant	Monty M. Wyche Benton, Louisiana

Twenty-Seventh Judicial District (St. Landry Parish)

District Attorney	J. Y. Fontenot Opelousas, Louisiana
Assistant	Morgan J. Goudeau, III Opelousas, Louisiana

Twenty-Eighth Judicial District (LaSalle and Caldwell Parishes)

District Attorney	Cameron C. Minard Columbia, Louisiana

Twenty-Ninth Judicial District (St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes)

District Attorney	Melvin P. Barre Edgard, Louisiana
Assistant	George T. Oubre Hahnville, Louisiana
Assistant	Roland J. St. Martin Edgard, Louisiana

Thirtieth Judicial District (Beauregard and Vernon Parishes)

District Attorney	Peter S. Anderson Leesville, Louisiana
Assistant	Leland H. Coltharp, Jr. DeRidder, Louisiana

Thirty-First Judicial District (Allen and Jefferson Davis Parishes)

District Attorney	Bernard N. Marcantel Jennings, Louisiana
Assistant	Alfred R. Ryder Oberlin, Louisiana

COPY

Address:
Box 312, Manassas, Va.

February 28, 1962

Hon. J. D. De Blieux
233 St. Ferdinand St.
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Senator:

It occurs to me that a considerable distribution of the enclosed might be helpful in Louisiana.

I read of an address recently by Putnam to the Louisiana district attorneys. Could you provide us with a list of Louisiana district attorneys or other mailing lists for useful distribution of this reprint?

Any help in this connection would be appreciated. Mailing lists should be addressed to Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

I appreciated your letter of last October. Hope all is going well with you.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

December 6, 1963

Mr. Ben Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Enclosed please find the letter and postal card that was mailed along with the recent distribution of our L-46 Report.

Our distribution went to the chambers of commerce; interagency groups, labor; state groups; all purpose list; government agencies and congressmen; and, members of state advisory groups. The total number mailed came to 1,579; to date, we have received 1,060 responses, the large majority of which were requests to remain on our L-Report mailing list. We had quite a few removals, surprisingly, from a number of chambers of commerce.

In addition to the cards, we have received considerable written correspondence, expressing appreciation for and the usefulness of the L-Reports. I am sure that on your next visit to the office, you would like to take a look at this file.

The Annual Meeting has been scheduled for January 29-30. We look forward to seeing you then. Our best regards to Mrs. Muse.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

MG

February 11, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Attached is a loose translation of notes on our discussions of plans for reports on cities that have made progress handling racial problems.

Let me know if this doesn't jibe with your understanding of what we are after.

It looks like it'll be the last week in February before I can shake loose, after all.

It was good to see you again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

Enclosure

REPORTS ON SOUTHERN CITIES

1. Problems, past and future:

What the problems were as local people saw them.

What they did, how they handled.

Opposition...who and what.

What they learned.

How they see problems ahead.

2. Sources:

Officials, government and civic.

Editors, reporters.

Negro leadership.

Business leadership.

Biracial Committee people

3. Present Situation:

Schools.

Police.

Public Accommodations.

Demonstrations.

Biracial Communication.

Jobs (government and private).

Housing.

4. Public opinion:

Attitude of press.

Role of church.

5. Work and organization of the biracial committee.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Ben Muse to cover Louisville, Ky., and Memphis, Tenn. Pat Watters to cover Charlotte, N. C., Brunswick, Ga., Baton Rouge, La. Little Rock, Ark., a possibility later.

Other cities considered: Lexington, Ky.; Norfolk, Richmond, Va.; Mobile, Ala.; Nashville, Knoxville, Tenn.; Savannah, Ga.; Winston-Salem, Durham, N. C.; Charleston, S. C.; St. Petersburg, Fla.

Field study to be done by March 31...Writing by April 30... Drafts will be about 40 pages...With an introduction covering all the reports drawing conclusions, citing similarities...A pamphlet condensing these reports may be done...In each city, one or two local friends should be lined up to read the drafts for accuracy. Letters of introduction will be sought from Mayors Association Committee.

March 23, 1964

Mr. Ben Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Barbara and Sue have pretty much assembled some background information on Memphis; they are making a final check, and a packet will be off to you well before this week's end.

Incidentally, when I was in Washington recently, I met a young man who is on the staff of the Memphis Commercial Appeal, but is working this year as a Congressional fellow in the office of Atlanta's Congressman Charles Weldner. His name is C. O. Gregory, Jr., and he seems to know a helluva lot about Memphis, particularly about the pace and progress of the city's race relations. Just a suggestion, but since you are so close to the Capitol you might want to get in touch with him. I don't think it would be a waste of time; indeed it may prove to be time well spent.

Plese give Mrs. Muse our best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

file
N.U. - files

August 11, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I was in Memphis on last Thursday, and was very pleased to see the enclosed articles in the Memphis Press-Scimitar. I am sure that you will be just as pleased with their content.

As per your request, we will see that you get all of the Council's publications. I believe Nobbie mailed you copies of the Memphis report.

Thank you for the invitation to come to Manassas. When I am in Washington, with a moment to spare, you can count on my coming down to visit with you and Mrs. Muse.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Director

VEJ/mmj
Enclosures - 2.
Articles from Memphis Press-Scimitar, 8/6/64
re: Memphis report (Ben Muse)

~~VJ~~ N.M. files

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

August 4,1964

Mr.Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.,N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Vernon:

My check for $189.08 is enclosed in settlement of my account for SRC equipment. 8-7-64 r

Has my Special Report on Memphis been published? If so, I would like to have a couple of copies.

I'd sent these N.M.

I would like to receive all publications, including mimeographs, issued by the Council. Could you make this a regular rule of your mailing service?

Congratulations on your passing the Arkansas Bar Examination. Of course this will be helpful in politics as in other respects. I would like to hear more of your political venture.

I hope you will let me know when anything brings you to Washington with time to spare. It would give me pleasure to pick you up and bring you to my place for a visit, maybe for the night.

My wife joins me in warm regards to you and Mrs Jordan

Best of luck.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

March 24, 1964

Mr. Ben Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation yesterday morning, staff meeting is set for Monday morning, April 6, about 9:30.

Looking forward to seeing you at that time. Our best regards to Mrs. Muse.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

April 28, 1964

Mr. Ben Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Assume by now you have the copy of the Charlotte manuscript. If not, let me know. I don't think the handling reflects much close contact with Les on the matter. I gather he is happy for each of us to go our individualistic ways---which is a proper way for an editor to be, I think. I'm ready to begin writing Brunswick, and will try in it for more coherent organization---like yours on Louisville; although already the people threaten to overwhelm my organization. I'm anxious to compare notes with you when these are all done on what to me has been a very heartening gain (or regaining) of respect for leadership and people, as exemplified in these cities.

I haven't finished your book, but as far as I have gotten, it is engrossing reading. It shows, I think better than anything I've read on the subject, how essential understanding of the setting is to the writing of history. You ought to feel mighty good with the achievement.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Box 312, Manassas, Va.

April 23, 1964

Dear Pat:

I would appreciate receiving a copy of one of your reports (probably Charlotte) to see how you--who are in close contact with Les--are handling this project. Air Mail.

Best regards.

Ben Muse

Dear Ben:

Assume by now you have the copy of the Charlotte manuscript. If not, let me know. I don't think the handling reflects much close contact with Les on the matter. I gather he is happy for each of us to go our individualistic ways-- which is a proper way for an editor to be, I think. I'm ready to begin writing Brunswick, and will try in it for more coherent organization-- like yours on Louisville; although already the people threaten to overwhelm my organization again. I'M anxious to compare notes with you when these are all done on what to me has been a very heartening gain (or regaining) of respect for leadership and people, as exemplified in these cities.

I haven't finished your book, but as far as I have gotten, it is engrossing reading. It shows, I think better than anything I've read on the subject, how essential understanding of the setting is to the writing of history. You ought to feel mighty good with the achievement.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

June 22, 1964

Mr. Ben Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am enclosing, at the request of Mr. Dunbar, reproductions of some news clips, concerning the Louisville and Charlotte Reports.

Please give Mrs. Muse our best.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

/nm
Enclosures
(As stated above)

July 29, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Post Office - Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Thanks for your reminder of our arrangement on SRC office equipment. According to our records, the SRC equipment presently in your possession is as follows:

Electric portable typewriter	$190.27
Postal scale	10.95
File cabinets	133.15
Typewriter stand	15.00
Card file case	21.02
Folding table	7.77
Total	$378.16

As per our agreement, you are to reimburse the Council one-half of the total amount of each purchase. Therefore, the total amount for reimbursements comes to $189.08.

Thank you for your good political wishes. I hope my aspirations will pan out. You would be interested to know that I am going to be admitted to the Arkansas Bar; having just received word that I passed the Arkansas Bar Examination, which makes me a full-fledged lawyer. That ought to be a political asset?

My regards to Mrs. Muse.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

July 22,1964

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Dear Vernon:

Please give me the figure for the items of SRC office equipment which I am retaining. One half the cost would be fine.

Don't forget to let me know and come to see us when you are in the Washington area.

Good luck and good politics'

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

752 3334

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

June 1,1964

Office equipment purchased with SRC funds:

Electric portable typewriter (1959)	$190.27
Postal scale (1960)	10.95
File cabinets (1959)	133.15
Typewriter stand (1960)	15.00
Card file case (1961)	21.02
Folding table (1963)	7.77
	378.16

2 | 378.16 | $189.08

2
17
16
18
18
16
16

August 18, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter received today from Mrs. Vivion Brewer, an SRC Board Member from Arkansas. I pass it along to you for your information.

I talked to Les today, who called us all the way from the Grand Canyon. It appears he is having a wonderful vacation.

My regards to you and Mrs. Muse and I hope that we will get to see you sometime.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:slw
Enclosures

Sent - "Price the Pay"
"Law Enforcement Injuries"

File

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

June 27,1965

Dear Pat:

Your comment on my Ms. did me a lot of good. One asks nonchalantly for ruthless criticism, and it is helpful, of course, but I find flattery more so! On a long pull like mine one needs a little encouragement. Many thanks.

Your "Encounter with the Future"--which came today--is a fait acompli, but let me say that it is admirable. It must help many, as it did me, to understand the problems of Snick and militant youth.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

June 21, 1965

Dear Ben:

As promised, I read over Chapter 4, and find nothing much to suggest or quarrel with. The VEP material is sound. There were some interesting episodes of VEP like the Greenwood, Mississippi demonstrations that might bear mentioning. Also the point that often what would start as a voter registration program would develop into a demonstration movement--as in Americus and of course Selma. Maybe you plan to get into such matters later.

The only other point I can see worth mentioning is that in the discussion of unpreparedness for jobs on pp. 109-110, there is the situation where employers tend to demand more thorough qualifications for Negroes than for whites. I think this is probably truest of middle-level jobs--secretaries, sales people and the like.

Again, my congratulations. I have passed the chapter on to Lloyd.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mpa

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia 22110

June 21, 1965

Dear Ben:

I am the culprit responsible for your not having heard before now from us on the enclosed chapters. They are, incidentally, none of the bad things you say--but as impressive and cogent as Ten Years of Prelude. I've been carrying them around in my briefcase, reading bits and pieces at odd minutes for longer than I care to admit. I went over them all again today, and offer the following for whatever it might be worth:

p. 33: I'm not sure shooting of the Negro boy was unintentional. The accounts that day were that he was ordered to halt and kept running and was shot--in the head, I think.

p. 56: Might be well to make distinction between deep South press and the rest, particularly Mississippi and Alabama--still almost uniformly bad.

p. 59: There has been criticism of the Justice Department on the score of not making arrests when the FBI witnesses violations of civil rights, and for the pressing of perjury charges of obstructing justice against Albany civil rights workers after having failed to prosecute such acts as the caning of a civil rights leader by the sheriff of Dougherty County.

p. 62: We were critical of the claims made by Plan for Progress for Atlanta in a study by Fred Powledge of the actual achievements.

p. 67: Point about the soldiers changing behavior and then attitudes is such an obvious but overlooked thing. I guess

this is about the best test of integration of the average run of folks there is.

p. 79: The firing or harrassing out of the state of nearly all the young Methodist ministers who signed a brotherhood manifesto year before last in Mississippi might be a good illustration of what you describe here.

As you can see, even on the nit-picking level, I don't find much wrong. Overall, I can't say too strongly how much I admire it. And the need for such a book is great. I just got through reading four new books on last summer's events in Mississippi and was struck by the inaccuracies and ignorances about the events leading up to last summer. I said at the time what a shame these writers didn't have the kind of reference and record your book will be.

I am resolved to read and make notes on chapter four before I leave today and pass it on to Lloyd. Les says he is looking forward to the chunk of manuscript you promised him.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia 22100

September 28, 1965

Dear Ben:

Emory Via (who is with the Council for the year working on labor education) and I have fly-specked; but beyond that, this looks like the same excellent quality and even keel achieved in the previous.

The gem-clipped note on page 134 raises a question of whether your account on the final vote is correct.

Emory suggests one other person to check the manuscript if you feel any need for it. He is Jack Beidler, Legislative Representative, Industrial Union Department, 815 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. He was in on the legislative infighting.

Again, thanks and keep up the good work.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - 1

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Rec'd 10/8/65

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

October 6,1965

Dear Pat:

Thanks again, and thank Emory Via. I am glad he is back in SRC.

Regarding the number of Southern representatives voting for the bill, I have indicated in the Ms. that I am using "Southern" as referring to the 11 former Confederate states. However, you led me to correct my figure of seven, which should have been eight.

You suggested that you would check your surmise that the Justice Dept. relied entirely on the commerce clause in the public accomodations cases. I would appreciate having this verification when you get to it.

All best.

Ben

November 1, 1965

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

With the use of the files of the Voter Education Project and other materials, a book is being produced on Negro registration and voting in the South, with some particulars about the political impact already and some projections for the future.

Could you spare the time to answer questions on the sheet enclosed, along with any other thoughts you may have on these matters? It may be that you would prefer to pass some of the questions to others there. In either case, we think your help on this would be of great value to us.

We would like for the material to be firm enough to be publishable, though in certain instances you may wish to inform us of a situation that you also would caution us to disguise or to use without attribution to the persons involved. The form of the memorandum is inconsequential. Probably none of it will be used verbatim.

It is our hope to get this in hand by mid-November.

We would certainly appreciate your aid.

Sincerely yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosures-3.

Attached letter also sent to the following persons:

Virginia:

Ben Muse
Dr. Edward E. Haddock
Col. Francis Pickens Miller

Mississippi:

Kenneth Dean
Dan Beittel
Mrs. Martin Harvey

North Carolina

Raymond Wheeler
John Wheeler
Fred Alexander
Marion A. Wright

South Carolina

Alice Spearman
James McBride Dabbs

Georgia

Frances Pauley

Louisiana

Martin Harvey
Albert Dent
Dr. James Oliver

Tennessee

Mrs. Martha Ragland
George Barrett

Arkansas

Nathaniel Griswald and Ozell Sutton (joint letter)

Florida

Edwyn Lewis
George Lewis, II
Theodore R. Gibson

Alabama

Nat Welch (sent to Atlanta address)
Ed Stanfield
C. G. Gomillion

November 2, 1965

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Forgive me for being so inexcusably laggard. I think the enclosed makes it clear that the courts relied on the interstate commerce clause. I can't find the article I was looking for saying for certain that justice relied entirely on it, so maybe it would be better to leave it as the courts.

I hope all is well with you, and I am looking forward to seeing you and Mrs. Muse at the Annual Meeting.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosures

November 5, 1965

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Mr. Dunbar requested that I send you the enclosed clipping, in the event you had not already seen it.

Our best regards to Mrs. Muse.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

/nm
Enclosure

December 8, 1965

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am indeed grateful for your kind letter of November 24. Mrs. Nobbie Morgan, administrative secretary, has already cleared up one of the things you mentioned. I shall ask Pat Watters to let me have a look at the draft chapters of your book.

While I was in New York a few days ago, Les and Peggy Dunbar asked about you and your wife. They wondered if I had met you at SRC's Annual Meeting.

I wish you continued success in your undertakings.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

December 2, 1965

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Presently, Mr. Adams is in New York. He will, however, return next week, and at that time I will bring your letter to his immediate attention.

The matter concerning your receiving duplicate copies of our publications has been cleared up. You will get one copy of every publication.

Please give Mrs. Muse my best regards.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary

/nm

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

November 24

Mr. Sam Adams
Dear Sam:

I have been getting duplicate copies of press releases, etc. from SRC, which suggests that my name may be entered twice on your addressing tape. You may want to correct this. ~~BmxX~~ One copy of everything is enough for me, but I don't want to miss that!

For the past year, I have been sending chapters in preliminary draft of my book on the Negro revolution to Pat Watters. Do you have time to go over some of these? I would appreciate any comment from you.

SA

I enjoyed meeting you at the annual meeting. If you are ever in these parts with time to spare, I hope you will pay us a visit.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

TEN YEARS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE. THE STORY OF INTEGRATION SINCE THE SUPREME COURT'S 1954 DECISION. *By Benjamin Muse. New York: The Viking Press,* 1964. 308 *pp.* $5.00.

An attempt to chronicle a contemporary event of the scope of the Negro Revolution in America must be something like televising a football game. Not only must one catch the total range of play "on the field", one must also attempt to capture, on "isolated camera" as it were, those individual performances which might in time determine the outcome of the entire contest.

Benjamin Muse has handled both assignments very well. His personal experiences as a Virginia State Senator, together with four years' travel and research under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council have helped to create a vivid and scholarly account of ten decisive years in the struggle for equal rights. The author's remarkable capacity for viewing emotion-laden events objectively while remaining sensitive to the human drama in them has further strengthened his book.

Ten Years of Prelude would be good reading for many Americans for whom the event of integration has thus far been forestalled. A number of important themes are discussed here: the gradual realization by President Eisenhower and by the Supreme Court itself that the 1954 "Brown Decision" to desegregate all public schools needed the aggressive support of the Presidency; the growth of the NAACP to fill the initial void in governmental leadership; the dynamics of politics in the various Southern and Border states; the uneven record of the clergy throughout the civil rights movement; and the short-lived history of such devices as school closing and such concepts as "interposition" within Southern resistance to desegregation.

In addition to charting these larger expanses of social change, Muse has preserved some memorable vignettes: a day in December, 1955, when Mrs. Rosa Parks chose not to give up her seat on an Alabama bus and unwittingly sparked the Montgomery bus boycott; the private decision of four students at North Carolina A. and T. College to sit until served at a Woolworth lunch counter, from which followed massive sit-in demonstrations and the formation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; the venture through an angry mob of The Reverend Paul Turner, respected minister of the established First Baptist Church of Clinton, Tennessee, as he accompanied six Negro students to their classes, and the subsequent reflection upon his beating which returned sanity and moderation to that city.

From the abundance of books being written today about Negroes and their place in American society, a few will achieve permanence. *Ten Years of Prelude* could well be among them.

William A. Charland, Jr.
Clark College

Phylon 1st quarter (Spring) 1965

STATEMENT.

In account with

Telephone: Beaconsfield 4505

DARWEN FINLAYSON LTD.

(PUBLISHERS)

CRENDON HOUSE, STATION ROAD, BEACONSFIELD, BUCKS

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Ben Muse

Encls: Chapter 6 and November, 1965 issue of NEW SOUTH.

March 1, 1966

Dear Ben:

Forgive me for being so long. I am at work on the voter book myself, and have just been letting things slide.

Several of us, including Margaret Long, read over chapter 6. I've noted some small quibblings in the margin. I have chapter 7 and will read it just as soon as I can.

Keep it up. I admire it all the more from experience in my own recent wrestlings.

With kind regards.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 322
Manassas, Virginia

April 1, 1966

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Forgive me for being so long with chapter 7. I just got back to the office from a prolonged stint of work at home on the VEP book.

I think the back of it is broken, anyhow. The enclosed seems to me unfalteringly good. I found even less than the usual to "nitpick." Of course, none of us here know much in detail about the subject matter. For that reason, and since I had it so long, I didn't pass it around among the others. It might be good if you got somebody knowledgeable on the details of the northern movement to have them check it.

I appreciate very much your remarks on the new New South. There are obviously plenty of improvements to be made. I was thinking in terms of what you will have as a general chapter in your book for the magazine. It is hard for me to recall it now, but I thought the first chapter might be so used. If I am wrong, will there be a summarizing, general chapter? Or would it be possible to impose on you to adapt something along these lines? We can pay a pitifully small amount. The main thing is to share the excellent work you are doing. Let me know.

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 3,1966

Paid 5/5/66

Mr.Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council

Dear Pat:

I am enclosing a revised Chapter 1 of my book. This is the take-off for my story; anything like a summary is still a long way off. If you should use this in New South, I would like 3 copies of the issue. If for any reason you find it unusable, please don't hesitate to say so.

It must be a relief to you to be over the hump on the voter registration magnum opus. I have a particularly fraternal feeling just now, as I am working on a chapter on the "long, hot summer" of 1964. This will go forward shortly for your kind and authoritative correction.

All best.

Sincerely,

THE AMERICAN NEGRO REVOLUTION

Chapter 1

The March on Washington

On August 28, 1963, one hundred years and 240 days after the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, 200,000 people marched in Washington in protest against oppression of the Negro minority in the United States. ~~Although 30,000 whites had joined them, they were mostly Negroes.~~ Head high and breast forward they marched, neatly dressed, respectable and self-respecting — Negroes, with 30,000 whites among them. It was called the "March on Washington." But these marchers carried no arms, engaged in no violence, shook no fists. Russell Baker reported in the New York Times: "No one could remember an invading army as gentle as the 200,000 civil-rights marchers who occupied Washington today."

Negroes had begun to gather around the Washington Monument soon after midnight. In the morning sunshine--they were vouchsafed a day of halcyon weather--more than 50,000 dotted that familiar rendezvous of American patriotism: the Monument grounds and the Ellipse, all the halfmile to the high wrought-iron fence around the garden of the White House--whose occupant they regarded as their great and good friend. President Kennedy, apprehensive in the early stages of the project, had later expressed approval and extended a welcome. He would receive ten of the leaders in the afternoon for a cordial, hour-long chat.

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(Former President Eisenhower had expressed approval of the March; Senator Barry Goldwater had expressed approval; former President Truman had disapproved, while expressing support for pending civil-rights legislation.)

On all roads leading to Washington the multitude poured in. In addition to those brought by private automobiles and regular trains, buses and airplanes, 1,514 special buses and 21 special trains had been pressed into service. Bus loads had come all the way from Los Angeles and San Francisco with three nights on the road. At midday the mass of humanity began to move down Constitution and Independence Avenues to the Lincoln Memorial for ceremonies and speeches. Marchers carried signs calling for FREEDOM NOW, DECENT HOUSING NOW, JOBS AND FREEDOM and other desiderata of the movement.

They were singing most of the time--a variety of songs: hymns and spirituals, patriotic airs, improvised chants of protest. Fervent voices joined repeatedly in the Battle Hymn of the Republic -- "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord...." Rising at all times from some section of the throng were the slow cadences of an old hymn now familiar to millions as the anthem of a nonviolent revolution. "We Shall Overcome" had none of the fire of the "Marseillaise," none of the jaunty swing of "Giovenezza." Though thousands had sung it in the face of angry police and in patrol wagons on the way to jail, it was not a song with which to charge an

enemy in battle. The "someday" schedule for triumph was hardly consistent with the "NOW" of the placards that marchers carried. The song had a plaintive note:

We shall overcome.
We shall overcome.
We shall overcome someday.
Oh deep in my heart
I do believe
We shall overcome someday.

It was not a hymn of hatred of the white man. Other verses ran:

Black and white together,
We'll walk hand in hand.

But the revolution was here--on dress parade. A hundred years after their escape from slavery, the Negroes of the United States had risen at last, peacefully but in grim earnest, to throw off the other shackles which prejudice and custom had imposed upon them. Viewing the event from a trans-Atlantic perspective, the London Daily Herald said: "America has never seen anything like it. Today, without question, the clock jumped and history changed." Not in that one day, but in four months the hands of the clock had indeed taken a mighty leap.

A few Negro intellectuals had preached rebellion since

the turn of the century. Some date the beginning of the revolution from the broadening of racial horizons in World War II, some from the great Supreme Court decision of 1954, some from the Negro resistance to bus segregation in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1956. Who can say when a revolution begins? But since an explosion in Birmingham, Alabama, the previous April and May the Negro revolt had been dynamic, nationwide and visible to all.

The Supreme Court's Brown decision of May 17, 1954, declaring public school segregation unconstitutional, had been the greatest milestone in the Negro's advance since Emancipation. With its subsequent elaboration that pronouncement removed the last legal foundation for segregation, not only of public schools, but of libraries, auditoriums, parks and all manner of facilities supported by public funds. The dismantling of this mechanism of caste in the South had proved a painful process, often attended by turmoil and violence, and in 1963 it still had a long way to go.

In 1956 the Negroes of Montgomery launched an effective boycott of the buses of that city, and the South was startled. At the time and place it seemed to whites an act of incredible effrontery. It was in protest against the then common practice of segregating Negroes in the back of the bus and giving seating preference to whites; Montgomery Negroes wanted to be treated like other passengers. They persevered for many months, walking to work or crowding into the cars of overworked Negro

motorists. And their demands were ultimately upheld by the Supreme Court. Even more important perhaps than this Negro initiative itself was the emergence from it of a leader and a philosophy which were destined to have a profound impact upon the great movement of the 1960's. The leader was Dr. Martin Luther King, the scholarly pastor of a Negro Baptist church and a student of Mahatma Ghandi. King quickly became a national figure and began to call Negroes everywhere to a nonviolent crusade.

The sit-ins of 1960 were another resounding step in the rising of the Negro, and they produced a famous technique of the revolution. The sit-in, with its later variations--the pray-in, the wade-in, etc.--was the act of breaking through barriers of prejudice and custom to enter restaurants, churches, beaches and other places formerly reserved for whites. The technique had been employed earlier in isolated instances, but the sit-in movement was born on February 1, 1960. On that day four Negro college students walked into a variety store in Greensboro, North Carolina, took seats at a lunch counter traditionally reserved for whites and ordered coffee. They were not served, but they lingered until closing time and came back to complete the performance the next day, and the next--until they were joined by scores of other Negro students and hundreds more picketed outside. Meanwhile the sit-in movement spread rapidly. Soon Negores were sitting-in and picketing at lunch counters in a dozen Southern cities. And in a few months the race barriers at last began to fall.

Out of the Montgomery agitation Martin Luther King had launched a new organization, which he named the "Southern Christian Leadership Conference" (colloquially shortened to SCLC).. In 1960 he presided over the birth of another. In the excitement of the first wave of sit-ins 200 youths, representing most of the Negro colleges, met in Raleigh, North Carolina, and, exhorted by Dr. King, set up the "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee" (SNCC, often called "Snick"). The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which since its establishment in 1909 had borne the brunt of the Negro struggle, the National Urban League, which for almost as long had aided city Negroes in many ways; and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) were thus joined by two other burgeoning organizations. All together they were to become the Big Five of the civil-rights movement.

Meanwhile CORE, after functioning inconspicuously in the North since 1942, sprang into aggressive action. In 1961, in the most daring Negro militancy thus far, it launched "Freedom Rides" across the South to break down remaining segregation on interstate buses and in bus and railway terminals. The Freedom Riders, defying the old seating rules, were little molested until their buses reached Alabama, but they were attacked by ferocious white mobs in that state and they were jailed by police in Mississippi.

In April and early May 1963 Martin Luther King led an

attack in a series of massive demonstrations upon the whole power structure of the city of Birmingham. King decided on this move, against the advice of cautious liberals, because, he said, "Birmingham is the symbol of racial segregation." The Alabama metropolis was indeed the most segregated of all the large cities in the United States; its schools, theaters, restaurants, drinking fountains, etc. were totally segregated. It was a hotbed of explosive intolerance: in six years it had seen ~~fifty~~ 50 Ku Klux Klan-style cross-burnings and ~~eighteen~~ 18 anti-Negro bombings, for which no one had been punished. Now wave after wave of Negroes, including hundreds of children, poured into the Birmingham streets, and were repressed by police with spectacular brutality. Many were injured; over 3,000 were arrested. The name of "Bull Connor," the raucous city commissioner who directed the Birmingham police, became a byword throughout the nation. During the same period Negro agitation was savagely dealt with also in Jackson, Mississippi, a smaller city, where Negro subservience was even more harshly enforced.

All of this turbulence was luridly publicized throughout the country. Photos of men, women and children being beaten, attacked by police dogs and knocked down with streams of water from fire hoses filled press and television. And the centuries-old patience of Negroes in America came at last to an end. In the words of the Negro writer Louis Lomax, "the collective snap of the Negro spirit boomed like thunder across

the nation." With Birmingham as a symbol, but acutely conscious of discrimination suffered in every American community, a quarter of a million Negroes took to the streets in demonstrations in forty cities.

With this fire raging it was not surprising that the President should propose legislation for relief of the Negro of such boldness and sweep as a few months earlier would have seemed impossible. President Kennedy had in fact made some recommendations in this field in February (which already seemed a long time ago). He had requested Congress to require that evidence of a sixth-grade education should be substituted for the literacy tests which in many sections of the South were manipulated to prevent Negroes from registering to vote, that federal referees should be authorized to register Negro voters in certain circumstances, that federal assistance should be authorized to school districts faced with the desegregation problem, and that the life of the Civil Rights Commission should be extended for four more years. Though these recommendations were recognized as inadequate by liberals the President evidently sensed that this was as much as Congress and the nation were ready for. The time was ripe now for something vastly more farreaching.

President Kennedy prepared the way in a television speech June 11 at a moment when a flare-up over desegregation of the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa had riveted the nation's attention on the racial turmoil. Alabama's fiery Governor

George Wallace, defying a federal court order, had stood at the front door of the university's administration building and personally barred two Negro students from entering. The impasse was broken only when the commanding general of federalized National Guardsmen appeared with orders from the President. Two hours later President Kennedy addressed the nation. He referred only briefly to the melodrama at the University of Alabama, then pointed to the "fires of frustration and discord...burning in every city, North and South,"--"a moral crisis," he said, which "cannot be met by repressive police action... It is time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body and, above all, in all of our daily lives."

Later the same night, in the early hours of June 12, the Negro revolt was furnished with an authentic martyr: Medgar Evers, field secretary of the NAACP in Mississippi, was assassinated. The Negro leader was shot from ambush as he returned to his home from a civil-rights rally in Jackson.

On June 19 President Kennedy submitted his program to Congress. It called for: 1) a ban on the exclusion of any person on account of his race from hotels, restaurants, stores, places of amusement or other facilities; 2) authority for the Attorney General to file suits to speed desegregation of public schools and colleges when those affected could not afford to do so or feared reprisals; 3) a statutory basis for the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; 4)

a ban on discrimination in all federally-assisted programs and activities, with authority to withhold federal funds in cases of violation; and 5) the establishment of a Community Relations Service to help communities through disputes and difficulties in the elimination of racial discrimination. The President also urged prompt action on his proposals submitted earlier. "Enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1963 at this session of Congress," he said--"however long it may take and however troublesome it may be--is imperative." The package was to overshadow all other business of the Congress during most of the ensuing year. It would be modified and amended many times, and in some respects strengthened, before emerging as the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

While these proposals were being digested and debated by press and public and by committees of Congress--eight months would elapse before they reached the floor of the House of Representatives--the Negro demonstrations continued and spread to more cities. Scrupulously nonviolent they were as a rule, but disorder in the streets became a familiar sight. The prospect of a crowning demonstration in the nation's capital was viewed therefore with no little apprehension. A large gathering of Negroes there in the existing atmosphere, it was feared, could hardly be restrained from violent rampage. Some Southern segregationists, indeed, seemed actually to hope for a convulsion that would embarrass the Negro movement. Women government workers in Washington awaited the event

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FOOTNOTE

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1. Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Pp.118-119

nervously. The Washington Daily News sensed a feeling that the Vandals were coming to sack Rome! The anxiety was felt on the New York Stock Exchange. In this atmosphere Negro leaders and their white allies united in a mighty resolve to make the March on Washington, not only a spectacular demonstration of protest, but a model of order and dignity.

What manner of men were these who sought the full rights of citizens? Much discussion of their condition has started from a casual premise that they were a people which had suffered oppression in this country for "350 years" or "three centuries." That is not precisely the case. The first Negroes, twenty individuals, arrived at Jamestown in 1619; only 30,000 are estimated to have reached the colonies by 1715. Over 300,000 arrived in the eighteenth century, and various authorities estimate that of all the Negro slaves coming to this country about half were imported, or smuggled in, during the first half of the nineteenth century!

Moreover, many of the ancestors of contemporary "American Negroes" were not Negroes. According to the best available evidence and expert opinion, from 70 to 80 per cent of Negro Americans are descended in part from whites. Many have slaveholders among their forebears. Among those of predominantly white ancestry, the more light-skinned would be accepted in other countries as Caucasians. But in the United States every person having a trace of Negro ancestry is classified as a

Negro. Those in this category recognized a common bond, and those classified otherwise were acutely conscious of their separateness from them. Negro Americans were--unhappily from many points of view--a people unto themselves.

There were 18,871,831 of these by the 1960 census. In 1963 the number was estimated at 19.3 million. It was less than 11 per cent of the population of the United States. But it was more than the total population of Canada, or of Yugoslavia or East Germany--more than the entire population of the United States in 1840. It was about the number of the peasants of France at the time of the French Revolution.

What kind of people were they? Segregated and ostracized as they were, few white Americans really knew. The persistence of the old image of Negroes as servants and field hands, often as comical characters, prevented many from recognizing the Negro American of the 1960's. In the South, where Negroes were most numerous, the concept of the new Negro was actually most distorted. The average white Southerner was scarcely aware of the existence of Negroes of culture and refinement, even though some lived among them; these were more isolated than their humbler brethren. In some New England and northwestern states, on the other hand, Negroes were rarely seen. The 1960 census counted only 519 Negroes in the entire state of Vermont, 1,903 in New Hampshire, 777 in North Dakota, 1,467 in Montana. In ten states Negroes were less than one per cent of the total population.

The March on Washington was to millions a revelation. Many white Americans, before television sets, for the first time saw Negroes walking with dignity and heard the words of polished Negro spokesmen. The March presented an illuminating cross-section of the Negro minority and a dramatis personae of the great movement agitating it. It will profit us, therefore, to visit that demonstration again and examine it more closely.

The commander-in-chief of the mammoth demonstration was tall, courtly Asa Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO. Randolph at 74 was the Grand Old Man of the Negro movement. Long a consultant of American Presidents, ~~Randolph~~ he had been instrumental more than any other individual in securing two of the Negro's most significant gains: Franklin Roosevelt's World War II executive order banning discrimination in government-contract employment and Truman's desegregation of the Armed Forces. Randolph had headed a March-on-Washington Committee in 1941, whose March was called off when President Roosevelt moved against job discrimination. He began urging the present march in the winter of 1963, contemplating originally merely a march of jobless Negroes. After the Birmingham upheaval Martin Luther King took up the idea and helped persuade Randolph to broaden the project to embrace

the whole civil-rights cause. CORE and SNCC followed. The NAACP and the Urban League joined with insistence that the march should be orderly and that whites should be included.

Randolph's chief of staff was Bayard Rustin, a tense, chain-smoking Negro intellectual of 53. For Rustin this was the climax of a long career of organizing demonstrations. He had set up the first Aldermaston Ban-the-Bomb protest in Britain, and he led marchers who set off across the Sahara in 1960 to stop a French nuclear explosion. Some of his earlier activities--among them identification with the Young Communist League for several years around the beginning of World War II--had given him a somewhat embarrassing record. Since 1941 Randolph had been his protector, mentor and idol. Rustin's management of the many complex details of the great March--including remarkable step-by-step cooperation with the Washington police--proved a marvel of administrative efficiency, and his voice was to be heard with new authority from then on as a spokesman for the Negro movement.

Randolph headed an official body of ten--six Negroes and four whites--called the Organizing Committee. The other Negroes were leaders of the Big Five civil-rights organizations: Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Martin Luther King of SCLC, James Farmer of CORE, Whitney Young of the National Urban League and John Lewis of SNCC.

Roy Wilkins at 62 was like Randolph a veteran of the Negro struggle. In his manner and speech, and in his appearance, except for the light brownness of his skin, Wilkins resembled a familiar type of white political leader; and he

displayed qualities that might well be called statesmanship. Though he came to the March beaming under a gay NAACP cap and bedecked with slogan buttons, Wilkins' usual approach to problems was one of stubborn dignity and relentless common sense.

Martin Luther King asserted the power of prayer and love. It was related of one of the planning sessions that, when all except King had spoken and the group turned toward him expectantly, the clergyman dropped to his knees and said: "Gentlemen, please let us pray" ! King's religious fervor, his learning, his eloquence, a degree of mysticism and no little histrionic talent had won him nationwide primacy among Negro leaders. To the general public he had become a symbol of the revolution. To millions of Negroes he was a Moses come to lead his people out of Egypt--and in one respect the law-giver: the commandment that he brought down from Mount Sinai to refrain from violence had been embraced by virtually the whole civil-rights movement.

Whitney Young, the executive director of the National Urban League, an alert, imaginative and personable leader of 42, was one of the movement's most respected spokesmen.

All of the organizers of the March on Washington subscribed to the principle of nonviolence, but had this been a revolution of barricades and bullets, it probably would have found its chieftain in tough, masterful James Farmer. An apostle of audacity, more and always audacity, the 43-year-old Farmer suggested a more dapper Danton. But Farmer was not there.

Characteristically on the day of the Washington demonstration he was languishing in a Plaquemines, Louisiana, jail, after leading a night march on the city hall of the fiercely segregated town. CORE was represented by its chairman, Floyd B. McKissick.

Wilkins, King, Young and Farmer--they were the Big Four. It was the nation's great good fortune that the Negro revolt when it came should have found its leaders in men of their character, stability and patriotism. When one spoke of the Big Five, referring to individuals rather than organizations, the fifth was likely to be labor leader Randolph rather than any of the youthful officers of SNCC. Some of the latter ~~should~~ promise—notably its chairman, John Lewis, its executive director James Forman and Robert Moses, a field director, but now ~~had achieved national~~ stature. Lewis, who represented SNCC in the March, was a veteran of the bloody Freedom Rides and many sit-ins; he had been arrested 24 times and would be in jail again four weeks later.

The four white members of the Organizing Committee were distinguished representatives of the three major religious faiths and of organized labor: Mathew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Presbyterian leader and chairman of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches (he was to be elected general secretary of the World Council of Churches in 1966); Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress; and Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile

Workers and vice president of the AFL-CIO. Dr. Blake had himself been arrested for participation in civil-rights demonstrations. Reuther, the second most powerful figure in organized labor, had sharply criticized the action of the AFL-CIO's executive council two weeks earlier when it expressed sympathy with the Negro aims but failed to endorse the March on Washington. Members of his union carried placards proclaiming: "Whenever Men March for Freedom UAW Marches Too."

The number who rallied to the March exceeded all predictions. The leaders had set 100,000 as a hopeful goal and would have regarded it as an achievement if 75,000 had appeared. In the event, the number of participants probably exceeded 200,000; no serious estimates were lower than that figure. Negroes at humble economic levels had used hard-earned savings for the trip. In some Southern towns Washington pilgrims had been aided with contributions by their neighbors, and envious Negroes left at home had cheered their departing comrades. (If any Negro economic level was unrepresented, it was an elusive handful of the very rich — the "35 Negro millionaires" — who, with a few exceptions, displayed little eagerness to change the status quo.)

Jaundiced segregationists in the South had attempted to discredit the March with a warning that it would be infiltrated with Communists and criminals. Some Communists came from New York with the party's secretary Gus Hall; police

estimated the total number of Communists in the throng at 130. Few of the marchers were aware of their presence. And not in many years had Washington passed a day so free from crime. The only persons arrested in connection with the March were three anti-Negro whites. One had stoned a bus on the way to the scene; another had torn a placard from a marcher. The third was Karl R. Allen, "Deputy Leader" of a handful of truculent adventurers who called themselves the "American Nazi Party;" he was speaking on park grounds without a permit.

The Negro-baiting Ku Klux Klan, which preferred night prowls in the Deep South, was nowhere in evidence. At the other pole of racial hatred, the extremist Black Muslims were ingloriously ignored. Only a handful of listeners heard their chief spokesman Malcolm X hold forth in a Washington hotel, denouncing the demonstrators for "seeking favors" from "the white man's government."

A number of well-known whites who were not directly identified with the Negro movement were noted in the crowd. Norman Thomas, the respected Socialist leader, at 79, was "glad I lived long enough to see this day." Harold E. Stassen marched as president of the American Baptist Convention. Mayor Robert Wagner led a contingent of New York city officials and employees. (In both New York and Chicago city employees had been given time-off to participate in the March.) The

Most Reverend Patrick J. O'Boyle, Roman Catholic archbishop of Washington, was to pronounce the invocation at the afternoon ceremonies; ~~Catholic~~ Archbishop Lawrence J. Shehan (now Cardinal) came from Baltimore. Ten Episcopal bishops and fifty rabbis were there. Formal endorsement of the March by many church bodies and the participation of thousands of the clergy and members of church organizations--who made up the bulk of the white contingent--bore witness to the growing effort of religious leaders to arouse the conscience of the nation. A small hostile organization of segregationists and right-wing extremists, called the "American Council of Christian Churches," established "Opposition Headquarters" at the Hotel Washington, but this tiny ripple was lost in the liberal tidal wave of the Negro's Great Day.

Conspicuous in the March also were Negroes famous in fields other than civil-rights organization leadership ~~activism~~--among them: Ralph Bunche, undersecretary of the United Nations and a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize; Jackie Robinson, a former baseball hero recognized as the game's "most valuable player," now a business executive; playwright Ossie Davis; and James Baldwin, some of whose writings on the white man's sin against the Negro were, not only best-sellers but literary masterpieces. ~~a writer whose books were regularly on the national best-seller lists.~~

A platform had been erected on the Washington Monument grounds, where entertainment and exhortation were provided during the forenoon. There the galaxy of stars, both white and Negro, gave evidence of the prominence which Negroes had attained on stage and screen; evidence too of the conspicuous

sympathy of "big-name" white actors with the Negro Movement. Negroes Harry Belafonte, Sidney Poitier, Dick Gregory and Sammy Davis mingled with Marlon Brando, Charlton Heston, Paul Newman, and Burt Lancaster in jovial camaraderie. Conspicuous also were such Negro women celebrities as Lena Horne, Mahalia Jackson, Marian Anderson--and Josephine Baker, who, at 60, had flown over from her long exile in France.

The advertised purpose of the March had been to press for enactment of the civil-rights bill, which was dragging unpromisingly through committees of Congress. Threats of some kind of sit-in maneuver on Capitol Hill had contributed to the earlier alarm. In the procedure which was adopted, members of the Organizing Committee and three other leaders held half-hour conferences during the morning with congressional leaders in an atmosphere of courtesy and restraint.

Congress was grappling at the time with a threatened railroad strike. The House passed the arbitration bill that day. Nevertheless, between 75 and 100 Senators and Representatives reached the demonstration during the afternoon ceremonies. Negroes cheered as they filed in from behind the Lincoln Memorial, and cries of "Roosevelt !", "Humphrey !", "Javits !", arose as favorites were recognized. There were five Negro members of Congress, one of whom was Representative Adam Clayton Powell of New York. A clergyman-politician-playboy, Powell was a problem for civil-rights leaders with whom he was generally at odds, but his swashbuckling tactics

and his air of sophisticated arrogance toward whites were a tonic to the Negro's brow-beaten ego and he had a host of admirers. When this tall, handsome, olive-complexioned man walked down the Memorial steps, many yelled, "Powell !" in jubilant surprise.

The sea of humanity now spread in a semi-circle under the great elms and oaks and stretched almost a mile east from the Lincoln Memorial on both sides of the Reflecting Pool. There the multitude listened for almost three hours to speeches interspersed with songs, amplified from the Memorial steps. Archbishop O'Boyle prayed that Christian love might "replace the coldness that springs from prejudice and bitterness." The revolution's anthem was sung by Joan Baez, who captured as no one else could the strength and poignancy of "We Shall Overcome." Mahalia Jackson's tremendous voice warmed Negro hearts with spirituals.

Speakers called for passage of the civil-rights bill before Congress, but declared that more would be needed. Randolph, Wilkins and Reuther urged that provision for a full-scale Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) should be included in the package (as it later was). Police brutality was denounced: "We are beaten and kicked and maltreated and shot and killed by law enforcement officers," Wilkins said. Dr. Blake sought to arouse the nation's churches. "If all members and all the ministers of the constituency I represent here today," he said, "were ready to

stand and march with you for jobs and freedom for the Negro community, together with all the Roman Catholic Church and all of the synagogues in America, then the battle for full civil rights and dignity would be already won.... We come late--late, late we come..."

SNCC's John Lewis had come to Washington with a prepared speech more warlike than befitted the occasion. When Archbishop O'Boyle read an advance copy the night before, he threatened to withdraw from the program unless changes were made. Aided by Randolph and Reuther, the prelate got the speech revised. Instead of: "We will march through the South, through the heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We shall pursue our own scorched-earth policy and burn Jim Crow to the ground, nonviolently" -- Lewis was induced to say that his people would march through the streets of cities "with the spirit of love and with the spirit of dignity that we have shown here today." Nevertheless, Lewis' originally intended language was indicative of the temper of the youths of the Students' Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, many of whom, learning of the incident later, regretted the change.

Nine speeches had been listened to when Martin Luther King's turn came, yet when the prophet arose a great roar welled up from the crowd. A band played the Battle Hymn of the Republic. He was not a big man and his manner was deliberate and gentle, but his broad, sloping face and heavily-muscled neck and shoulders lent his five-foot-eight frame

an aspect of physical power.

"There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America", he said, "until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges."

But the apostle of nonviolence admonished his people: "In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds... Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny."

King continued with mounting fervor. His delivery was moving though restrained; his thoughts flowed as smoothly as his rich baritone voice. In conclusion, he told of a great dream.

"I have a dream," he said, "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal...'

"I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveholders will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

"I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi,

a state sweltering with the people's injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

"I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

"This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope."[2]

September 17, 1968

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Heron House
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Reston, Virginia 22070

Dear Ben:

I have just seen a copy of your new book. Congratulations. It looks good, and I know the quality of what it says. I hope it gets the recognition it deserves; it will surely have an influence on these perilous times, as well as on the writing of history in the future.

I am looking forward to seeing you and Mrs. Muse at the annual meeting.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

October 11, 1968

Mr.Benjamin Muse
Heron House
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Reston, Virginia 22070

Dear Ben:

Herewith the first review I have seen of your book. We'll keep our eye peeled for others. I think it's going to be a document that will be read for many years to come.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encl. - 1.

Review of, The American Negro Revolution: From Nonviolence to Black Power 1963-1967 by Joseph Boskin article entitled,"Perspective on Black Revolution," Los Angeles Times, October 6, 1968.

File

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HERON HOUSE
RESTON, VIRGINIA 22070

October 17, 1968

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
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Dear Bob:

Let me thank you for this presentation of my piece in the summer issue of NEW SOUTH and for your letter enclosing a Los Angeles Times review of my book. I will appreciate your looking out for further reviews.

They may be hard to find. The apparent allergy of reviewers to my book this time has been disappointing. I take comfort, however, in the good words of friends like you, and in a flattering review in Publishers' Weekly of August 5--"a sturdy, fact-filled analysis....Sober, probing, significant." I had a phone call from a reviewer for America magazine and Fred Routh is doing a review for NAIRO Newsletter. The local Reston paper went to town and the local bookseller is staging an autograph party!

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

November 21, 1968

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Heron House
Apt. 103
Reston, Virginia 22070

Dear Ben:

We did, indeed, turn down an empty cup and hope that we can set it upright with you on hand sooner than next year's annual meeting. Find an excuse or something, but come to see us.

In the meanwhile, I hope your health continues to mend. I have been, in the past, afflicted with the same malady and, can sympathize.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

file
B. Muse

December 2, 1970

Dear Ben:

I hope the enclosed bibliography might be of some help in your quest of the Panthers. It's from The Negro In America, A Bibliography, Second Edition, published this year by Harvard University Press--a useful book generally.

It was good as always seeing you and Mrs. Muse. Keep in touch.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Mr. Benjamin Muse
11442 Waterview Cluster
Reston, Virginia 22070

PW:lb

Enclosures

CROSS REFERENCE:

RE: The American Negro Revolution correspondence and book sales,

SEE:

Southern Regional Council: Annual Meeting - 1968 - Book Sales

File written Sept 25 BN A

We should use sales as selling for annual meeting P

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THE AMERICAN NEGRO REVOLUTION

THE AMERICAN NEGRO REVOLUTION

From Nonviolence to Black Power, 1963-1967

By Benjamin Muse

On August 28, 1963, 100 years after the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, 200,000 black and white citizens marched in Washington to protest against the oppression of black people in the United States. The *London Daily Herald* reported: "America has never seen anything like it. Today, without question, the clock jumped and history changed."

Since 1963 race relations have become America's number one domestic problem. In this book Mr. Muse presents a comprehensive, reliable, and dramatic account of the years of transition from the great nonviolent campaigns of 1963 and 1964, through the Watts outbreak of 1965, to the nationwide riots of 1967. He describes the principal organizations from NAACP to Black Muslims; the principal leaders from Martin Luther King, Jr., to Stokely Carmichael; school boycotts, marches, and demonstrations in North and South; the murders of Medgar Evers, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, and others, and subsequent police and court action (or inaction); the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and their implementation; the 1964 election; and the war on poverty. He discusses the role of federal, state, and local agencies, including the Department of Justice, the police, and the courts; the part played by students and the churches; steps toward integration in public accommodations, schools, and the armed forces; ghetto realities such as unemployment and the disintegration of the Negro family; the "white backlash" in the North; the rise of "Black Power" and its differing interpretations; and the changing image of the black man as seen by himself and by whites. A final chapter summarizes the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968), and an appendix presents the recommendations of the Urban Coalition in August 1967.

No important aspect of the story is neglected. With admirable clarity Mr. Muse sets forth the sequence of events, the trends and problems of the past five years, giving order and meaning to the flood of news stories that has often overwhelmed and confused the concerned citizen.

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—Harold C. Fleming, *Foreword*

BENJAMIN MUSE, one-time Republican gubernatorial nominee, former Virginia State Senator, a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, a Fellow of the Potomac Institute, and winner of the 1962 James Huey Award for Interracial Justice, figures prominently among Southern leaders who have adopted a responsible and rational approach to the problem of integration.

A recognized commentator on the South, Mr. Muse has written articles on Virginia politics and the race problem that have appeared in *Harper's, The Reporter, The Nation,* and *The New Republic.* In addition, he contributed a weekly column and occasional feature articles to the Washington Post for a ten year period. He is author of *Ten Years of Prelude: The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision, Tarheel Tommy Atkins,* and *Virginia's Massive Resistance.*

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File - Ben Muse correspondence

Benjamin Muse, Heron House, Reston, Va. 22070

ADDRESSES WHILE IN EUROPE 1968

Sail Leonardo da Vinci from New York April 23.

Will be in Vienna May 9 through May 20, and mail will be forwarded if arriving after our departure:

c/ Dr. Martin Rokita
Hörnesgasse 2/ F
Vienna 1030
Austria

Will be In london May 24 through June 2 and mail will be forwarded after we leave:

Grosvenor Victoria Hotel
Buckingham Palace Road
London, S.W. 1
England

Will be in Southampton (Bottley) June 10 through June 18:

c/ Maj. Gen. Paul Gleadell
Bottley House
Bottley
Hants
England

Sail Queen Elizabeth June 19 to arrive in New York (and reach Reston) June 25.

Mary: Make extra carbons of the attached stuff — 1 for me, 1 for Les.

PdW

Mr. Ben Muse

etc.

Dear Ben:

Attached is a loose translation of notes on our discussions ~~last week~~ of plans for reports on cities that have made progress handling racial problems.

Let me know if this doesn't jibe with your understanding of what we are after.

It looks like it'll be the last week in February before I can shake loose, after all.

~~Enjoyed seeing you in during~~

It was good to see you ~~during~~ again.

Yours truly,

REPORTS ON SOUTHERN CITIES

1. Problems, past and future:

What the problems were as local people saw them.

What they did, how they handled.

Opposition... who and what.

What they learned.

How they see problems ahead.

2. Sources:

Officials, government and civic.

Editors, reporters.

Negro leadership.

Business leadership.

Biracial Committee people.

3. Present Situation:

Schools,

Police,

Public Accommodations,

Demonstrations,

Biracial Communication,

Jobs (government and private),

Housing,

4. Public opinion:

Attitude of press,

Role of church,

5. Work and organization of the biracial committee.

Ben Muse to cover Louisville, Ky., and Memphis, Tenn. Pat Watters to cover Charlotte, N.C., Brunswick, Ga., Baton Rouge, La. Little Rock, Ark., a possibility later.

Double Space

Other cities considered: Lexington, Ky.; Norfolk, Richmond, Va.; Mobile, Ala.; Nashville, Knoxville, Tenn.; Savannah, Ga.; Winston-Salem, Durham, N.C.; Charleston, S.C.; St. Petersburg, Fla.

Field study to be done by March 31... Writing by April 30...
Drafts will be about 40 pages... With ~~an introduction~~ covering all the reports drawing conclusions, citing similarities... A pamphlet condensing these reports may be done...
In each city, one or two local friends should be lined up to read the drafts for accuracy. Letters of introduction will be sought from Mayors Association Committee.

##

LOUISVILLE TIMES MAY 13

Demonstrations No Longer Are The Basic Form Of Protest

LOUISVILLE still has problems of race relations, but they are coming to be handled as are other human and material problems of the community, not as grievances against which street demonstrations are the basic form of effective protest.

This was the conclusion of a survey just released by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, an observer of race relations in the South. The study noted that in contrast to the period of 1960-61 when downtown demonstrations were frequent, today "the normal, institutionalized processes of municipal life" are coping with protests against racial discrimination.

No better example of what the study refers to could be cited than the position taken this week by the Allied Organizations for Civil Rights. A resolution adopted by A.O.C.R. called on Louisville Negroes to seek service at Hasenour's Dining Room and Cocktail Lounge and then, if refused, to file complaints with the City Human Relations Commission.

The Hasenour Case

Hasenour's was the scene of a demonstration Sunday when a party of 10 whites and Negroes was refused service there. Without saying so, A.O.C.R. is pointing out that Louisville has a public accommodations ordinance, that it has a Human Relations Commission expressly organized to hear and redress grievances on the score of discrimination, and that resort should be had to these "institutionalized processes of municipal life."

The Southern Regional Council report asserted that "race prejudice (is) still present in varying degrees among a majority of the white population" but that "discrimination on account of race is frowned upon in principle, though still far from being eliminated in practice." This is an objective observation. As long as racial discrimination is frowned on in principle, as long as the processes of municipal life are being used effectively to combat it, then it may be said honestly that Louisville is making genuine progress against prejudice.

LOUISVILLE Courier Journal MAY. 15

A Report Confusing The Racial Issue

A SPECIAL Southern Regional Council report on race relations in Louisville is, on the whole, a fair account of the progress achieved and an accurate statement of how far we still have to go.

The report, however, is marred by some gratuitous observations. For example, it notes that Negroes are excluded from country clubs, and that very few whites invite Negroes to their homes. What is this supposed to prove? That Louisville is laggard in these areas of strictly social relations?

We don't know of any city anywhere in the country where discrimination because of race, creed or color does not exist in private clubs. That this is the situation may be no cause for rejoicing, but in terms of Negro aspirations today it is largely irrelevant. They concern public—not private—accommodations.

Neither the proposed federal civil rights law, nor any local or state enactment along the same lines covers bona fide private clubs or personal social relations. To inject private organizations and social affairs into this kind of report on race relations only confuses the issue, and feeds the fears of segregationists who oppose integration in the public sector on the ground that it would be a prelude to a foray into private relationships.

This is not the case, and to suggest that it is, even by indirection, is a disservice to the cause of racial justice.

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CROSS REFERENCE

RE: BEN MUSE CONFIDENTIAL MEMO (THE PROBLEM OF LAW ENFORCEMENT IN MISSISSIPPI)

SEE: Manuscripts and Publications file: under Correspondence: Confidential Memo; Ben Muse, etc.

Chapter 11

Selma

The lull in demonstrations signaled by the moratorium agreement of July continued through the turn of 1965. Civil-rights leaders took stock of the post-election situation, planned strategy for coming months and gave vent to feelings of rivalry and disagreement among themselves. Thoughts turned toward the still scandalous denial of the vote to Negroes in the Deep South, with particular attention now to Alabama. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Martin Luther King and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee chose the city of Selma in that state as the central target for the next intensive effort. King, visiting Selma January 2, told about 800 Negroes gathered in Brown Chapel Methodist Church that he was coming back to assist in "a march on the ballot boxes throughout Alabama."

The chief source of dissension within the civil-rights movement was the perennial argument between the cautious and the bold. Should prudence move on in more or less orderly fashion to break down the barriers to Negro advancement by degrees, or should audacity try to crash through them all pell mell? It was in large part a conflict between the old and the young. Negroes of middle age and older had been reared in an era when cringing

was a way of life, when adapting to the wishes of whites was the key to almost any kind of success attainable. But in a generation born not long before the 1954 Brown decision, and come to manhood since the 1960 wave of sit-ins, there were thousands whose minds had been formed in a different mold. These viewed the whole structure of second-class citizenship as an unmitigated outrage and wanted to see it demolished without delay. Such youths were to be found in all the civil-rights organizations; they were an element of ferment even in the venerable NAACP. In the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee virtually all were of this generation and this outlook; there were no old heads.

Many Negroes chafed under the rule of nonviolence, but the leadership of the Big Five, including SNCC and CORE, still adhered to that principle. "Nonviolent" was of course a part of the name of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. CORE at that time required of each member: "He will meet the anger of any individual or group in the spirit of good will; he will submit to assault and will not retaliate in kind by either by act or word." But many Negroes were getting tired of turning the other cheek. In Jonesboro, a small town in a Ku Klux Klan-infested area of northern Louisiana, Negroes had armed themselves and formed an organization called the "Deacons for Defense and Justice." Though Deacons patrolled the Jonesboro headquarters of CORE, CORE officials, like other civil-rights leaders, expressed sympathy but avoided identification

with them. By the summer of 1965 Bogalusa, Louisiana, had become the center of Deacon strength and some 50 chapters had sprung up more or less secretly in Louisiana and Mississippi with a total membership estimated variously between 5,000 and 10,000. The Deacons claimed their only purpose was to provide protection against the Ku Klux Klan. Instances when their guns were used were rare, but they had a sobering influence on the essentially cowardly ~~members of the latter~~ Klansmen. Nonviolence had never appealed to some Negro groups with black nationalist leanings that flourished in big city ghettos of the North and West.

Meanwhile, wherever Negroes gathered in large numbers two or three representatives of some Communist organization were likely to be found weaving through the crowd with their leaflets. Most Negroes gave these a cold shoulder. Some more subtle Communists had undoubtedly infiltrated the Negro movement, but their influence was insignificant. SNCC made no effort to screen its field workers for Communist sympathies. One Snick leader remarked: "...When they get mixed up with us, a Communist dies and a person develops. They're not subverting us, we're subverting them. We're more revolutionary than the Communists." CORE director James Farmer quipped, "...A Negro finds it tough enough to be black, without being black and red."

The Black Muslims continued to exercise considerable influence. Several developments had tended to keep the cult in the public eye. One was its espousal by the temperamental heavyweight

boxing champion Cassius Clay. A more serious matter was a split and feud between its foremost leaders, Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X. These two men, the mystical Messenger of Allah and his voluble front men respectively, were more than mere charlatans. Despite their doctrine of hate and their theological and political fantasies, there was depth in some of their thinking and an element of positive good in their ministrations. James Baldwin wrote in The Fire Next Time: "Elijah Muhammad has been able to do what generations of welfare workers...have failed to do: to heal and redeem drunkards and junkies, to convert people who have come out of prison and keep them out, to make men chaste and women virtuous,..." Robert Penn Warren found Malcolm X "a man of great talents and magnetism."

Nine days after the assassination of President Kennedy, Malcolm X spoke of the fallen President with derision, saying his death was a case of "the chickens coming home to roost." Elijah Muhammad--apparently welcoming the opportunity to be rid of a rival--promptly suspended Malcolm X from his position in the movement. "With the rest of the world," the Messenger of Allah said, "we are very shocked at the assassination of our President."

For over a year afterward Malcolm X, with an irregular following, agitated independently. He urged extension of Muslim activity to the broad Negro struggle and gave evidence of moving toward cooperation with civil-rights leaders. He embraced the orthodox Moslem faith and made a pilgrimage to

Mecca. In Harlem, February 20, 1965, while addressing a meeting of the Organization for Afro-American Unity, which he had formed, Malcolm X was assassinated, felled by a shotgun and two revolvers. A week of tension followed. Heavy police guards patrolled various Black Muslim installations, including the mansion of Elijah Muhammad in Chicago and the Harlem funeral home where Malcolm's body lay exposed before a stream of visitors. The four-story Muslim center in New York was burned to the ground.

On Sunday, one week after the assassination, Malcolm X was buried following orthodox Moslem rites in a Christian church in Harlem. Some regular civil-rights leaders attended the funeral, conspicuous among them: James Farmer, of CORE, James Forman, of SNCC, Bayard Rustin and Dick Gregory. Negro playwright Ossie Davis, who delivered the eulogy, said Malcolm X was "a prince--our own shining prince--who did not hesitate to die, because he loved us so."

The publicity lavished on the firebrands, the extremists and the eccentrics tended to obscure the center of gravity in the Negro movement. Considerably more Negroes were enrolled in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People than in all the other civil-rights and Negro protest groups combined. The most influential individual by far--thousands knew the name of no other national Negro leader--

was Martin Luther King. King's unceasing eloquence, his high moral tone and his dedication to fearless nonviolent action had won him, not only a vast following among both Negroes and whites in the United States, but international renown.

One morning in late October 1964, King awoke to learn from a radio announcement that he had been awarded--"for the furtherance of brotherhood among men"--the Nobel Peace Prize. At 36, he was the youngest man, and the twelfth American, ever to receive that honor. He announced promptly that the prize, of about $54,000, would be used to finance civil-rights activities. He called the award "a tribute to the discipline, wise restraint, and majestic courage of the millions of gallant Negroes and white persons of good will who have followed a nonviolent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this nation of ours."

The Negro leader carried his new distinction with dignity. In London on his way to Norway for the presentation he was invited to preach Sunday, December 6, at St. Paul's Cathedral. It was the first time a non-Anglican had ever delivered the evensong sermon in that edifice. His scholarly religious message, with facile quotations from philosophers and poets as well as the Bible, was heard by 4,000 admiring Britons, nearly all of them white. In Oslo, December 10, he received the award, in the traditional ceremony, in the presence of the King and the Crown Prince of Norway. The next day he delivered

an address, which was also traditional, to the students of Oslo University. While the civil-rights movement in the United States was "a special phenomenon which must be understood in the light of American history," he said it was "a relatively small part of a world development."

> Something within has reminded the Negro of his birthright of freedom, and something without has reminded him that it can be gained. Consciously or unconsciously, he has been caught up by the Zeitgeist, and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers in Asia, South America and the Caribbean, the United States Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice.

Returning to America, Dr. King received the Medallion of Honor of the City of New York and was honored at a series of functions in which Vice President Humphrey, Mayor Wagner and Governor Rockefeller were conspicuous. More significant was his reception in Atlanta, Georgia, in the heart of the South. Nearly 1500 Atlantans, a majority of them white, leading citizens among them, gathered at a dinner in his honor. The scene was the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, which until the previous summer had refused to admit Negroes. This Negro was now presented with a specially commissioned Steuben glass bowl, etched with Atlanta's symbolic dogwood blossom and bearing the inscription:

> To Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Citizen of Atlanta, Recipient of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, with respect and admiration, January 27, 1965.

The meeting closed with everyone singing "We Shall Overcome."

Five days later the Nobel Prizewinner was in a Selma, Alabama, jail. He had taken time out for the Atlanta ovation from the voter registration campaign which he had promised in his January 2 speech in Brown Chapel. Fifteen hundred Negroes were arrested in Selma that week of February 1, bringing the total arrested since mid-January to 3,300. King spent four days in jail--duly dramatizing the incident--before posting $200 bond and securing his release. The campaign would go on and gather momentum until it reached a climax six weeks later which would rivet the attention of the nation and the world. King and his organization were energetically assisted (and often criticized) by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Lawyers of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund were strenuously involved and rendered invaluable aid. Nearly everyone and every group of prominence in the civil-rights movement and 6,000 religious leaders joined in the grand finale. But the leadership and inspiration were King's. It was his greatest triumph.

The number of Negroes registered to vote in Alabama had increased from 6,000 in 1947 to 110,000 in November 1964. Yet 370,000 Negroes of voting age, approximately 70 per cent of the total still were not registered. In the Black Belt

hardly any progress had been made. In Dallas County, of which Selma is the seat, Negroes comprise 57 per cent of the total population, but at the beginning of 1965 only 335 Negroes were registered to vote. In contrast, 9,543 whites were on the voting list. In neighboring Lowndes and Wilcox Counties, where Negroes outnumbered whites approximately 4 to 1, not a single Negro was registered.

Selma, sometimes called the "capital of the Black Belt," was a city of approximately 30,000 population situated on the right bank of the Alabama River a little south of the center of the state. Its hostility to pro-Negro influences had ancient roots. In the Civil War and Reconstruction no section of Alabama had suffered more than this. A century, less a few days, before the climax of Martin Luther King's "invasion," Selma--then a Confederate arsenal and munitions manufacturing center--had been burned and laid waste by a Union Army which included a Negro regiment. In the intervening years Selma had rebuilt and grown and progressed in many ways, but the attitude of Selma whites toward Negroes and their fear of agitation of the Negro question had changed but little. One needs to realize the intense hatred of "agitators" among these Black Belt whites to understand their incredible behavior during the winter and spring of 1965. Dallas County Sheriff James G. Clark expressed no more than the prevailing view when in January he roared to Snick leader John Lewis: "You're an agitator, and that's the lowest form of humanity !"

The main purposes of King and his associates were to embolden Alabama Negroes to demand their rights, and to bring their grievances to the attention of the nation. In the objective of placing Negroes immediately on Alabama voting lists little was expected and less accomplished. In Selma, in addition to the familiar tactics of obstruction and delay, the registrar functioned only two days a month (although as a concession to King's campaign applicants on other days were allowed to sign an "appearance sheet" to get into line for next attention.) King wrote in the New York Times Magazine of March 14: "...Selma has succeeded in limiting Negro registration to the snail's pace of about 145 persons a year. At this rate it would take 103 years to register the 15,000 eligible Negro voters of Dallas County..." But denial of the vote to Negroes was the discrimination that the American people were most nearly united in condemning, and this was an area in which the hypocrisy, immorality and illegality of the ~~prevailing~~ Black Belt practice were visible to all who looked in that direction.

Since early January a typical day in Selma saw Negroes from city and farm converging on the campaign headquarters at Brown Chapel and marching to the court house, there to be barred by Sheriff Clark and his helmeted posse and ordered to disperse. The Negroes would chant, sing and pray and submit to arrest by the hundreds. (With jails overflowing, most of those arrested were held only briefly). Dallas County's

swaggering, quick-tempered sheriff had established himself as the symbol of Selma police brutality much as Commissioner "Bull" Connor (a native of Selma, by the way) had been the chief villain of the piece in Birmingham in 1963. The scale of the demonstrations steadily increased as more local Negroes rallied and sympathizers gathered from afar. The campaign spread into neighboring counties. On February 18, in Marion, seat of Perry County, 25 miles from Selma, it registered its first martyr. Jimmy Lee Jackson, a Negro laborer, was fatally shot and ten other persons, including three newsmen, were beaten in a clash with state troopers.

As usual in the Negro movement a strong religious note permeated the campaign in Selma. At the slightest provocation Negroes knelt on the street in prayer, led by one of the many clergymen among them; they prayed even for Sheriff Clark. They sang hymns and they sang "We Shall Overcome" and all the familiar civil-rights songs. Some new songs developed in Selma, like this one:

Police cars are the Berlin Wall
Berlin Wall, Berlin Wall,
Police cars are the Berlin Wall,
In Selma, Alabama.
We're going to stand here till it falls,
till it falls, till it falls,
We're going to stand here till it falls,
In Selma, Alabama.
Love is the thing that'll make it fall,
make it fall, make it fall,
Love is the thing that'll make it fall,
In Selma, Alabama.

A small band of Alabama whites who hated injustice to

Negroes also made an appearance in Selma. All honor must be paid them; their action required a special kind of intestinal fortitude. "Concerned White Citizens of Alabama" they called themselves--some 60 professors, business men, school teachers, housewives and others, led by the Rev. Joseph Ellwanger, of St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Birmingham. They staged a one and one quarter-mile march to the Dallas County Court House on March 6. Tears trickled down the cheeks of some of the women as crowds of Selma whites cursed, insulted and jeered at them.

Beginning with "Bloody Sunday", March 7, the Selma struggle and related events were at the top of the news in the nation for three weeks (yielding the spot only briefly to the first space flight in the Gemini series). King was determined to crown the campaign with a march, 50 miles eastward through Black Belt country infested with Ku Klux Klansmen and other hostile whites, to Montgomery, the state capital. He announced the plan February 2, and he later fixed March 7 as the day. Governor Wallace in a news conference March 6 pointed to the "additional hazard placed on highway travel by any such action" and said: "Such a march cannot and will not be tolerated."

Nevertheless, on Sunday, March 7, 500 Negroes, including young boys and old women, set out down U.S. Route 80 for Montgomery, most of them carrying satchels and bedrolls. After marching about 300 yards they found the highway barred by 100 of Sheriff Clark's possemen, 15 of them mounted, and 50 state

troopers equipped with gas masks and under orders from the Governor to stop the march. The possemen, who figured prominently in these Alabama disturbances, were tough white men who volunteered with the zest of huntsmen for the duty of chastening Negroes. The marchers were given "two minutes to turn around and go back." When they failed to budge, the police moved in with tear-gas bombs and nightsticks--the horsemen mounting what resembled a Cossack charge--and drove them back into Selma.

Governor Wallace said if the Negroes had gone on they would have been attacked by angry whites. "We saved their lives by stopping the march."

But across the nation the incident set off an uproar the like of which had not been seen before in the history of the civil-rights movement. Clergymen, governors, state legislatures and labor unions thundered denunciations. Governor Romney and Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh led 10,000 in an indignation march in Detroit. In New York 15,000 marched through Harlem. Demonstrators snarled traffic in Chicago, Los Angeles and Washington. University campuses seethed. Even in the South Mayor Leonard Rogers of Knoxville, Tennessee, called citizens to a prayer meeting for the Selma Negroes. Shockingly, 14 youths contrived, for the first time in history, a sit-in in the corridors of the White House itself. (They were ejected and arrested after seven hours, and the White House let it be known that nothing of the sort would be permitted again.)

Episcopal Bishop James A. Pike of California declared that the 400,000 ministers, priests and rabbis in the United States should converge on Selma if the federal government failed to act. Over 400 of them headed for Selma anyway. Walter Lippmann said in his newspaper column: "Unless Selma is expunged by a mighty national act of repentance and reparation, how shall Americans look themselves in the face when they get up in the morning?"

The Negroes appealed to the federal district court at Montgomery to enjoin Governor Wallace and Alabama police authorities from further interfering with the projected march. The Department of Justice entered the case on their behalf. The injunction would be granted in due course, but pending hearings on the suit, Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., issued an order restraining the group from again undertaking the march.

Nevertheless on Tuesday, March 9, a second attempt was made. This came to a tame anti-climax with some embarrassment for King. About 1,000 Negroes, joined now by 450 white sympathizers from the North, set out toward Montgomery. Four hundred yards down the highway stood the same police cordon as before. King said the marchers wanted to kneel and pray, and permission was granted. After praying, the column turned and headed back. The turnabout was the subject of vociferous controversy; some Negroes said they had been "betrayed." The decision to desist had been reached in last-minute negotiations in which Governor Collins, director of the federal Community Relations Service, who had arrived by jet plane, had had a part. But the undertaking was only postponed. There would yet be a march on Montgomery, King said, "in numbers that no

one can count."

That night three white clergymen who had come to Selma to aid the Negro cause were attacked on the street by white hoodlums. One of them, the Reverend James J. Reeb, a Unitarian minister from Boston was taken to a hospital with multiple fractures of the skull. Two days later, in the words of Dr. King, Reeb joined "the ranks of those martyred heroes who have died in the struggle for freedom and human dignity."

The surge of indignation in the North was kindled anew by Reeb's death. A procession in Chicago carried a coffin, symbolizing the minister's bier. In the ecumenical spirit of the day Cardinal Spellman donated $10,000 toward a memorial to the martyred Unitarian minister. Led by Washington clergymen, a crowd of 15,000 gathered in Lafayette Park, across from the White House, to demand federal intervention in Alabama. From Maine to California more clergymen and miscellaneous idealists began making the pilgrimage to Selma. Archbishop Iakovas, primate of the Greek Orthodox church, was one of them. Half a dozen Roman Catholic nuns from St. Louis had appeared there while Reeb was dying; more came now from Chicago, Detroit and elsewhere--to make a picturesque addition to protest demonstrations.

Governor Wallace flew to Washington Saturday for a conference, at his own urgent request, with the President. It was apparent from the later comment of each that there had been no meeting of the minds, but they talked for more than

three hours and Wallace later paid tribute privately to Johnson's persuasive magic. The President in his news conference mentioned several obvious steps that he had urged in the interest of racial justice and peace and said: "I told the Governor that the brutality in Selma last Sunday just must not be repeated."

On Monday evening, March 15, the President delivered a televised address to a joint session of the Congress. The speech, with a strongly personal ring and delivered with visible emotion, was widely considered the most eloquent of his career. Some called it Johnson's "finest hour." It was in preparation for a drastic new voting rights bill to be submitted two days later. President Johnson's only previous personal appearances before joint sessions were his two State of the Union messages and his speech following the assassination of President Kennedy. He said now in part:

> At times history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama.
>
> There, long-suffering men and women peacefully protested the denial of their rights as Americans. Many were brutally assaulted. One good man--a man of God--was killed.
>
> Many of the issues of civil rights are complex and difficult. But about this there can be no argument. Every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. There is no reason which can excuse the denial of that right. There is no duty which weighs more heavily on us than the duty to ensure that right.
>
> Even if we pass this bill, the battle will

> not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and state of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life.
>
> Their cause must be our cause too. It is not just Negroes, but all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome.

He uttered the words from the anthem of the Negro revolution with slow, clear emphasis: "And we shall overcome."

In Montgomery on Tuesday, March 16, James Forman of SNCC led about 600 students, who, having been refused permission to present a petition to the Governor, staged a sit-down in the street. They were dispersed by police with spectacular brutality. Mounted possemen clubbed and flailed them until eight of their number required hospitalization.

History has recorded many an instance of the repression of a struggling people by a ruthless gendarmerie only in writing or, in recent times, with but a few lucky photographic shots. Modern techniques and a swarm of alert camera men placed the Selma drama upon a stage before the eyes of the world. The public not only read but saw it daily on television and in the press. The following sampling of captions under published photos will give an idea of how the drama was carried into the homes of many millions of people: "Alabama state troopers, wearing helmets and gas masks, drag off a demonstrator after breaking up the vote march in Selma yesterday"..."One demonstrator (left) falls to her knees while another (foreground) is clubbed by a state trooper in Selma,

Ala...." "...state troopers using clubs, whips and tear-gas broke up effort by civil rights demonstrators to march to Montgomery"--and (under a two-page spread in Life) "Alabama's Answer. Flailing their heavy canes, mounted sheriff's possemen and state troopers charge without warning into a packed mass of demonstrators at Montgomery the day after the President's speech. At left above, horsemen drive demonstrators to a sheltering porch. Then (center above) a girl tries to dive behind a tree but is clubbed down. At right above, Paul Clemson, an angry student from Penn State, kneels by a wounded boy..."

The heavy-handed Alabama police thus actually played into the hands of the larger Negro movement. Selma officials complained of photographic misrepresentation, and occasionally an erroneous impression was given. One widely circulated photo showed Sheriff Clark with his billy seemingly poised over a prostrate Negro woman held down by two aides. In this instance--in one of the rare Negro deviations from nonviolence--the woman had attacked the sheriff and seized his stick; he was trying to get it back. On the whole, however, the picture given the world of Alabama police clumsiness and brutality was not exaggerated.

In Montgomery Judge Johnson (a native Alabamian) was weighing the appeal from Governor Wallace's ban on the Selma-Montgomery march. Wednesday, March 17, he issued his ruling. He warned of the danger in making the long march in the existing

atmosphere of tension, but he declared that "in this case the wrongs are enormous" and the march should be permitted. He ordered the Governor not to interfere, and to give the marchers full protection. Governor Wallace promptly went before a joint session of the Alabama legislature to excoriate the ruling. But he said "we will obey."

Sunday, March 21, was set as the date for the march to begin. Friday, the 19th, Wallace wired the President that Alabama could not afford the expense of calling out the 6,000 National Guardsmen estimated to be needed to protect it. President Johnson commented at a news conference the next day: "It has been rare in our history for the governor and the legislature of a sovereign state to decline to exercise their responsibility." However, in the early hours of Saturday he had signed documents placing the Alabama National Guard under federal control and directing the Secretary of Defense to use whatever federal forces he might find necessary to deal with "domestic violence." In Brown Chapel committees worked late Saturday night preparing food hampers, camping instructions and first aid kits.

Sunday morning 3,200 Negroes and white sympathizers--students, clergymen, nuns and the rest--gathered in a festive mood in front of Brown Chapel. The goal now was not only justice for Negroes in the Selma area but a "change in the climate" on a national scale. "Walk together, children," King told the crowd, "...and Alabama will be a new Alabama, and America will be a new America."

Observation planes circled overhead as they set out and marched through countryside deserted except for soldiers, passing cars and a few white hecklers. Another song had been added to their reperteire: "Oh, Wallace, you know you cant't jail us all, Oh, Wallace, segregation's bound to fall." Seven miles out of Selma, where the four-lane highway narrows to two lanes, 2,900 marchers turned back, in accordance with Judge Johnson's instructions that only 300 should march along the narrower road. The smaller band continued, camping three nights along the way. Before they arrived at their appointed overnight bivouacs a thin line of soldiers swept cautiously across each field to check against mines, bombs or booby traps. Assistant Attorney General John Doar, who had succeeded Burke Marshall as head of the Justice Department's civil-rights division, was on hand--as he had been in every major crisis in the South--to see that federal court orders were obeyed. He trampel with the marchers or drove his own car nearly all the way.

Wednesday when the bedraggled handful reached the outskirts of Montgomery they met 10,000 fresh allies, who had flown in by chartered planes. That night on an improvised stage in a ball park Harry Belafonte, Leonard Bernstein, Sammy Davis and a score of other nationally famous entertainers performed for the multitude in an exuberant extravaganza. Thursday morning an army of 25,000 took up where the little band had left off. They marched triumphantly the last three and one half miles

and massed before the Alabama state capitol, where the delegates of six states met in 1961 to form the Southern Confederacy, and on whose steps Jefferson Davis took the oath of office as its president.

Governor Wallace refused to see a delegation bringing a petition for Negroes to be allowed to vote in Alabama, but that did not matter now. The crowd sang and listened patiently for two hours, while a series of civil-rights celebrities spoke; then the man arose whom everyone--including the nation's television viewers--wanted to hear.

"We have walked on meandering highways and rested our bodies on rocky byways," said Martin Luther King. "They told us we wouldn't get here. And there were those who said that we would get here only over their dead bodies. But all the world today knows that we are here, and that we are standing before the forces of power in the state of Alabama, saying 'we ain't goin' let nobody turn us around.' "

He called for more marches everywhere--on segregated schools, on poverty and on "ballot boxes until race baiters disappear from the political arena." He lifted the crowd to a peak of emotion with a rhythmic chant: "I know you are asking today. 'How long will it take?' I come to say to you this afternoon however difficult the moment, however frustrating the hour, it will not be long, because truth crushed to the earth will rise again. How long? Not long, because no lie can live forever. How long? Not long, because you still

reap what you sow. Not long, because the arm of the moral universe is long but it bends toward justice."

In a concluding crescendo he quoted from the Battle Hymn of the Republic and boomed to the ecstatic crowd: "His truth is marching on! Glory hallelujah! Glory hallelujah! Glory hallelujah!"

The historic march on Montgomery had been accomplished without the bloodshed that so many had feared. But Thursday night tragedy struck. Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo, a white lady, the wife of a labor union official and mother of five children, had come to Selma from Detroit, because, as her husband related, "she said it was everybody's business, she had to go." Mrs. Liuzzo had walked with the marchers on the first and last days, spending the remaining time shuttling demonstrators along the highway in her car. Thursday night she joined the group of other volunteer motorists who were carrying demonstrators back from Montgomery to Selma and started back for another. About 20 miles out of the city a car drew alongside and a bullet smashed through the window, striking her in the temple. LeRoy Moton, a young Negro SCLC worker in the car with Mrs. Liuzzo, h huddled on the floor until the gunmen's car raced away. Them he seized the steering wheel, but the car hurtled off the highway into a pasture. The youth hitchhiked back to Selma and informed the police. By the time the latter reached her

car Mrs. Liuzzo was dead.

President Johnson went on television only sixteen hours later. Speaking with obvious anger to an angry public, he announced that the FBI had already arrested four Ku Klux Klansmen charged with the murder, and he scorchingly denounced those "enemies of justice who for decades have used the rope and the gun and the tar to terrorize their neighbors." Vice-President Humphrey, conveying the sympathy of the President and himself, was among the many dignitaries who visited the bereaved family. Governor Romney declared two days of official mourning in the state of Michigan for a woman "who made the supreme sacrifice in the unending cause of securing for all of her fellow American citizens those unalienable rights endowed... by our Creator."

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Chapter 12 will deal with Selma ~~xxxx~~ post mortem, Voting Rights Act, implementation of Civil Rights Act of 1964, etc.

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Regards,

BM

Chapter 12

The Progress of Law

Sympathy with the Negro struggle was never more fervent or more general than at the conclusion of the great Selma-Montgomery march. The Negro novelist Ralph Ellison described it as "a moment of apocalyptic vision." But the glow of a sensational episode fades quickly in the broad march of events. Selma dropped out of national news at the end of March, and the old patterns of prejudice and discrimination were not long in reasserting themselves. Popular feeling for the Negro was to suffer a sharp reverse in August with wild Negro rioting in Los Angeles. But permanent gains had been made. Selma had produced, and would cause the enactment by Congress of an epochal bill to put an end to Negro disfranchisement. Selma also gave further emphasis to the crying need for protection of Negroes and civil-rights crusaders in the Deep South from physical violence, though the only Congressional action in this area before 1967 would be a largely futile investigation of the Ku Klux Klan by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Nothing was more impressive in the Selma episode than the mobilization of a church militant in the nation. Clergymen had set the tone of the march on Montgomery. One of them said with reason: "Without us it could have become a riot." Some of the ministers were coldly received when they returned to their

congregations; a few were reproached by their superiors, though more were commended. But, in the words of the Reverend Robert W. Spike, director of the National Council of Churches Commission on Religion and Race: "The church reached a turning point when its messengers on U.S. 80 showed with their feet that racism runs against the morality of any faith."

The evangelist Reverend Billy Graham canceled engagements in Europe to "see if we can't bring the healing message of the Gospel" to the Deep South. Graham, whose influence was enormous, especially in the South, had been criticized for his attitude of detachment from the burning problem of race relations. He had refused to speak to segregated audiences, but he had said "things cannot be changed by law or bayonet." Now he praised the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and announced his support of the pending civil-rights legislation. "I have never felt that we should attain our rights by illegal means," he said--"yet I must confess that the demonstrations have aroused the conscience of the world." In April a Negro clergyman, the Reverend Prince Albert Taylor, bishop of New Jersey, was named president of the Council of Bishops of the ten-million member, predominantly white Methodist Church.

The inter-~~denominational~~ faith comradeship that developed in Selma was an interesting by-product. One minister called it "ecumenically fantastic." Methodist Bishop John Wesley Lord said: "Once you have walked not only side by side but heart to heart in a common effort you can never return to your

separateness again." Roman Catholic Father Gene Baroni said: "We got a new and healthy respect for each other on that highway out of Selma;" and the Reverend William A. Wendt (Episcopalian) went further: "I would say that there is joy in Heaven, and that Pope John is leading the rejoicing."

What about the effect of it all upon Alabama? An observer from a distance might have expected the massive display of national disapproval of Alabama behavior and the witness of this multitude of religious leaders to the justice of the Negro's cause to have opened the eyes of Black Belt whites, even to have brought some feeling of shame. But few who knew the Black Belt had such hopes. The effect of the demonstrations was in fact largely nullified locally by the boundless racist talent for vilification. The instinctive racist response to any message of justice to the Negro was to vilify the messenger.

"Scum" was the favorite term of natives for the visitors to Alabama from across the nation--though thousands of them belonged to what might better have been called the cream of the American public: clergymen, professors, writers and officials--eminent figures among them--and students of highly respectable background. Marching close to Dr. King on the road to Montgomery were the New York city council president, Paul R. Screvane, and another winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, undersecretary of the United Nations. It is true that most of the marchers were dusty and ill-kempt; there were bearded men and trousered women, who invariably aroused suspicion among

rural Black Belt folk; and, as is to be expected when 25,000 people are drawn to an exciting situation, there was an element of scum. Racist sleuths saw some instances of sexual immorality, and they invented many more. Some of the canards were incredibly revolting. Not even the nuns or Mrs. Liuzzo were spared. A relatively mild version of the spreading filth was heard in Congress. Alabama's Representative William L. Dickinson described the marchers as in large part "human flotsam--adventurers, beatniks, prostitutes and similar rabble," among whom "drunkenness and sex orgies" were "the order of the day."

An Episcopal minister polled some 80 fellow clergymen who had been active participants in the demonstrations: they said they could not have observed every incident, but not one of them had witnessed sex scenes or heavy drinking. The out-of-state newsmen, of whom there were about 400, saw nothing resembling the racist canards: were closest to the Selma drama in all its phases. They reported seeing little if any immoral conduct. Nevertheless a large element of Alabamians--who never saw out-of-state publications--were led to believe that the magnificent gesture of conscience was an outrageous invasion by a vicious and sinister mob.

Some leading Alabama churchmen condemned the Selma-Montgomery march. Catholic Archbishop Thomas J. Toolen said it was "a great injustice to the state of Alabama," and that the place for priests and nuns was "at home." Methodist Bishop Kenneth Goodson called the march "a great disservice to human freedom,"

which was "delaying reconciliation."

Yet Alabama had been moved in some degree. The faint voice of liberalism in the state, even among politicians, began to take a stronger tone. Some newspapers were shocked into positions of resistance to racist insanity from which they would not retreat. In the northeast Alabama city of Anniston 500 citizens, including bank presidents, industrialists, clergymen and a city commissioner, signed a statement published as a full-page advertisement in the Anniston Star three days after the Selma-Montgomery march, urging a "responsible, realistic and thoughtful response" to Negro aspirations. Three weeks later 22 of the state's top business leaders signed a similar statement and had it published as a front-page advertisement in all major Alabama newspapers and in the Wall Street Journal. They called for "law and order, and--the fair and just treatment of all."

The prestigious Birmingham News in a two-column, front-page editorial March 28 reviewed the recent disgraceful events in the state and called for action to convince the world "that Alabama is at work in a positive, constructive manner correcting past ills and facing up to realities of the Negro insistence on further redress." The paper concluded:

> This state has been described by one angered non-Alabamian as a place that ought to have a fence built around it, which ought to be isolated. It is a tragic, offensive description of bitterness. But that's the way a great many people ARE thinging of us--and they don't separate the bed-sheet brutes from decent, churchgoing, law-abiding folk.
>
> THE PEOPLE who can do something about this know who they are. If elected leaders don't put us on a better, more effective, more convincing course, then

these other Alabama leaders must do something about it. They'd better do it soon or you can really put up a headstone over this entire commonwealth that will forever read "Here We Rest."

The city of Selma settled down to a truculent calm. The mayor and city council began holding weekly conferences with Negro leaders, but Negroes saw no significant improvement in their condition and continued to boycott Selma merchants. On April 16 a three-judge federal district court at Mobile enjoined Sheriff Clark from using the hated possemen and ordered him to protect Negroes participating in peaceful demonstrations. The sheriff was enjoined also from arresting persons seeking to register to vote or to use places of public accomodation. The Hammermill Paper Company since the previous summer had contemplated building a $25 million-dollar pulp mill near Selma. Civil-rights groups for some weeks picketed the company's offices in Erie, Pennsylvania, demanding that the project be suspended. The pickets finally withdrew May 12 when the company declared ..."its intention to use its full influence as a corporate citizen of Dallas County to secure the full protection of the law for all rights, including equal employment opportunity and the right to register and vote freely and without discrimination or intimidation."

After the slaying of Mrs. Liuzzo, Martin Luther King made one of the impulsive mistakes with which his great achievements were interspersed: he proposed a national boycott of Alabama products, the withdrawal of investment and federal funds from

Alabama banks and suspension by the nation's business community of all plant expansion and location in Alabama. The plan was endorsed by King's own SCLC, but it was coldly received by most civil-rights leaders and organizations. It was pointed out that, even if an effective economic boycott of the state were possible, it would work a hardship on friend and foe alike and would cause Alabama Negroes to suffer. ~~Widely condemned by friends of the Negro movement of both races,~~ The plan was soon abandoned. King also launched a more constructive project called the Southern Community Organization and Political Education program, or SCOPE, which would press Negro voter registration in 120 Black Belt counties and five cities in seven Southern states. King himself would soon be leading civil-rights demonstrations in Boston and Chicago going on to varied activity of exhortation both in the North and in the South.

Rarely has momentous legislation been enacted so directly in response to one spectacular upheaval as the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

President Johnson had for several months contemplated offering a voting rights bill in this session of Congress. His intention to do so was announced on February 6, but the nature and timing of the bill had not then been decided. No one was more aware of the need for a drastic measure than Attorney General Katzenbach and men like John Doar in the

Justice Department, but it is unlikely that the Administration would have felt it possible to go as far as it did in this bill without the unwitting help of Sheriff Clark, Governor Wallace and company--and the bonfire lit by Martin Luther King.

A month earlier it would have been hard to conceive of Congress welcoming the President's proposals of March 17 to "strike down restrictions to voting in all elections--federal, state and local--which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote." Proposals of President Kennedy in 1962 and 1963, more drastic than the voting provisions of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964, but milder than these of President Johnson, had gone unheeded. But, after Selma's Bloody Sunday, an overwhelming majority in Congress was eager to go all the way.

Yet it was not an angry or a hasty law that emerged. Compared to the year-long struggle over the Civil Rights Act of 1964, enactment proceeded with dispatch; but four and one half months elapsed between the bill's introduction and its final approval by the Senate on August 4. Every provision was meticulously gone over; proposed changes were debated and some adopted. State rights lost another round, but the bill was drawn with meticulous care to keep federal encroachments to a minimum.

Like the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was a bi-partisan achievement. Republicans in Congress were anxious to restore the historic image, obliterated in the

Goldwater Presidential campaign, of the Republican Party as the Negro's friend. They began early to prod President Johnson for a strong voting rights recommendation, and several House Republicans introduced a bill of their own. On February 23, 31 Republican leaders--five governors, four Senators and 23 Representatives--signed a statement urging the President to "move and move promptly" on voting rights legislation (chiding him also on his delay in appointing the members of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964). When the Administration bill reached Congress March 17, Minority Leader Dirksen took hold much as he had done in the 1964 civil-rights battle. The opposition from Southerners in Congress was feeble this time. Senator Russell, their leader in the fight against the Civil Rights Act of 1964, was ill and away from the Senate. Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee, an opponent of the 1964 Act, supported the 1965 bill, as did 22 Southerners in the House of Representatives.

A number of minor changes were made to clarify provisions of the bill and to fortify it against arguments of unconstitutionality. The greatest controversy, and four weeks of delay, were caused by an effort led by freshman Democratic Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts to ban the poll tax in state and local elections. The poll tax had already been banned in federal elections by Amendment XXIV of the Constitution, ratified in 1964, but four states, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia, still imposed the tax as a voter qualification in other elections. Attorney General Katzenbach and the Administration questioned the constitutionality of a statutory ban

on the poll tax in state elections and strongly opposed its inclusion in the bill. But on the floor of the Senate Kennedy staged a spectacular and almost successful fight, which established the youngest brother of the late President as a political figure to be reckoned with. The poll tax ban amendment was defeated, but only by the bare majority of 49 to 45. Meanwhile Kennedy's fight encouraged supporters of the poll tax ban in the House and it was included in the bill passed by that body. It was eliminated in the House-Senate conference report. Nevertheless the bill as finally passed declared the finding of Congress that the poll tax abridged the constitutional right of citizens to vote and directed the Attorney General to seek its invalidation through the courts. The Supreme Court would eliminate the poll tax in a decision nine months later.

The Act was drawn with painful ingenuity to deal drastically only with those sections of the country where Negro disfranchisement was practiced--in the words of Senator Dirksen, "only to send the fire wagon where the fire is." The use of the tests and other devices that had so often been used to deny registration to Negroes was banned in those states and political subdivisions in which a literacy test or similar qualifying device was in force on November 4, 1964, and where fewer than 50 per cent of the population voted, or were registered to vote, in the 1964 Presidential election. The states and subdivisions thus affected were Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, 26 counties in North Carolina and one county in Arizona. These

states and counties could no longer require as a prerequisite to voting demonstration of educational achievement, knowledge of any particular subject or ability to interpret any given material; they could not require proof of good moral character or the endorsement of some already registered voter. All of these devices lent themselves to discriminatory use by anti-Negro registrars. Wherever local officials balked or delayed federal examiners could be sent in to do the job.

In signing the bill into law on August 6, President Johnson recalled that Negroes had come to these shores originally "in darkness and in chains," and said: "Today we strike

away the last major shackle of those fierce and ancient bonds. Today the Negro story and the American story fuse and blend."

He said that after the 1964 election he had "directed the Attorney General to explore, as rapidly as possible, ways to ensure the right to vote," continuing ——

"And then last March, with the outrage of Selma still fresh, I came to this Capitol and asked the Congress for a swift and sweeping action to guarantee the right to vote. In less than 48 hours I sent the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to Congress. In little more than four months the Congress, with overwhelming majorities, enacted one of the most monumental laws in the entire history of American freedom."

He posed the challenge to Negro leaders "to teach people their rights and responsibilities and to lead them to exercise those rights..." Then, he said, "you will find, as others have found before you, that the vote is the most powerful instrument ever devised by man for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls which imprison men because they are different from other men."

Implementation of the new law ~~would~~ proceeded with extraordinary dispatch. The President announced at the signing on Friday August 6:

> Tomorrow at 1 P.M. the Attorney General, at my direction, will file a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the poll tax in Mississippi. This will begin the legal process which, I confidently believe, will very soon prohibit any state from requiring the payment of money in order to vote.

> And also by tomorrow the Justice Department, through publication in the Federal Register, will have officially certified the states where discrimination exists.
>
> I have, in addition, requested the Justice Department to work all this week-end so that on Monday morning they can designate many counties where past experience shows federal action to be necessary. And by Tuesday trained federal examiners will be at work registering men and women in 10 to 15 counties.

That schedule was punctully followed. Scores of Justice Department employees worked through the week-end. Forty-five federal examiners--some of them Negroes--had already been trained in a ~~three-day~~ special course by the Civil Service Commission. Eighteen of these were dispatched Monday, two each, to nine hard-core segregationist counties in Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi. Twenty-seven others awaited assignment to additional counties in those states and in Georgia and South Carolina. Prospective Negro voters promptly jammed federal examiners' offices in the Black Belt. On Tuesday, hundreds turned out to register in Selma; in Canton, Mississippi, the examiners were unable to cope with the crowd in a single day; long lines of Negroes sought registration in three Louisiana parishes. A Justice Department survey showed that in the first two months 110,000 Negroes were registered by local officials in the affected states, and, by October 25, 56,000 additional Negroes had been registered by federal examiners. The pace had slackened somewhat in September, reflecting lingering fear of white reprisals and apathy--which the various groups affiliated with the Southern Regional Council's still-functioning Voter Education Project worked to combat--but

Negroes continued to register.

By August 6, 1966, one year after the signing of the Voting Rights Act, the number of Negroes registered to vote in the six Southern states affected was estimated at 1,289,000, or nearly 46 per cent of those of voting age. A year earlier the number had been just over 870,000. In Alabama the number of Negroes on the voting lists had more than doubled, increasing from 113,493 to 248,000, or 51.5 per cent of the Negro voting-age population. In Mississippi Negro registration had increased from 25,265 to an estimated 139,000--though this was still only 32.9 per cent of the Negroes of voting age in that state. The federal examiners had proved their worth. They received applicants with a friendly courtesy to which Negroes were little accustomed in the Black Belt; some Negroes heard themselves addressed as "Mr." or "Mrs." by a white official for the first time in their lives. The presence of federal examiners was also a reminder of the futility of obstructionist tactics and stimulated unprecedented activity by local registrars. Federal examiners themselves, who were then functioning in 42 counties, had registered 123,981 persons.[1]

While this new law in the field of voting rights was moving toward enactment, broad implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was at last getting under way. There was delay in the field of employment, where the ban on discrimination would not come into effect until July 2, 1965, but the Act's other provisions for stamping out racial segregation and discrimination had produced a massive activity in the federal establishment.

Much was already being accomplished. By the fall of 1965 it would be possible to say that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 had prompted more desegregation than all the laws, court decisions and executive orders of the previous decade. The mere fact that Congress had declared discrimination unlawful had accelerated the trend toward equal treatment ~~in some quarters~~ before enforcement pressures were brought to bear. Yet, measured against the Act's whole undertaking, the progress that had been made was only a tiny beginning.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was intended to rescue the Negro from inferior status, no less. But society and the national economy were so permeated with situations of discrimination against the Negro that the more the evil was attacked the more of it was exposed and the farther its complete eradication seemed to recede into the future. And there was truth in the warning of Monsignor Edward D. Head in a 1964 Labor Day sermon in New York's St. Patrick's Cathedral: "We are prudent and experienced enough to remember that the passage of the law will no more of itself obliterate racial inequality and injustice than did the striking of the Ten Commandments by God himself obliterate sin or establish a community of grace and justice." Nevertheless the vigor of the Administration's efforts and the public response in the first half of 1965 augured well for the great enterprise. Burke Marshall, after his resignation as Assistant Attorney General assisted Vice President Humphrey for several months in the gearing-up for implementation of the Act, when

regulations were issued by 21 federal departments and agencies. "The thing that the Act reaches," Marshall said, "is the official caste system in this country. Our experience shows that we are going to get rid of it. It may take ten more years, but it won't take more than that."

The Act was divided into eleven sections, or titles, of which Title II, IV, V, VI, VII and X carried the principal lead. Other sections included a feeble attack upon voter discrimination, strengthened the hand of the Attorney General in court action against discrimination, and called for surveys by the Department of Commerce to determine the extent of the participation of citizens in elections by race, color and national origin. Still other sections gave the right of trial by jury in most criminal cases under the Act, authorized appropriations, and preserved the rights of states to enact legislation in this area not inconsistent with the Act. It was Title VI (Nondiscrimination in Federally Assisted Programs)--affecting nearly 200 programs, which received over $18 billion of federal aid annually--that placed the heaviest burden of work upon the national administration. This invocation of financial sanctions was ~~also~~ to prove the most effective instrument yet found for the elimination of racial discrimination. It is time for us to examine more closely the titles mentioned and see what was happening under each.

Title II (Public Accomodations), as we have already observed,

began to do its work as soon as the bill was signed into law on July 2, 1964, and compliance with it had gone steadily forward--with much less difficulty than had been generally expected. After 12 months virtually all the previously segregated hotels, restaurants and other places of public accomodation in the larger cities and the vast majority of those in cities of 10,000 population or more had opened their doors to Negroes--even if they did not always welcome them.

Title IV (Public Education) authorized the Commissioner of Education (1) to conduct a survey and report on the lack of equal educational opportunity for minority groups, (2) to offer technical assistance to states, political subdivisions and school districts in the process of desegregation, (3) to arrange training institutes for school personnel in dealing with desegregation problems, and (4) to make grants to school boards for the employment of specialists in such training. This title also authorized the Attorney General to file suits seeking to compel desegregation of public schools and colleges, although for the most part this would be accomplished by the funds cut-off provisions of Title VI without the necessity for court action. In fact Title VI would have a far greater effect upon public education and would place greater responsibilities upon the Commissioner of Education than this section.

The initial introduction of Negro pupils into a previously

all-white school, or vice versa, involved many psychological, educational and administrative problems, sometimes of a critical nature. The provisions of Title IV empowering the Commissioner of Education to give technical and financial assistance to school districts faced with these problems was, in the words of Attorney General Kennedy, to "smooth the path upon which the nation was set by the Brown decision." The help offered by the Office of Education was also an inducement to integrate schools; hostile segregationists had called it a "bribe." But the provisions of Title VI were making desegregation inevitable anyway, and the Office of Education offered a needed service that local school boards were rarely able, or disposed, to provide for themselves. The Office of Education could act only in response to school board requests--of which, however, many more poured in than could be met with the funds provided by Congress.

The Office of Education supported institutes, 56 in the first year and 58 in the second, for counselling superintendents, school board attorneys and school personnel. It also made grants to state and local school administrations, 27 in the first year, 43 in the second, to conduct similar activities. In the fiscal year 1965-1966 the total cost of institutes was $3,412,589 and grants totaled $2,847,739. The appropriation of approximately $8 million for this Title IV activity in 1955-1956 was repeated for fiscal 1957, forecasting its continuance on a similar schle.

About one fourth of this activity in 1966 was in areas of the North and West where public schools had long been desegregated. Some de facto segregation existed there, but the Civil Rights Act expressly forbade the use of federal funds to help achieve "racial balance." The Office of Education sought, however, to help in solving problems arising in the operation of biracial schools. There was a suggestion here of a familiar bureaucratic tendency to find broader, continuing fields of activity against the day when an original need may have passed.

Title V (Commission on Civil Rights) strengthened that agency, broadened its scope and extended its life until January 31, 1968. Congress also increased its appropriation from $985,000 in the 1964 fiscal year to $1,280,000 for fiscal 1965. The Commission's staff, reorganized and increased from 76 to 101 members, moved into vigorous activity under William L. Taylor, formerly its general counsel, who was appointed staff director. In the winter of 1965 the Commission was engaged in many activities in connection with the implementation of the Civil Rights Act--various titles of which it explained to the public in a series of handy pamphlets. It assisted many departments in the development of regulations and procedures under Title VI and provided staff assistances to the Vice President in his task of coordinating the federal civil-rights program.

As the Commission stated in its preface to the pamphlet "Title VI--One Year After": "When, by July 1965, it became apparent that formal procedures for the enforcement of Title VI had been completed, the Commission turned its attention to an appraisal of whether those procedures were being effective at the local level in areas where the most overt and simple discriminatory practices had previously been widespread in federally assisted programs." The Commission thus became a watchdog over the implementation of this farreaching section of the Act--a valuable function, which sometimes aroused the ire, however, of the departments and agencies concerned.

Title VII (Equal Employment Opportunity) dealing with hiring and promotions, labor union practices and many intricate details of the treatment of workers, took up almost as much of the text of the Act as all the other titles combined. Its gist was a command to employers, labor unions and employment agencies to treat all persons without regard to their race, color, religion, sex or national origin. This applied to employers and labor unions with 100 or more workers from July 2, 1965, and coverage was to be extended each year until July 2, 1968, when those with as many as 25 workers would be covered.

In its enforcement, however, this title was replete with sources of frustration and delay. It required that complaints of discrimination should be referred to state and local fair

employment practices commissions where such existed. These would have as much as 60 days (120 days during the first year) in which to deal with them before the cases would fall within the jurisdiction of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which was created to administer the law. Thirty of the 50 states and the District of Columbia had their own fair employment practices commissions. In the cases within its jurisdiction the Commission was to investigate and seek voluntary compliance with the law through mediation and conciliation. It had no enforcement authority. If voluntary compliance failed, the complainant could file suit in federal court, or the Commission could recommend that the Attorney General bring suit, but relief could be obtained only through the cumbersome process of litigation.

The five-member Commission also suffered from the delay in setting it up--a delay which appeared to be due to difficulty on the part of the President in finding a suitable man to head it. Although the ban on employment discrimination came into effect only on July 2, 1965, the members of the Commission could have been appointed at any time during the year after the signing of the Act, and it would have been desirable to give the Commission ~~four~~ five or ~~five~~ six months in which to arrange quarters, recruit staff, study its problems and plan the work. It was not until May 10, 1965, however, that President Johnson announced the appointment of the Commission.

The post of chairman was not easy to fill. It called for

a person of such ability and prestige as to make up in part for the weakness of the law, and it was not an attractive job. It promised disappointments and criticism and little opportunity for shining accomplishment. The appointment finally went to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., bearer of an illustrious name and then Under Secretary of Commerce. (Incidentally, his father as President during World War II had initiated the first federal effort in this field by setting up a short-lived Fair Employment Practices Commission.)

When the Commission opened its doors on July 2, it was working with only a partial staff in temporary quarters, with policies yet to be formulated and many questions yet to be decided. (Among the latter was the ticklish matter of what constituted sex discrimination.) The body was also plagued already, as it would be more seriously in later months, by rivalry and friction among its members. The Commission was not in full operation until October. By that time it had received 1,383 complaints, of which 966 appeared to come within its jurisdiction. The complaints, largely spurred by the NAACP, were more than it had expected or was prepared to handle. During the first year the number exceeded 8,000.

Roosevelt brought forceful leadership to the Commission and it had some months of moderately successful operation. He was personally an effective advocate of equal employment opportunity. His considerable influence in the business community enabled him to persuade a number of corporation executives to

expand the openings for Negroes in their work force. However, Roosevelt resigned in May 1966 (feeling the call of New York State politics), and the Commission's effectiveness declined. It remained without a chairman until August 31, when the position was filled by Stephen N. Shulman, general counsel of the Air Force and a former member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

The duty of seeing to the elimination of employment discrimination on the part of firms holding contracts with the Government was transferred from the former President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity which President Kennedy had set up to a new Office of Federal Contract Compliance, established by executive order in the Department of Labor.

Meanwhile, on April 27, 1966, the House of Representatives by a vote of 299 to 94 had passed a bill to give the Commission direct enforcement authority and extend the law's coverage to all employers of eight or more. The Senate, however, took no action on this bill before the 89th Congress adjourned.

Title X (Community Relations Service) created a conciliation agency, which contributed significantly to the successful implementation of Title II. Former Governor LeRoy Collins, of Florida, went to work as its director immediately after the signing of the Act on July 2, 1964. He was assisted in the launching of the Community Relations Service by Harold C.

Fleming, executive vice president of the Potomac Institute and a veteran of race relations work, who served as deputy director during the first five months. Collins, earlier a defender of segregation, now an ardent apostle of interracial brotherhood, was a man of tact and personal charm, and his background as a former Southern governor was an additional asset in his work of smoothing the path of desegregation in the South. He resigned in June 1965 to accept the post vacated by Roosevelt as Under Secretary of Commerce.

Calvin Kytle, then deputy director, served as acting director until December 1965, when Assistant Director Roger W. Wilkins, a 33-year-old nephew of the NAACP's Roy Wilkins, was appointed director. Former Congressman Brooks Hays served as associate director for a few months, before resigning to run unsuccessfully for governor of Arkansas. In April 1966 Congress approved the transfer of the Service from the Department of Commerce, under which it had been placed originally, to the Department of Justice. This move, prompted by the President's desire to concentrate civil-rights activities in the latter department, was opposed in many quarters on the ground that a mingling of conciliation and prosecuting functions would impair the Service's effectiveness.

The role of the Community Relations Service had become somewhat uncertain anyway. Conciliation of contending parties in the civil-rights struggle was obviously a massive need, but specific disputes which might lend themselves to useful mediation

by a federal agency were rare. The Service broadened its activities in promoting interracial harmony somewhat beyond the function, given it by the Civil Rights Act, "to provide assistance to communities and persons therein in resolving disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color or national origin..." It set up a Division of Community Action to assist "in developing both official and voluntary programs to end discrimination and correct inequities, and in upgrading or forming effective human relations commissions." A Division of Media Relations worked "with the local and national news media in interpreting civil rights events," and developed "pamphlets, brochures and audiovisual material aimed at improving race relations."[2]

Title VI (Nondiscrimination in Federally Assisted Programs) was the veritable dynamo in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It contained this stern and sweeping command:

> Section 601. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

Enforcement of this was provided for in the powerful language of dollars and cents. Federal departments and agencies were empowered to effect compliance "by the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under

such program or activity to any recipient as to whom there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure to comply..."

A large part of national life was affected by this title. It covered the whole spectrum of programs, public works, and institutions which received any amount of federal support. Activities in the basic fields of education, employment, agriculture, business, housing, health care and welfare--such diverse services as school lunches, airport construction, maternity and infant care, nurses training and forest protection--were involved. And the law forbade not only exclusion of Negroes, but details of discrimination such as "White" and "Colored" signs, separate facilities for withdrawing library books, or separate hours for the use of a hospital recreation room by patients of one race.

The National Guard units of the several states receive heavy federal financial support, yet as late as 1962 ten Southern states had no Negro National Guardsman of any rank. As a result of increasing pressure, which was capped by the Civil Rights Act, Negroes were enrolled in each of these states by the end of 1964. The elimination of lingering discrimination in recruitment, assignment and promotion would be a longer process.

Every applicant for new or continued federal assistance was required to submit a statement that it was, or would immediately begin, complying with the law and the regulations issued

under it. More than 100,000 such assurances of compliance were received before the end of the first year. But progress reports were required, inspection tours by several hundred federal investigators would be necessary, and it would be many months, even years before the elimination of discrimination would be complete.

Of the nine departments and 12 agencies of the federal government concerned the heaviest burden of Title VI fell upon the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. HEW's vast allocations of federal funds included many situations in which racial discrimination was deeply entrenched. Complaints--often stimulated by the NAACP--poured into that department; in the first half of 1965, 700 complaints charged discrimination in schools, 350 in hospitals, receiving federal aid. The Office of Education disbursed two billion dollars a year in aid to schools, and it faced a challenge which had baffled all efforts for a decade--that of putting an end to public school segregation in the South.

The new responsibilities necessitated some reorganization and expansion of the already huge aggregation of bureaus and offices that made up HEW. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel was elevated to the rank of Assistant Secretary and Harold Howe II was appointed to succeed him as head of the Office of Education. A unit was established called the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity, which was put in the charge of David S. Seeley, a former Peace Corps official. Directly

attached to the Secretary's office, an office was set up to be headed by a Special Assistant for Civil Rights--a post later to be filled by F. Peter Libassi, then deputy staff director of the Commission on Civil Rights. In July 1965 President Johnson named John W. Gardner, president of the Carnegie Corporation and a leading figure in American Education--strongly committed to end discrimination--to succeed Anthony J. Celebrezze as Secretary of HEW.

Most of the affected institutions and activities across the nation were able to establish the absence of discrimination from the start, or took prompt steps to end the discriminatory practices that existed. But in many cases, particularly in the South, compliance could be obtained only after haggling and struggle. In April 1966 Secretary Gardner reported that returns from a questionnaire sent to 8,250 hospitals showed that 4,000 were in compliance with the guidelines, 400 definitely not. Other returns were being processed or were under negotiation. In the recalcitrant school districts of the former Confederate states the Office of Education guidelines called for a good faith start on desegregation forthwith--usually the desegregation of four grades--and complete desegregation by the fall of 1967. By October 1965, 97 per cent of the 4,946 school districts in Southern and border states had had their desegregation plans approved. Desegregation proceeded promptly in some districts where resistance was most expected. In Neshoba County, Mississippi, the scene of the murder of three civil-

rights workers the year before, 10 Negro pupils had been admitted to classes with white children. But 97 districts had offered unacceptable plans, and 69 refused to submit any desegregation plan at all.

At the other end of the squeeze which caught recalcitrant Southern school districts the Department of Justice pushed dozens of suits to compel desegregation by court order.

Negro leaders complained at the gradualism in all this. Equality should be established at once and let the white-supremacists get used to it as gradually as they pleased. But from many whites who thought the Office of Education was "moving too fast" a storm of protest rose. Commissioner Howe became the chief scapegoat for Title VI, anathema to the segregationists of the Deep South. In September 1966 he was attacked with vituperation by Southerners in Congress. But the tall, square-jawed, 200-pound Commissioner--who had been a school superintendent, but also had commanded a Navy minesweeper in World War II--never flinched.

Before 1964, Southern defiance of the Supreme Court's express command that public school segregation must end had been a national scandal. Ten years after the Supreme Court's decision only 34,110 of the South's 2,894,563 Negro school children had been integrated with whites. That was 1.18 per cent of the total. In the fall of 1964 the percentage nearly doubled; in 1965 it rose to 5.2 per cent; and in 1966 it would double again. Public school segregation in the South had not

ended, but it was at last inescapably on its way out.

The reduction in the number of all-Negro classes and the dispersal of Negro pupils among previously all-white schools frequently resulted in the removal on one pretext or another of Negro teachers. Many Southern whites were unwilling to entrust their children to them. The National Education Association and other groups busied themselves with finding openings for these teachers elsewhere. Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, of New York, urged school superintendents in that state to hire qualified Negro teachers from the South. An NEA survey found that 668 Negro teachers in Southern and border states had been displaced or downgraded for reasons related to school integration from May through September, 1965; 85 per cent of these had found teaching posts elsewhere or other employment. Accurate figures on the whole picture are not available but the number of Negro teachers affected probably reached 5,000 by the end of 1966--out of over 110,000 in Southern and border states.

Another source of some embarrassment was the shift of white children in the South from racially mixed public schools to burgeoning private schools, where segregation could be continued. But this failed to reach critical proportions. Earlier a general flight to private schools had been widely predicted. However, in South Carolina and Mississippi, where the movement had made most headway, private schools at the end of 1966 had enrolled only about 4,500 and 2,000 pupils respectively. This compared with approximately 660,000 pupils in the public schools of each state. Four states extended sub-

sidies to private schools in the form of tuition grants to their pupils, but this, as a device for evading desegregation, was under attack in federal courts. Discrimination against Negro teachers was also under legal attack.

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Regards —
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Rec'd 12/7/66

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Chapter 13

The Problem of Rehabilitation

The problem of the disintegrating Negro family received much attention in 1965--surreptitiously in large part, but boldly in a memorable speech by the President of the United States. With its concomitants of promiscuity, illegitimacy backwardness, and delinquency, it was, as we noted in Chapter 7, a touchy subject.

Controversy centered early in the year around a mysterious Department of Labor document called the "Moynihan report". Compiled for the President, this was originally intended for use within the Administration and was considered confidential, but its contents leaked to the press bit by bit. Before the end of the year the report, entitled "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," could be had in a 78-page brochure at the Government Printing Office for 45 cents. Its principal author was Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Moynihan was warmly sympathetic with the Negro movement, but he grappled with this problem with unprecedented bluntness. (Moynihan would resign in July to run unsuccessfully for president of the New York City Council.)

The report began with a penetrating analysis of the "Negro American revolution", which, it said, "is rightly regarded as the most important domestic event of the postwar period in the

United States." It saw also "profound international implications."

> It was in no way a matter of chance that the nonviolent tactics and philosophy of the movement, as it began in the South, were consciously adapted from the techniques by which the Congress Party undertook to free the Indian nation from British colonial rule. It was not a matter of chance that the Negro movement caught fire in America at just that moment when the nations of Africa were gaining their freedom. Nor is it merely incidental that the world should have fastened its attention on events in the United States at a time when the possibility that the nations of the world will divide along color lines seems suddenly not only possible, but even imminent.

The report reviewed events in the areas of law and public administration which made it possible to say that "the demand of Negro Americans for full recognition of their civil rights" had been met, but that the nation now faced "a different set of challenges, which may prove more difficult to meet,..." For it found "a considerable body of evidence to support the conclusion that Negro social structure, in particular the Negro family, battered and harassed by discrimination, injustice and uprooting, is in the deepest trouble." Among the Negro middle-class, family stability was as great as, or greater than, among the white middle-class. But "the emergence and increasing visibility of a Negro middle-class may beguile the nation into supposing that the circumstances of the remainder of the Negro community are equally prosperous, whereas just the opposite is true..."

The report presented conclusive statistics to bear out such statements as these:

Nearly a quarter of Negro women living in cities who have ever married are divorced, separated, or living apart from their husbands.

Nearly one-quarter of Negro births are now illegitimate.

Further development of this theme will be presented in words of the President in his speech of June 4, 1965, of which the "Moynihan report" was the chief source and inspiration. President Johnson's speech, delivered appropriately at Howard University, was regarded by many as the greatest of his career, surpassing even his call for voting rights legislation in the Selma crisis. It was historic in its frank recognition by an American President of "white America's" responsibility for the Negro's "long years of degradation and discrimination," and his call "to end the one huge wrong of the American nation." It was illuminating in its succinct portrayal of the Negro revolution, than which, the President said, "nothing touches us more profoundly and nothing is more freighted with meaning for our own destiny." Leslie W. Dunbar, one of the most perceptive observers of that ~~movement~~ revolution, said of his speech: "Since its delivery there is little anyone can add or needs to add to draw attention to the severity of the national problems and the widespread misery of Negro Americans." We would be remiss if we failed to quote extensively from the President's ~~that~~ speech here.

"....The American Negro," the President said, "acting with impressive restraint, has peacefully protested and marched, entered the courtroom and the seats of government, demanding

a justice that has long been denied." And his protest had met with a massive response. "...It is a tribute to America that, once aroused, the courts, the Congress, the President and most of the people, have been the allies of progress."

> Thus we have seen the high court of the country declare that discrimination based on race was repugnant to the Constitution and therefore void.
>
> We have seen in 1957, in 1960 and again in 1964 the first civil rights legislation in this nation in almost an entire century.

But he realized that the revolution had still a long way to go. This was no more than "the end of the beginning."

> The voting rights bill will be the latest and among the most important in a long series of victories. But this victory, as Winston Churchill said of another triumph for freedom, is not the end; it is not even the beginning of the end.
>
> But it is perhaps, the end of the beginning. That beginning is freedom and the barriers to that freedom are tumbling down.

Something more than freedom and equal opportunity would be needed to repair the damage that had been done.

> Freedom is the right to share, share fully and equally in American society, to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school. It is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person equal in dignity and promise to all others.
>
> But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying now you're free to go where you want and do as you desire and choose the leaders you please. You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, you're free to compete with all the others, and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity.

All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates and this is the next and the more profound state of the battle for civil rights.

For the task is to give 20 million Negroes the same chance as every other American to learn and grow, to work and share in society, to develop their abilities--physical, mental and spiritual--and to pursue their individual happiness.

To this end equal opportunity is essential, but not enough, not enough. Men and women of all races are born with the same range of abilities. But ability is not just the product of birth; ability is stretched or stunted by the family that you live with and the neighborhood you live in, by the school you go to, and the poverty or the richness of your surroundings.

In spite of great progress among a minority, the lot of most Negroes in recent years had actually worsened in relation to that of whites.

The number of Negroes in schools of higher learning has almost doubled in 15 years. The number of non-white professional workers has more than doubled in 10 years. The median income of Negro college women tonight exceeds that of white college women.

And there are also the enormous accomplishments of distinguished individual Negroes, many of them graduates of this institution, and one of them the first lady ambassador in the history of the United States.[1]

These are proud and impressive achievements. But they tell only the story of a growing middle-class minority steadily narrowing the gap between them and their white counterparts.

But for the great majority of Negro Americans, the poor, the unemployed, the uprooted and the dispossessed, there's a much grimmer story.

They still, as we meet here tonight, are another nation. Despite the court orders and the laws, despite the legislative victories and the speeches, for them the walls are rising and the gulf is widening and here are some of the facts of this American failure.

> Thirty-five years ago, the rate of unemployment for Negroes and white was about the same. Tonight the Negro rate is twice as high.
>
> In 1948, the 8 per cent unemployment rate for Negro teen-age boys was actually less than that of whites. By last year, that rate had grown to 23 per cent as against 13 per cent for whites unemployed.
>
> Between 1949 and 1959, the income of Negro men relative to white men declined in every section of this country. From 1952 to 1963, the median income of Negro families compared to whites actually dropped from 57 per cent to 53 per cent.
>
> The infant mortality of nonwhites in 1940 was 70 per cent greater than whites. Twenty-two years later it was 90 per cent greater. Moreover, the isolation of Negro from white communities is increasing rather than decreasing, as Negroes crowd into the central cities and become a city within a city.
>
> Of course, Negro Americans as well as white Americans have shared in our rising national abundance, but the harsh fact of the matter is that in the battle for true equality too many, far too many, are losing ground every day.

Why did this situation exist? Not all the answers were clear, but we did know "the two broad basic reasons." First, there was poverty, and the lack of training and medical care. Beyond this was a "cause much more difficult to explain": disabilities which other ethnic groups had not had to combat--"the devastating heritage of ... centuries of oppression."

> We are not completely sure why this is. We know the causes are complex and subtle, but we do know the two broad basic reasons, and we do know that we have to act. First, Negroes are trapped, as many white are trapped, in inherited gateless poverty. They lack training and skills. They are shut in in slums without decent medical care. Private and public poverty combine to cripple their capacities.

We are trying to attack these evils through my poverty program, through our education program, through our medical care and our other health programs, and a dozen more of the Great Society programs that are aimed at the root causes of this poverty.

We will increase and we will accelerate and we will broaden this attack in years to come until this most enduring of foes finally yields to our unyielding will.

But there is a second cause much more difficult to explain, more deeply grounded, more desperate in its force. And it is the devastating heritage of long years of slavery and a century of oppression and hatred and injustice.

For Negro poverty is not white poverty. Many of its causes and many of its cures are the same but there are differences--deep, corrosive, obstinate differences--radiating painful roots into the community and into the family and the nature of the individual.

These differences are not racial differences. They are solely and simply the consequence of ancient brutality, past injustice and present prejudice.

They are anguishing to observe. For the Negro, they are a constant reminder of oppression. For the white, they are the constant reminder of guilt.

But they must be faced and they must be dealt with and they must be overcome. If we are ever to reach the time when the only difference between Negroes and whites is the color of their skins.

Nor can we find a complete answer in the experience of other American minorities. They made a valiant and a largely successful effort to emerge from poverty and prejudice. The Negro, like these others, will have to rely mostly on his own efforts but he just cannot do it alone, for they did not have the heritage of centuries to overcome and they did not have a cultural tradition which had been twisted and battered by endless years of hatred and hopelessness.

Nor were they excluded, these others, because of race or color, a feeling whose dark intensity is matched by no other prejudice in our society.

Nor can these differences be understood as isolated infirmities. They are a seamless web. They cause each other. They result from each other. They reinforce each other.

Much of the Negro community is buried under a blanket of history and circumstance. It is not a lasting solution to lift just one corner of that blanket. We must stand on all sides and we must raise the entire cover if we are to liberate our fellow citizens.

He pictured the intolerable condition of Negroes in big-city ghettos, (one of which would explode ten weeks later in more frightful rioting than any yet seen).

One of the differences is the increased concentration of Negroes in our cities. More than 73 per cent of all Negroes live in urban areas compared with less than 70 per cent for whites. Most of these Negroes live in slums. Most of these Negroes live together, a separated people, and men are shaped by their world.

When it is a world of decay ringed by an invisible wall, when escape is arduous and uncertain and the saving pressures of a more hopeful society are unknown, it can cripple the youth and it can desolate the men.

There is also the burden that a dark skin can add to the search for a productive place in our society.

Unemployment strikes most swiftly and broadly at the Negro. This burden erodes hope. Blighted hope breeds despair. Despair brings indifference to the learning which offers a way out, and despair coupled with indifference is often the source of destructive rebellion against the fabric of society.

There is also the lacerating hurt of early collision with white hatred or prejudice, distaste or condescension. Other groups have felt similar intolerance, but success and achievement could wipe it away. They do not change the color of a man's skin.

It was significantly before this predominantly Negro audience that the President discussed the break-down of the Negro family. But this was a curse for which "most of all, white America must

accept responsibility." There was no "easy answer," though it called for greater efforts in the fields of education, employment, public welfare, social and health programs--and especially "an understanding heart by all Americans."

> Perhaps most important--its influence radiating to every part of life--is the breakdown of the Negro family structure. For this, most of all, white America must accept responsibility. It flows from centuries of oppression and persecution of the Negro man; it flows from the long years of degradation and discrimination which have attacked his dignity and assaulted his ability to produce for his family.
>
> This, too, is not pleasant to look upon, but it must be faced by those whose serious intent is to improve the life of all Americans.
>
> Only a minorty --less than half of all Negro children--reach the age of 18 having lived all their lives with both of their parents.
>
> At this moment tonight, little less than two-thirds are at home with both of their parents.
>
> Probably a majority of all Negro children received federally aided public assistance sometime during their childhood.
>
> The family is the cornerstone of our society. More than any other force it shapes the attitude, the hopes, the ambitions and the values of the child.
>
> When the family collapses, it is the children that are usually damaged. When it happens on a massive scale, the entire community itself is crippled.
>
> So, unless we work to strengthen the family, to create conditions under which most parents will stay together, all the rest--schools and playgrounds and public assistance and private concern--will never be enough to cut completely the circle of despair and deprivation.
>
> There is no single easy answer to all of these problems. Jobs are part of the answer. They bring the income which permits a man to provide for his

family, a decent home in decent surroundings and a chance to learn--an equal chance to learn--are part of the answer.

Welfare and social programs, better designed to hold families together are part of the answer. Care for the sick is part of the answer. An understanding ~~answer.~~ heart of all Americans is another big part of the answer.

The President announced his intention to call in the fall a conference of leaders and scholars both in and out of government. Its purpose would not be to advance the cause in a strict sense of civil rights, which the Negro was "finally about to secure." It would be to seek ways of helping the Negro "to fulfill these rights"--"to move beyond opportunity to achievement." The fall meeting would prove to be only preparatory to a massive White House Conference in June 1966, where resentments and disagreements as well as proposals would be ventilated on a wide range of subjects related to the Negro struggle.

But there are other answers that are still to be found, nor do we fully understand even all of the problems. Therefore, I want to announce tonight that this fall I intend to call a White House conference of scholars and experts and outstanding ~~Negro~~ leaders of both races and officials of government at every level.

This White House conference theme and title will be to fulfill these rights. Its object will be to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which after the long time of injustice he is finally about to secure, to move beyond opportunity to achievement, to shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin, to dissolve as best we can the antique enmities of the heart which diminish

the holder, divide the great democracy, and do wrong--great wrong--to the children of God.

What was being done in mid-1965 to help the Negro to rise? The War on Poverty was aimed at that in large part. Its purpose was to rehabilitate the poor and backward both white and Negro, and, by the $3,000-income rule poverty afflicted one-half of the Negro population, only 20 per cent of the white. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 declared it to be "the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity to live in decency and dignity." That was an undertaking of staggering magnitude. The economist Leon Keyserling told a House committee, after additional funds were appropriated later in the year, that the program could accomplish no more than a fraction, maybe 7 per cent, of its goal. It was nevertheless a groping, stumbling, heroic move in that direction.

There were federal programs for the rehabilitation of communities and the poor antedating the Economic Opportunity Act, with which the War on Poverty was mainly identified, notably the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and the Area Development Act of 1961. There had long been church, philanthropic and other private groups working in this field, though their scope was meager in proportion to the total need. The Ford Foundation had given some $21 million in three years to programs helping deprived families--largely, though not exclusively

Negro--to improve their environments in a number of cities. The work of Dr. Saul Alinsky and his Industrial Area Foundation in Chicago and elsewhere received much publicity. Dr. Alinsky was a pugnaciously independent individual who bitterly opposed the Government's anti-poverty program, but he had shown a rare talent for organizing and stimulating the poor.

Among Negroes the emphasis was still on protest and militancy, but there was more stirring in the field of self-help than heretofore. The Wall Street Journal of August 10 described a CORE project in Tallulah, Louisiana, for sprucing up Negro homes and neighborhoods, getting better jobs, reducing school dropouts and the like. It said a proliferation of such programs indicated "that self-help may eventually replace 'Freedom Now' as the major emphasis in civil-rights activities." More or less similar projects were noted in Washington, D.C., Tulsa, Jacksonville, Hartford, Atlanta and elsewhere. In a 1500-member Southern Consumers' Cooperative in Louisiana, Negro savings were being used to provide credit for Negro business enterprises. The NAACP and the National Urban League were jointly sponsoring a job-training program in Cleveland. Glester Current, the NAACP's director of branches, was quoted as saying: "Once civil-rights groups like ours get over the burden of competing for news space with the more dramatic activities, we can turn our attention to the less dramatic but important things like self-help."

In the great experiment of the federal government, as

June 30 brought fiscal 1965 to an end, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), set up to administer the Economic Opportunity Act, had disbursed $195 million of its $790-million appropriation; nearly all of the remainder had been obligated. The OEO had been strenuously busy--organizing, assembling personnel, opening offices, planning, issuing attractive brochures on its various offerings, enrolling applicants in a dozen programs and otherwise getting on with the massive task of preparation. Some help had been extended to the poor, but, generally speaking, the wheels of operation were just beginning to turn.

However, the War on Poverty was already beset with difficulties and hounded with criticism and complaints. In an enterprise so new in human experience it could hardly have been otherwise. For this was not an effort directly to feed and clothe the hungry and destitute--as some of the poor imagined--but a program to change men and women. And the poor were not a mass of docile supplicants eager to labor and learn, but an infinite variety of deprived human beings whose psychology, rivalries, resentments, suspicious propensities and aspirations were still only dimly understood. To give the poor a bright future of self-supporting citizenship had to be a process of trial and error, and it would take a long time--five, ten years, maybe a generation. "Criticism, experimentation, and even mistakes," said OEO's indomitable director, "are what makes democracy work." The question was: would Sargent Shriver,

OEO and the nation persevere?

It is not said in a derisive sense that Shriver's decorous personality, his dedication and his handsome face fitted him for the image of a Gallahad leveling his lance at the enemies of the poor. He was a man of boundless energy, an able, imaginative administrator and a cogent spokesman for the undertaking. He commanded respect for his universally applauded achievements in launching the Peace Corps. Unfortunately Shriver continued to direct the Peace Corps along with his exacting task at OEO; and did not relinquish the former post until the beginning of 1966. Politics, which would plague the War on Poverty increasingly, had, in its inception, deprived it of a uniquely valuable leader. The astute and efficient Adam Yarmolinsky had been its chief planner and was expected to be Shriver's right-hand man. He was sacrificed to Southern Congressmen, who found him too liberal and forced his removal as the price for their voting for the poverty bill.

Shriver succeeded--at considerable expense--in surrounding himself with men of ability, though necessarily lacking in experience or expertise in this new field. Some 500 "consultants" were employed at fees ranging from $35 to $100 a day; half a dozen of these served as top executives. As of June 30, 1965, 616 persons had been appointed to permanent positions, drawing annual salaries of from $9,500 to $25,000. The seemingly lavish pay scale aroused some of the noisiest criticism of the War on Poverty.

The major programs of OEO were divided into three categories, those directed at youth, those for adults and those for communities, and a fourth, related to all three of these, called Volunteers in Service to America, or VISTA. VISTA, one of the most successful OEO creations, was a kind of domestic version of the Peace Corps, with a similar appeal to the unfailing reservoir of American idealism. Its unsalaried volunteers were to go into slums and backwoods communities and perform services similar to those of Peace Corpsmen in underdeveloped countries abroad. Twenty thousand volunteers had applied, 851 were in training and 202 were in the field.

Poverty-blighted youth--whose redemption was so much to be desired--furnished the toughest customers for OEO. Many in this category were undisciplined, intractable and indolent, not a few had vicious habits and criminal tendencies. Embarrassing incidents occurred and they received inordinate publicity. Shriver was to say five months later: "To read some newspapers one would believe that the Job Corps is characterized by riots, fights, violence and mismanagement. The facts, however, reveal that: (1) There are 17,000 young men and women in Job Corps today. Out of these 17,000 less than 1 per cent have ever been involved in any disturbance of any significance. (2) There are 70 Job Corps centers in operation today. Most people have never heard of 95 per cent of them because 'nothing' ever happens there--'nothing,' that is except education, work, and rehabilitation of youngsters formerly out of work and out of

school." The Job Corps was one of three youth projects; it had enrolled 10,241 at mid-year. It was to prove one of the most expensive of OEO operations, the cost reaching $4,500 per enrollee for nine months of training.

A Neighborhood Youth Corps provided work near home, largely part-time, together with counseling and some remedial education, for school drop-outs, problem students, delinquents and others. It sought to get these to stay in school or return to school. Two hundred and seventy-eight thousand had enrolled in this. A College Work-Study program arranged part-time work on and off campus to enable needy students to remain in college. It was aiding some 40,000 students.

For adults, an Adult Basic Education program had enrolled 37,991 persons, and the number would increase to 195,000 by the end of the year. Rural Family Loans and Small Business Loans had loaned some $21 million to needy farmers and small enterprises. A Work Experience program was helping 88,700 unemployed adults obtain basic education, skills and work experience.

The Community Action programs were, in Shriver's words, "at the heart of the War on Poverty," and they took about one-third of its funds. They embraced a great variety of activities carried on by a variety of organizations. Other anti-poverty programs were spelled out in some detail in the Economic Opportunity Act. Under this head the OEO was authorized to cover "part or all of the costs" of community programs which provided

"services... of sufficient scope and size to give promise of progress toward elimination of poverty or a cause or causes of poverty through developing employment opportunities, improving human performance, motivation and productivity, or bettering the conditions under which people live and work." By June 30, local groups had launched Community Action programs in 415 communities and had received 3,222 grants from OEO, totaling $237 million.

The Community Action programs represented, according to OEO's first annual report, "a unique partnership between local communities and the federal government." But in practice a harmonious partnership between these was already proving exceedingly hard to bring about. The operations involved jobs and federal money, which are everywhere related to politics. The problem was accentuated by a stipulation in the Economic Opportunity Act that programs should be "developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served." In other words, a share of the jobs and of the authority had to be given to representatives of the poor themselves. That share was generally fixed by OEO at from one-fourth to one-third. The arrangement was designed to give greater confidence and dignity to the poor and to provide a channel of communication with them. But it was highly disturbing to politicians who were themselves accustomed to distribute city jobs and control jobholders. Political friction delayed the launching of

Community Action programs in some of the cities--Los Angeles was a tragic example--where such help was most urgently needed.

Nevertheless most Community Action programs were proceeding smoothly, apart from the troubles to be expected in activities so innovative and so largely experimental. One program, called "Head Start," was winning nearly universal praise, and was to prove the most immediately successful phase of the War on Poverty. Under Head Start, poor children four and five years of age were given eight weeks of intensive training and general care to enable them to begin their educational careers more nearly on a par with children from middle class homes. They were given a nourishing lunch each day, received proper attention from physicians and dentists and by specially trained teachers were led gently into the world of books, pictures, music and classroom activity. This project, originally planned for 100,000, by June 30 had enrolled over 560,000 children in 13,400 classrooms in 2,400 communities. Mrs. Johnson, the first lady, was honorary chairman.

Chapter 9

Revolution in Mississippi

It was still in the South that the revolution had its greatest impact. Until 1963 nearly all the turmoil had been in the South. The 1954 Supreme Court ruling against segregation ushered in a period of reaction, varying in duration among the eleven former Confederate states, in which not Negroes only, but civilization suffered. In addition to intensified persecution of Negroes, it saw history, anthropology and Christian doctrine distorted to support the segregationist position, electoral contests reduced to competitions in appeals to race prejudice, defiant bravado on the part of politicians and challenges to the authority of the government of the United States. In most of the South now, that fever had run its course; little by little, crisis by crisis, state by state, moderate elements had risen to the ascendancy. By 1964 the area of the miasma had been reduced to sections of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Louisiana and the states of Alabama and Mississippi. But intolerance, violence and resistance to change were fiercer than ever as they fell back upon these narrower confines. This area presented a problem unlike any other in the national spectrum.

The "Black Belt" has long been a useful designation for the zone of most stubborn race prejudice. This is the name given to a belt of low-lying country extending in an arc from

eastern Virginia through the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana to northeast Texas. In another era it had been the location of most of the great multi-slave plantations, it was still the area of heaviest concentration of Negro population. Whites in the Black Belt--in 134 counties a minority of the inhabitants--for generations had been reared in the almost religious conviction that the Negroes must be kept down, segregated and under control. Resistance to change had abated in the upper reaches of the Black Belt with the onward march of the Upper South states, but in the Deep South the Black Belt was still a reliable guide to the most difficult sections.

"Deep South" had become a psychological rather than a strictly geographical designation. Southwestern Texas and southern Florida were deeper south, but no one identified those relatively liberal sections, of small Negro population, with the "Deep South". South Carolina, the state with the largest proportion of Negroes in its population next to Mississippi, (39 per cent), had been emphatically "Deep South" in the 1950's, but under a moderate state administration and with industry booming, South Carolina had cleared a number of desegregation hurdles peacefully and was not now to be classed among the most troublesome states. Georgia, with a population 31 per cent Negro, was a state in which enlightenment and courageous leadership, though in the ascendancy, existed side by side with elements of darkest fanaticism. The vibrant, progressive city of Atlanta

harbored movements pulling both forward and backward. The incumbent Governor Carl E. Sanders was a liberal, in the Southern sense, and notable strides had been made in breaking down segregation; but large sections of Georgia were still in the grip of prejudice and tension and the state was shamed by outrages of a flourishing Ku Klux Klan. Louisiana (33 per cent Negro) was more nearly dominated by extremists, though voices of moderation were heard in that state and extensive desegregation has been accomplished in the New Orleans and Baton Rouge areas.

The contiguous states of Alabama and Mississippi formed a special trouble zone. Much of Alabama lay in a particularly backward sector of the Black Belt, though the state had a row of progressive cities across its northern end and relatively tolerant Mobile at its southern extremity. Alabama might have avoided being paired with Mississippi as one of the most difficult states, and might have escaped much distress, were it not for the two recklessly inflammatory governors with whom it had been afflicted since 1958: John Patterson until January 1963 and, since then, George Wallace. Mississippi (42 per cent Negro) was of all states the most completely in the grip of white supremacy fanaticism.

These Black Belt-Deep South communities were a muddy backwater from the main currents of American thought. What passed for public opinion on the race problem there was a rancid stew of prejudice, misinformation, hate and paranoia. It started with the premise that Negroes were inferior creatures, who could

not be allowed to associate with whites as equals without both racial debasement and danger to public safety. It envisioned white citizens standing with backs to the wall in defense of "racial integrity" (an expression now preferred to white supremacy) against not only unruly Negroes, but the Supreme Court, the federal government, the national press and television and national religious leaders--all of which were believed to be dominated by sinister influences, especially Communism. Friendship for Negroes on the part of whites had a suggestion here of immorality, advocacy of equal rights for them an odor of treason. Terrorists charged with revolting crimes against Negroes and white champions of the Negro met with not condemnation, but sympathy from most of the populace.

Whites who dissented from this phantasmagoria suffered in many ways. They were shunned by their neighbors; those in business lost customers and credit facilities; some found life unbearable for themselves or their families and moved away. Nonconformists were under constant surveillance--by miscellaneous busybodies, by the Ku Klux Klan and by local officials. Alabama and Mississippi had state agencies, called State Sovereignty Commissions, dedicated to the perpetuation of the status quo; state intelligence services spied upon persons showing an interest in the civil-rights movement, whether white or colored, and kept voluminous files.

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accepted even by intelligent officials, held it to be vital to public peace that Negroes should not be allowed to "provoke the whites". Police activities were directed toward restraining not white assailants, but Negro victims of white attack. Police, while conniving at anti-Negro outrages, were alert to suppress Negro demonstrations. They harassed peaceful civil-rights workers and made wholesale arrests on minor, false or frivolous charges such as parading without a permit, violation of traffic laws, vagrancy and immorality. The state and local courts, cooperating routinely, dealt brusquely with Negroes and sent thousands of them to jail. Whites who molested Negroes, if they got into court at all, were seldom punished. Though many Negroes were known to have been killed by whites, no white man had been convicted of the murder of a Negro in Alabama or Mississippi in the memory of man. For Negroes the "law" was not a source or protection but an instrument of persecution and intimidation.

The sickness in this substantial corner of the nation was worse than most Americans imagined. Frank Trippett, a Mississippi-born associate editor of Newsweek, visiting his home state, found himself handicapped in giving the picture because, he said, "the truth about Mississippi lacks credibility." Life in these two states was sometimes compared to that in a totalitarian society such as that of Soviet Russia or that of Germany under Hitler. As under those regimes a large and noisy element approved of what was going on and another large element conformed because conformity was safer and more comfortable than dissent. True,

this was only a single-track variety of totalitarianism. It was not dictatorship; the state administrations did not command uniform obedience in other matters or discipline fractious politicians. But racism itself was unifying and supreme.

Nevertheless the picture painted in general terms would do an injustice to the white populace of those two states if mention were not made of the brave, sometimes heroic efforts of men and women of conscience to stem the evil tide. They were but a faint leaven, yet a traveler visiting a selected list of addresses could gain the impression that a numerous element of whites deplored the existing state of affairs. The prestige of some of these was sufficient to enable them to make cautious gestures on the side of moderation and survive; others spoke out boldly until they were more or less forced to leave; a few tough liberals braved all and joined the ranks of civil-rights crusaders. Some silent officials would have welcomed a change in public policy. Two hopefully moderate candidates had actually won election to state office, William F. Winter as state treasurer of Mississippi and Richmond Flowers as attorney general of Alabama. A score of legislators in the two states had spoken out in recent years against reckless white supremacy legislation, though nearly all of these had been returned to private life as a result.

Narrow conservatism on the race issue or any other was, of course, not a congenital characteristic of the Americans of the Deep South. A distinguished group of native Alabamians and

Mississippi had moved north and were furthering liberalism at the national level. Justice Hugo Black of the Supreme Court (execrated in his own Alabama) towered among these. Others were Turner Catlett, managing editor of the New York Times, and Mark F. Etheridge, publisher of the Louisville Courier Journal--both from Mississippi; and Alabama-born Helen Fuller, managing editor of the New Republic. ~~and Frank Trippett of Newsweek.~~ Douglas Cater, now a special assistant to President Johnson, had left Alabama for an editorial career with liberal publications.

Among those who persevered in the good fight at home some of the most effective were newspaper editors. Courageous moderation was not characteristic of the press as a whole. The large metropolitan newspapers more often than not had fostered prejudice and hysteria. Several of those in Alabama in 1964 had begun to adopt a more constructive tone, but in Mississippi nothing was doing more to poison the public mind than the stuff that appeared daily in Jackson's two papers, the Clarion Ledger and the Daily News. A third Jackson paper, the State Times, which deviated cautiously from the anti-Negro line, had been forced to go out of business at the end of 1961. In the next echelon of daily papers, however, and among weekly papers a dozen editors were still trying to awaken their readers to the tragic folly of what was going on. A few such had been ousted when their papers were bought out with racist money. Yet the daily Delta Democrat Times of Greenville, edited by Hodding

Carter, Jr., did very well financially and was the strongest voice of moderation in Mississippi; Neil Davis of the Lee County Bulletin in Alabama was appealing for sanity in cogent editorials and still making a business success. J. Oliver Emmerich, editor of the Enterprise Journal in turbulent McComb, Mississippi--repeatedly threatened, bombed and beaten in his long struggle to restore decency and order to that community--was to be classed among the heroes. A Mississippi lady, the unconquerable Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, editor of the Lexington Advertiser, survived ruthless economic pressure and physical harassment and won the 1964 Pulitzer Prize for her fearless editorials.

Two men who in different situations had labored manfully, but with repressed feelings, for sanity in race relations--one in Alabama, the other in Mississippi--banished all inhibitions in the fall of 1963. Each spoke out in a resounding public speech, and each went to work immediately to tell more in a book.

Charles Morgan, Jr., was a Birmingham attorney active in the Democratic Party and known to nearly everybody in town. Tough, sophisticated, gregarious, he might have gone far in Alabama politics had he been willing to acquiesce in the racial insanity, but he had chosen otherwise. His speech to the city's Young Business Men's Club on September 17--two days after four Negro children were killed in a terrorist bombing--was perforce his Birmingham valedictory. In a blistering indictment

Morgan charged that all white Alabamians, officials, businessmen, editors, clergymen--"all of us"--had a share of the blame for the revolting crime. "We are ten years of lawless preachments; ten years of criticism of law, of the courts, of our fellow men; a decade of telling school children the opposite of what the civic books say. We are a mass of intolerance and bigotry..." Morgan's book, published in May 1964 (by Harper & Row) was intitled A Time to Speak--from Ecclesiastes III, 7:..." a time to keep silence, and a time to speak;..." The author is now operating from Atlanta as regional director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

A better speech and a better book were produced by James W. Silver, for 27 years a professor of history at the University of Mississippi. Professor Silver had talked sense on the race question for years among faculty colleagues and students and a few others around the state. He had befriended James Meredith, the lonely first Negro student, throughout the latter's stay at "Ole Miss." When Silver was elected president of the Southern Historical Society in 1962, he resolved to use his inaugural address the following year to give that society and the world a true account of what ~~what~~ was going on in his state. His address, prepared with meticulous research and consultation over a period of months, was delivered at the Society's annual convention in Asheville, North Carolina, November 7, 1963. With the scholarship and authority of a respected historian, he told how Mississippi had "erected a totalitarian society. "

Silver's Book, Mississippi: The Closed Society was published (by Harcourt, Brace & World) in 1964--when he had left Mississippi to join the faculty of the University of Notre Dame.

"Within its own borders the closed society of Mississippi comes as near to approximating a police state as anything we have yet seen in America," Professor Silver wrote, and he said in conclusion:

"....As yet there is little evidence that the closed society will ever possess the moral resources to reform itself, or the capacity for self-examination, or even the tolerance of self-examination...It would seem that for the forseeable future the people of Mississippi will plod along the troubled road of resistance, violence, anguish, and injustice, moving slowly until engulfed in a predictable cataclysm.

"....It cannot be long before the country, seeing that persuasion alone must fail, and perhaps acting through the power and authority of the federal government, will, with whatever reluctance and sadness, put an end to the closed society in Mississippi."

Of these two rebellious states, Alabama would furnish more turmoil and crises in 1965; in 1964 Mississippi held the spotlight. Mississippi had a larger proportion of Negroes in its population than any other state, but the Negro protest had been more feeble in Mississippi because it was more sternly repressed there. The

state became a storm center in 1964, however, when an army of outside crusaders, organized in a "Mississippi Summer Freedom Project," came in to arouse Mississippi Negroes and inform them of their rights.

Mississippi was the most backward state in the Union, its people the poorest and most ignorant. That is, of course, a generalization. The state was not without affluent and polished gentry. The capital city of Jackson harbored an unusual concentration of wealthy aristocrats and business magnates; in Greenville one could meet more urbane and cultivated people than in the average city of its size elsewhere in the country. The median family income of whites was $4,209 a year, that of Negroes $1,444. Mississippi's 916,000 Negroes were the crudest and most retarded in the United States--a result of white oppression, but a circumstance which nourished the myth of racial inferiority so deeply imbedded in the Mississippi mind. Here too the generalization could be misleading: there were a number of Negroes of talent, education and refinement in the state; after Faulkner the most distinguished contemporary Mississippian was probably Leontyne Price, the Negro prima donna. But thousands of the state's most energetic and ambitious Negroes had been in effect driven away year after year. Negroes, now 42 per cent of the population, had been a majority until the 1930's. Only the bravest Negroes in the most tolerant communities were able to, or dared to exercise the franchise. More than 70 per cent of the whites--but less than 7 per cent of the

Negroes--were registered.

The state legislature, from which the tiny moderate element had been virtually eliminated in the last several elections, was regarded by a widely respected Mississippi writer as "probably the lowest common denominator of any political assembly in the United States."[1] In the governor's chair the blustering Ross Barnett had been succeeded by the more temperate Paul Johnson, who had made a sensationally conciliatory speech upon his inauguration in January; but in his campaign for election Governor Johnson had outdone the other contenders in promises to maintain the status quo and he showed no signs of any significant departure from those promises. Ku Klux Klansmen had been organized for the first time in Mississippi early in 1964, this field having been monopolized previously by the Citizens' Councils. The Mississippi Klan, a new order called the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was one of the most vicious and the most secretive. It was growing fast, along with a strident new organization of similar propensities called the "Americans for the Preservation of the White Race." The calmly analytical Southern Regional Council in a report of July 14, 1964, said of Mississippi: "Here every datum of economics and every fact and twist of history have conspired to keep its white people deeply and oftimes harshly resistant to change and its Negro people ill-equipped for it." In 1964, emboldened and instructed by the visiting crusaders, Mississippi Negroes were at last awakening; the white government and public were united in a

desperate effort to stop that awakening.

The Voter Education Project, which we discussed earlier, was in its last year, but it had withdrawn from Mississippi, except in two special local situations, in November 1963. In the other ten Southern states it had added many thousands of Negroes to the voter lists, but it despaired of making significant headway in Mississippi because of the harassment and terrorism in that state. "....Until that is knocked out," its director said, "you are not going to get any meaningful registration there." The response of SNCC and CORE exemplified the revolution's strategic rule to meet rebuff only with massive new attack. The time had come for an all-out drive to arouse, inform and organize the Negroes of Mississippi. Thus the Mississippi Summer Freedom Project of 1964.

The Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), which had been formed in 1962 to coordinate the efforts of the various civil-rights groups in Mississippi in the earlier voter registration drive, was the organizational nucleus for the bigger and bolder initiative. This was not supervised by the sedate Southern Regional Council but dominated by the daring student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Planning started early in 1964, with announcements from both SNCC and CORE of a coming all-out drive in Mississippi, and the call went out for student volunteers. The National Council of Churches came forward with

active support, seeking both to encourage the move and to keep it on a high plane. In May, systematic recruitment got under way. Efforts were made to screen out the immature and emotionally unstable. Applicants were required to complete questionnaires; they had to be at least 18 years of age and those under 21 were required to obtain the permission of their parents. It was an invitation to self-sacrifice. Those accepted were obliged to furnish their own transportation to and from Mississippi and pay their own living costs. They were to be housed with Negro families (in the case of white workers a scandalous detail from the Mississippi point of view). Overshadowing these hard conditions was the obvious danger, which no one tried to minimize. But students responded with enthusiasm.

They came from Swarthmore, Yale, Harvard, Pennsylvania and a dozen other universities and colleges in the East, including women's colleges--Mount Holyoke, Bryn Mawr, Smith and others; they came from Colorado, Stanford and the University of California, from colleges in the Middle West, with Antioch in the vanguard. Many white Mississippians envisioned a horde of Communists and beatniks coming to rape and pillage. As a matter of fact the screening efforts did not eliminate all the dubious characters. These were eccentrics and radicals among them; some would be radicalized by their Mississippi experience. But the majority of these young people were from the American mainstream, youths with high religious and political ideals. Yet they were after all exceptional--"oddballs" some called them. A Mississippi

Negro leader accepted that description: "They aint nothing but oddballs," he said--"coming down here to get scared to death and shot at just to help us Negroes !" A typical student volunteer expressed their commitment thus: "Mississippi is the last stronghold of the old Confederacy and feelings are bitter, but those who are going there have made their decisions rationally. We know there is a chance of being hurt, of being jailed, or being killed, but we still believe in the cause so strongly that we must go."

A training school was set up by the National Council of Churches in the Western College for Women at Oxford, Ohio. In two-weeks courses there volunteers were instructed on conditions in Mississippi and on the nature of their mission. Warned of the hardships and danger ahead, they were trained in techniques for taking beatings with minimum bodily injury--and, of course, without retaliation.

Mississippi prepared angrily for the "invasion." The state legislature passed a spate of new laws to preserve public order--that is, by keeping Negroes and white crusaders under control. The State Highway Patrol was increased from 275 to 475 men, municipalities were given new authority to restrain movements of individuals, and authorized to pool police forces and equipment, penalties for violating city ordinances were increased, ~~municipalities were authorized to pool police forces and equipment,~~ and heavy fines were prescribed for refusal to comply with police commands in nine circumstances relating specifically to the tactics of civil-rights demonstrators.

A fear seized thousands of Mississippi whites not unlike the ancient terror of a slave uprising. Talk of "killing niggers" was more common than before. Unpunished crimes against Negroes multiplied; in the state's southwest corner five Negroes had been reported slain in the past six months. On the night of April 24, crosses were burned in 64 of the state's 82 counties. Half a dozen Negro churches were burned in June. (Ten more would be burned in July, six in August and five in September.)

Meanwhile the Summer Freedom Project aroused anxiety in many quarters outside of Mississippi. The results of a nationwide Louis Harris poll, published July 6, showed only 31 per cent approving of the dangerous enterprise; 57 per cent disapproved and 12 per cent had no opinion. The Washington Post in a leading editorial of June 25 voiced deep concern. It paid high tribute to "this breathtakingly admirable group of youngsters--their idealism, their decency and their courage." But it saw a danger that "tragedy could grow into holocaust, murder into massacre," and reminded that "the federal government cannot guard every hoodlum, Klansman and racist." It said of the volunteers in conclusion: "Let them ask themselves with some humility what action, however fastidiously legal, they are entitled to take that could inflame passions and explode sparks in the political tinderbox of this menacing summer."

One hundred and seventy-five of the young people had already arrived in Mississippi and several hundred more were completing their training. Countless insults and harassments

had been suffered, and one appalling tragedy. But the crusaders kept coming. Ultimately they would number over 1000: about 700 student volunteers, together with 100 regular civil-rights workers, 100 clergymen, 150 lawyers. Of the regular workers about three-fourths were from SNCC and one-fourth from CORE. Aaron E. Henry, president of the Mississippi conference of the NAACP, was chairman of COFO, but otherwise the NAACP and SCLC participated only nominally in the project. The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, however, carried most of the heavy burden of providing legal counsel for the workers in many situations. Three other national organizations of lawyers helped. Operations were directed from COFO headquarters in Jackson by Robert Parris Moses, a Negro scholar (with a master's degree from Harvard) of rare ability and dedication, and a veteran of three years of the SNCC struggle in Mississippi.

A COFO report on the project for the four months ending October 31 showed 3 persons killed, 80 beaten, 3 wounded by gunfire in 35 shootings and more than 1,000 arrested: 35 churches burned, 30 homes and other buildings bombed. Unsolved mystery surrounded the deaths of other Negroes--like a 14-year-old youth, wearing a CORE T-shirt, whose body was found floating on the Big Black River and two adults whose bodies were recovered from a backwater of the Mississippi. It was easy for cynics to say that all this distress had accomplished nothing. Tangible

results indeed were few. In the registration of Negro voters, the chief ostensible objective, only meager progress had been made (about 1,200 new registrations). But Mississippi would never be the same again. The monolithic fortress of white supremacy had been breached, not broadly, but beyond repair.

COFO had established 47 small schools, scattered over the state, where illiterate and near-illiterate Negroes were taught to read and write--and more besides, including how to register for voting. Nearly an equal number of community centers were established. About 150 volunteers, staying on after the summer project, and 200 staff members of SNCC and CORE were continuing the work in more than half of these. The morale of Mississippi Negroes had received a tremendous lift. Many had been made to feel the dignity and joy of manly protest in spite of the risks involved; new leaders had come forward. A political consciousness had been awakened, out of proportion to the handful of Negroes now on the voting list (28,500).

The new Negro political initiative found expression in a "Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party." The MFDP sought to register the will of the large element of disfranchized citizens and, with some justification, claimed as much legality as the regular state electoral processes, from which most Negroes were illegally excluded. The idea began in 1963 when an improvised "Freedom Election" was held simultaneously with the regular November election. In the "Freedom Election", which

was open to all citizens of voting age, 80,000 votes were cast for the NAACP's Aaron Henry for governor and the Reverend Edwin King, the white chaplain of nearly all-Negro Tugaloo College, for lieutenant governor.

The Freedom Democratic Party, organized in the spring of 1964, sought not only to demonstrate but to exercise real political power. Before the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City in August, it held its own precinct and county meetings and state convention and elected a delegation which it claimed to be more nearly legal than the delegation chosen exclusively by whites. An embarrassing hassle occurred at Atlantic City, which will be described in the next chapter. The MFDP delegation was given only token recognition, but the incident dramatized the injustice of the Mississippi situation and resulted in positive gains for the Negro cause. The MFDP also put forward candidates for the United States Senate and three seats in the House of Representatives subject to the November election. When the State Election Commission found that they did not meet legal requirements for inclusion on the regular ballot, an MFDP election was carried out independently. This was carefully planned and supervised. Additional civil-rights workers came to Mississippi to help. Voters were registered on forms calling for the same information as the official registration forms but omitting the Constitution-interpreting requirement. Two hundred voting places were set up in the state. Sixty-nine thousand voted in the MFDP election,

favoring with near unanimity, not only the MFDP nominees for Senate and House, but the Johnson-Humphrey ticket (while Mississippi was going 7 to 1 for Goldwater in the regular election). An effort to seat the candidates thus "elected" to Congress would arouse much national sympathy and receive substantial, though insufficient, Congressional support in 1965.

The "long, hot summer" in Mississippi drew nationwide, even worldwide, attention to the Mississippi problem. It brought a new awareness and a faint sense of shame to that state. Civil-rights activities would be a little safer there, in the future. The dominant organization of businessmen, the 2,500 member Mississippi Economic Council, issued a memorable call for acceptance of the law of the land, communication between the races and extension of the franchise to all. Twenty-three Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders formed a "Committee of Concern" and set about collecting funds to rebuild the burned-out churches. In two areas historic advances had been made. These could not be called COFO accomplishments, but the fact that the steps were taken and taken without serious disturbance reflected a new awareness of the realities of the times, which the Summer Project shared in bringing about. A few days after the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 Negroes for the first time entered and were served at a number of previously "white-only" restaurants, including those in Jackson's two leading hotels. In September Mississippi took the first steps of compliance with what had been the law of the

land since the Supreme Court's Brown decision of 1954. Fifty-eight Negro children entered the first grade in 13 previously all-white public schools in three districts: 39 in Jackson, 18 in Biloxi and one in Carthage.

The atrocity that overshadowed all others in the Mississippi Summer Project was the killing of three COFO workers in Neshoba County in east-central Mississippi on June 21. Two of the murder victims were white: Michael Schwerner, aged 24, a former New York social worker on the staff of CORE, and Andrew Goodman, 20, son of a New York building contractor and a junior at Queens College. The third was James Chaney, a 21-year-old Negro youth of Meridian, Mississippi. Schwerner and his wife had come to Meridian six months earlier to set up a community center, which included a 10,000-book library donated by Northern students. Mrs. Schwerner taught reading and citizenship and instructed Negro women in the operation of sewing machines, while Schwerner pushed voter registration. Chaney was their assistant. Both Schwerner and Chaney served as instructors in the training school for volunteers at Oxford, Ohio, and they met Goodman there.

On Saturday, June 20, these three gathered five other crusaders in a CORE-owned station wagon and drove south to Meridian. There they learned that, 50 miles northwest in Neshoba County, Mt. Zion Baptist Church, a meeting place for

civil-rights workers and the prospective location of a Freedom School, had been burned to the ground on the night of the 16th. On Sunday, June 21, Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman set out in the station wagon to inspect the ruins. There a Negro lay leader told them that on the night of the fire he was dragged from his car in the churchyard and clubbed unconscious by a white mob. Returning through the town of Philadelphia (population 5,500), the county seat of Neshoba, at about 4 P.M., they were arrested by Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price on a charge of speeding. Released at about 10:30 P.M., after Chaney paid a fine of $20, they drove off into the night. They never saw Meridian again.

On Monday anxiety for the three men began to grow. Neshoba County Sheriff Lawrence Rainey said he saw no cause for alarm. "If they're missing," he said, "they just hid somewhere, trying to get a lot of publicity." That was a common white reaction to resist outrages in the Deep South. The claim was almost routine that incidents were contrived by publicity-seeking civil-rights workers. It was predicted that these three men would eventually turn up unharmed, probably in the North, possibly in Cuba.

But the grim likelihood that they had been done to death occurred to knowledgeable observers throughout the nation. In Washington on Tuesday Attorney General Kennedy postponed a scheduled trip to Europe and ordered the FBI to investigate. President Johnson ordered the use of military helicopters to help in the search for the missing men. Then came news that the station wagon had been found, burned out in a Neshoba County bog.

On Wednesday the President sent Allen Dulles, the former director of the CIA, to confer with Governor Johnson and others in Jackson. The next day he ordered out 200 sailors from the naval air station at Meridian to aid in the search. (Mississippians were more resentful of all this federal activity in their state than ~~shocked~~ distressed over the apparent tragedy.)

On August 4, six weeks after the search began, FBI agents uncovered the bodies of the three young men--buried deep in the red clay of an earthen dam under construction at a farm five miles southwest of Philadelphia. The Negro Chaney had been savagely beaten and shot once in the head, twice in the body. Schwerner and Goodman had each been killed by a single shot in the head. Evidently specific directions had led the FBI to the spot. Rumor had it that an informer had been paid $25,000. (Many Mississippians speculated more over who the informer might have been than over the identity of the assassins, were less shocked by the crime than over the thought that the FBI might have paid for the tip.)

It was in bringing to justice the perpetrators of racist crimes in the Deep South that the impotence of the federal government under our federal system was most distressingly apparent. In some less publicized killings of Negroes no arrests were made or cases were dismissed when a justice of the peace declared the killing an act of self-defense or a coroner's

jury found death accidental. In ~~the~~ Some glaring cases federal intervention was energetic and effective--up to the point of trial. FBI agents worked diligently and with the efficiency for which they are famous--only to see their efforts frustrated by state courts or by local juries in federal court. There was no federal law against murder, except on federal property. The Department of Justice could act only under an old Reconstruction Era statute aimed at conspiracies and official acts depriving individuals of their civil rights; the maximum penalty was ten years' imprisonment and a $5,000 fine. Even on this basis the federal effort was likely to be thwarted by local juries which were loath to hand down indictments and convictions of white men in such cases.

There was the assassination of Medgar Evers in Jackson Mississippi in June 1963. This Negro leader, a World War II veteran, was buried in Arlington National Cemetery and a galaxy of high government officials attended the ceremony; while FBI agents were making a round-the-clock search for the killer. A collection of evidence, including a fingerprint on the murder weapon, pointed to an outspoken racist named Byron De La Beckwith, and Beckwith was arrested. He went on trial on January 27, 1964. In the three-day process of seating a jury, some white veniremen, when asked if they thought it "a crime for a white man to kill a nigger in Mississippi", gave evasive or qualified replies. They were excused. The jury finally chosen, however, was all-white. Beckwith admitted in court

having written a letter to the National Rifle Association saying in part: "...We are going to have to do a lot of shooting to protect our wives and children from bad niggers". He had written many letters during his seven months in jail. The prosecution brought out that in none of the more than 150 letters examined did the defendant deny having killed Evers. Beckwith agreed that he represented himself "as making a sacrifice for the cause".[2]

The jury reported on February 7 that it had been unable to reach a verdict. A new trial was called. A second jury having failed to reach a verdict, another mistrial was declared on April 17, and Beckwith was freed.

The case of the murder of Lemuel A. Penn in Georgia July 11, 1964, was similarly dismaying. Penn was a Negro who had quietly pursued his career as an educator; he was director of adult and vocational training in the District of Columbia public schools. He also held the rank of lieutenant colonel in the United States Army Reserve. Penn had not been conspicuous in civil-rights activity. To his assassins--who shot him as he drove along a Georgia highway with two other Negro officers, all in uniform, returning from annual training at Fort Benning--he was apparently just a Negro who had not "kept in his place."

On Presidential orders the FBI went to work and arrested four Ku Klux Klansmen. One of them had confessed and implicated the others, though he later repudiated his statement. Two Klansmen were finally brought to trial for the murder in

September before an all-white jury. The defense attorney denounced the "horde of federal agents in our midst" and harangued: "Never let it be said that a jury....of Anglo-Saxon men will convert the electric chair of this state into a sacrificial altar to satisfy the savage appetite of the clamoring mob." The jury deliberated slightly more than three hours before reaching a verdict of acquittal.

In one killing of a Negro the hands of justice were laid upon a white man: a white youth who shot a Negro woman from a car cruising after March demonstrations in Jacksonville, Flordda, was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to ten years in prison. But no one could remember another instance when a white person in the Deep South had been punished for killing a Negro. The ugly tradition of immunity for racist killers was sustained once more in the Philadelphia case. Only one of the three victims was a Negro, but his two white comrades--"nigger lovers" and "traitors to their race",--were regarded with even greater hatred and contempt. A Neshoba County grand jury "investigated" the slaying for three days and made no charges. The FBI, working independently of state courts, sought to establish guilt on the milder charges possible under federal law. On December 4 its agents arrested 21 white men, including Sheriff Lawrence Rainey of Neshoba County, Deputy Sheriff Price and several leaders of the Ku Klux Klan. Nineteen were charged with violating the civil rights of the murdered youths, two with being accessories to the crime. The FBI

complaint said the killings were plotted by the KKK, that Price arrested the three on a fictitious speeding charge and then released them so that he and the other conspirators would intercept them and kill them.

At a preliminary hearing for the 19 before United States Commissioner Ester Carter in Meridian on December 10 an FBI agent testified that he had obtained a signed confession from one of the two defendants who were not present. Miss Carter, a Mississippi lady, ruled this testimony hearsay and incompetent, and dismissed the charges against all 19.

Indicted by a federal grand jury in January 1965, 17 of the defendants were at last brought to trial in federal court in February. The presiding federal judge was William Harold Cox, an able jurist and a stickler for the niceties of law, also one of those segregationist judges whom, ironically, President Kennedy had appointed. Judge Cox threw out the indictment. "The indictment surely states a heinous crime against the state of Mississippi," he said "--but not a crime against the United States."

Defense counsel Laurel Weir said of the case: "I think it is dead"--and so it was.

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE. *Benjamin Muse.* Viking. $5.

The purpose of this comprehensive, interesting, ably researched book is to narrate public-school desegregation history in the ten years following the celebrated 1954 Supreme Court decision. The author also traces the background of the hard-core segregation movement from the 1860's until the New Deal days. Thirdly, he includes the importance and present state of the racial civil rights crisis in the U.S. The book, which could very well stand for years as a definitive account of a tumultuous decade, is a project of the Southern Regional Council. The author is a former Virginia State Senator.

appeared in Publisher's Weekly - March 22, 1964
Vol. 185, No. 12

Books—Authors

Steps to Integration

"Ten Years of Prelude: The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision," by Benjamin Muse, will be published by Viking on May 18. The author is a former Virginia state senator who is on the staff of the Southern Regional Council. The book, a project of that council, is based on a year of research and three years of talks with Southern newspaper editors, politicians and community leaders.

appeared in NY Times

May 8, 1964- Friday

The Virginian-Pilot
BOOKS

5/17/64

What the Court Began

Prelude to Revolution

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE: The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision. By Benjamin Muse. Viking. 308 pp. $5.

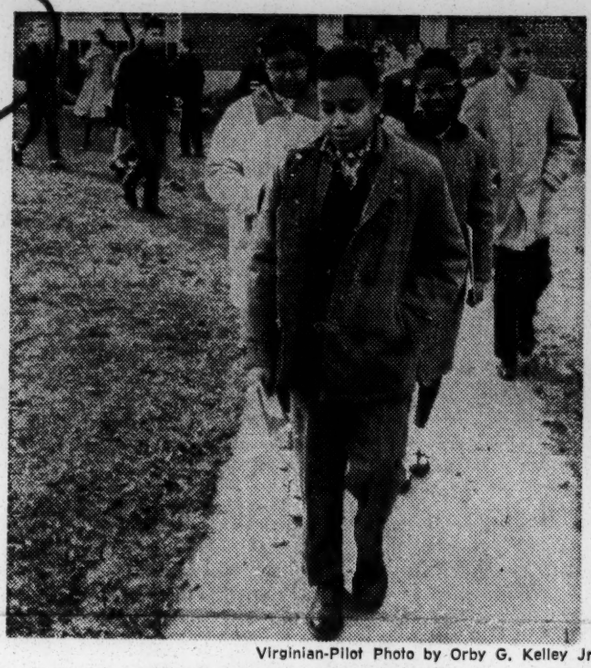
Benjamin Muse is admirably prepared to write the story of what has happened in consequence of the Supreme Court decision of exactly 10 years ago that outlawed segregation in public schools. He is a member of the Southern Regional Council staff, which cooperated with him in his research. Also, he is a Virginian who reported and interpreted this state's educational torture for The Washington Post. Three years ago he wrote "Virginia's Massive Resistance."

Like the earlier book, this one is calm, factual, and thorough. Although Muse ventures an occasional opinion and makes clear his sympathy for Negroes in their struggle for equal rights, he is not much interested in theory and conjecture. The great value of his book lies in the chronology and scope of its report on the movement toward classroom integration — easy here, complicated there, violent elsewhere, stagnant in some cases. Also, it is an excellent index to members of the struggle, from Virgil T. Blossom and the two Carmichaels to John Kasper and Governors Griffin, Faubus, and Barnett.

Inasmuch as he lives in Arlington, just outside Washington, Muse's comment on the Capital's school-race situation is as significant as his Virginia analyses.

The problem there, he insists, has been distorted; Washington race patterns were forming well in advance of 1954. Nevertheless, he criticizes the District school administration, which has not often been true of the race liberals. ". . . Prejudice and disorder were present in the District public schools to a greater extent than the superintendent's office appeared to realize," he says in reference to the bold experiments by Dr. Carl F. Hansen.

The "Prelude" of Muse's title is to the Negro Revolution which, by his reckoning, had as its first peaceful wave the March on Washington last year. That demonstration, thinks the author, marked the time from which Negroes "will never again rest until equal status is achieved." It is beyond the central theme, but a necessary point of reference in school integration's extension. The Montgomery bus boycott, the birth in Greensboro of the sit-in movement, the freedom rides, and the Ole Miss tragedy are among other ribs supporting the body of the book.



Virginian-Pilot Photo by Orby G. Kelley Jr.

New Kids in School

At Norview Junior High School reopening, February 1959.

But essentially this history is devoted to public schools. It is not a pretty history, although there are bright spots in it. Norfolk, Little Rock, Oxford, New Orleans are here. So are Clinton, Sturgis, Mansfield, Texarkana — crisis spots almost forgotten now.

Prince Edward is here, too. Unfortunately, it is a special case, for it figured in the suits of the 1954 decision and now, at this advanced point in the Negro Revolution, is the only county in the United States without a public school system. If there is hope, it is contained in this sentence on page 190.

"Governor Harrison in August 1963 expressed his conviction that Prince Edward's public schools would be reopened at least by September 1964." That time draws nigh.

ROBERT MASON.

3 cy mace

Books in Review

Ten Years of Desegregation

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE. By Benjamin Muse. Viking Press. $5.

FIRE-BELL IN THE NIGHT. By Oscar Handlin. Atlantic Monthly-Little, Brown. $3.50.

ADM. JOHN CROMMELIN, a retired naval officer and active-duty racist from Montgomery, Ala., told a White Citizen's Council meeting at Clinton, Tenn., in 1957 that "someday a statue will be erected on this courthouse lawn to John Kasper." At the time Kasper was the most prominent of the itinerant rabblerousers (Bryant Bowles was another) who made a private enterprise of stirring up hostility to school desegregation.

With the passage of only a few years, though, it becomes difficult to remember the likes of Kasper, with or without statue, and even the violence of Clinton. More regrettably, memory of some of the early heroes fades as well: the Rev. Paul W. Turner, a white clergyman who was beaten up for escorting Negro children to Clinton High School; Dorothy Counts, who maintained her dignity while being spat upon in Charlotte, and Elizabeth Eckford, who became the picture of quiet determination amid the jeers of Little Rock.

Benjamin Muse presents the cast of characters anew in his account of the ten years since the Supreme Court declared May 17, 1954, that compulsory segregation in public education was unconstitutional. A former Virginia State senator who is on the staff of the Southern Regional Council, Mr. Muse begins at the beginning, with the initial reaction to the court's decision and the initial troubles at Clay and Sturgis, Ky., and Mansfield, Texas, and carries the chronology through to the latest stirrings against de facto segregation in the North and West.

he moves off (much as the Negro leadership has) to sit-in demonstrations, public accommodations and the March on Washington, as though winning the right to an equal education were the same as getting one.

Oscar Handlin, the Harvard University historian and specialist in minority-group relations, is as gloomy as Mr. Muse is reassuring. "The decision of 1954," he writes, "raised expectations that ten years later were still unrealized. . . . Colored parents in 1954 had grounds for hoping that their children might some day enjoy the same education as whites; in 1964 they had reason to fear that their grandchildren would still be shunted off to segregated schools."

Dr. Handlin believes that the distance between whites and Negroes has widened in the last decade and that the psychological effects on the latter are "cataclysmic." The fire bell which he hears ringing in the night is the alarm of extremism: extremism on both sides, but, because of his own identification with the civil rights movement, the loss of judgment among civil rightists is the extremism on which he places the most emphasis.

The "Barnetts and Wallaces" he disposes of as being so readily identifiable as "an imminent danger to the survival of free institutions in every part of the United States" that they require no discussion. The aspects of the positive side of civil rights that concern him are the evidences of confusion over integration or equality as the ultimate goal.

In the long run, [Dr. Handlin asserts] our aim is not a society

with the initial reaction to the court's decision and the initial troubles at Clay and Sturgis, Ky., and Mansfield, Texas, and carries the chronology through to the latest stirrings against de facto segregation in the North and West.

The decade has been a momentous one, well worth recording in at least as much detail as Mr. Muse offers. The desegregation which moved early and with comparative calm through Wilmington, Baltimore, Washington, Louisville, St. Louis and other border-state communities ran into the hard wall of official resistance in the deeper South. North Carolina was a breakthrough, but there was Little Rock and there was Virginia, the intellectual fountainhead of massive resistance and interposition.

—o—

If Little Rock was a turning point, because it at last forced the Government to back up Federal court orders, so too was the backdown in Virginia, where public sentiment gradually overcame the legislative position that it was better to close down a white school than to have a few Negroes enter its doors. Following the two events the desegregation pace quickened, reaching to Houston and New Orleans in 1960 and to Dallas, Atlanta and Memphis in 1961. Even Charleston in hard-core South Carolina had by 1963 seen Negro students enter four white high schools in an atmosphere of what Mr. Muse describes as "tranquillity and ease."

Excluding Mississippi and the disruptive efforts only last fall of Governor Wallace in Alabama, it is easy and comforting to agree with the general tenor of Mr. Muse's book, which is that the crisis in school desegregation has passed. While he points out that by the end of the first decade only a small fraction of the South's Negro children had experienced any of the broader educational opportunities which the Supreme Court decision held out to them, United States" that they require no discussion. The aspects of the positive side of civil rights that concern him are the evidences of confusion over integration or equality as the ultimate goal.

> In the long run, [Dr. Handlin asserts] our aim is not a society composed of people who are all alike but one which recognizes the individuality of each man and permits him without penalties to express the differences of his personality and his heritage in his own way. Properly speaking, therefore, not integration but equality is our genuine objective.

—o—

The bitter news from Alabama and Mississippi, he has found, "narrows the attention of Northern Negroes to the sole issue of integration so that they cannot conceive of any other road to equality." Conversely, he says, "the emphasis on integration lends substance to the Southern fear that complete amalgamation will be the result of any approach to equality. Yet our experience as a nation should teach the Negro that ethnic groups can retain their character and identity and still be equal."

Continuing Dr. Handlin writes:

> The distinction between integration and equality is crucial to any estimate of the means available to resolve this momentous question. If equality is the true objective toward which every American should strive, the problem is not the same on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. In the South inequality is still sustained by act of government; in the North it is the product of self-interested, thoughtless or prejudiced individuals. . . .

To quote any more from the short, closely knit text would be a disservice. It is sufficient to say in summary that he believes it would be better to put more emphasis on fulfilling the promise of the 1954 court decision than on getting burnt cork off faces in a Mummers' parade.

EDGAR L. JONES.

Studies of Two Aspects Of Negro Revolution

Crisis in Black and White. By Charles E. Silberman; Random House; 370 pages. $5.95.

Ten Years of Prelude. By Benjamin Muse; Viking; 300 pages. $5.00.

Once America achieves the promises of the Declaration of Independence, the current "Negro revolution" will only interest historians. While it goes on there can be no end to the books about it. These two, both by men of good will and essentially similar viewpoint, cover very different aspects.

As the title suggests Mr. Muse has written only a "prelude" to the greatest all-out contest for civil rights, which he discusses only in the last chapters. His is a careful, readable account of the manner in which the Southern states have responded to the Supreme Court's order of 1954 that segregation be abolished in the schools.

A Virginian himself, Mr. Muse's main interest is the psychology of the white Southerners. He distinguishes between the border states, where more often than not desegregation began promptly, and the old Confederate South where it was resisted.

He shows optimism, Mr. Muse concludes that the longer "revolution" has barely begun; but he takes heart from gains.

Mr. Silberman, a New York lecturer on economics, has written a very different sort of book. In his eyes nominal school desegregation will accomplish little by itself, though in one chapter, "The Negro and the School," he suggests a way of bringing all slum children, not Negroes only, to the mental alertness of more privileged children.

He begins by hoping that his book will "offend and anger" both Negro and white, "for it is impossible to tell the truth about race relations in the United States without offending and angering men of both colors." What may offend Negro readers is his analysis of personality traits, not inherent, but developed by centuries of angry frustration which are less than endearing.

The Black Muslims get sympathetic treatment from Silberman. It is not that he sees anything realistic about their demands, or condones their encouragement of black racism, but that they have given delinquents and helpless foundlings a sense of dignity and purpose.

In denouncing "welfare colonialism," which perpetuates dependents, he gives attention to the method of the Industrial Areas Foundation, which under Saul D. Alinsky educated a slum area in Chicago to "fight city hall," the slum landlords, and the University itself. The point here was that though a white man came to show the way, he did so with no suggestion of "Papa knows best," but to aid slum dwellers to do what they wanted most, help themselves. The method is being imitated in Kansas City, and could well be followed in Boston.

It's an angry book and since it doesn't minimize the complexity of the problem, frightening. But its very honesty is heartening.

Marion L. Starkey

(Miss Starkey has recently written a book on the American Negro.)

Boston Globe 5/19/64

Benjamin Muse

Advice to Negroes: Organize Power

CRISIS IN BLACK AND WHITE, by Charles E. Silberman (Random House, $5.95).
TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE, by Benjamin Muse (Viking, $5).

By Nicholas von Hoffman

A BOOK about Negroes in the North, "Crisis in Black and White," will anger some people of both races.

The University of Chicago, the NAACP, the Field Foundation, the social workers [illegible] are rather the [illegible] criticism the [illegible] in it would [illegible] what is [illegible] on this [illegible] book.

[illegible] is a white [illegible] lecturer [illegible] of Fortune magazine [illegible] analytical style [illegible] immediate need of [illegible], not blubber[illegible] nor uncompre[illegible] sympathy.

Mr. Silberman says that [illegible]ation and alienation of the North's Negro masses is now as a great a barrier to Negro progress as discrimination and bigotry. He reasons that three centuries in America has created a Negro personality and society that is so maimed in spirit that vast numbers of Negroes would be incapable of taking advantage of equal opportunity even if they had it, which of course they do not.

[illegible] Mr. Silberman [illegible] who says [illegible] don't have [illegible] 50 years ago [illegible] white, [illegible] thousands of children [illegible] by whites [illegible] everything will be fine.

Although few outstanding experts have taken the Hamer thesis seriously, Mr. Silberman believes that it is the guiding thought behind many private and government programs. The consequences, in his view, have been welfare and educational programs which are as expensive as they are ineffec-

[illegible] Negro [illegible] Organizations, [illegible] is praised by the [illegible] as the best, if not the only, success in an American city.

"TEN YEARS of Prelude" is a history of school integration since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision.

Its author, Benjamin Muse, is a white Virginian who [illegible] gently of the South's [illegible] as he [illegible] among their [illegible] hospital [illegible]. He finds a [illegible] but he [illegible] that 10 years after the decision 98.8 per cent of the South's Negro children still go to segregated schools.

"If the speed of school desegregation had increased," he writes, "it was from that of the snail to that of the tortoise."

Nicholas von Hoffman of The Daily News staff is a writing specialist in social studies concerned mainly with the Negro movement.

Charles E. Silberman

OHIO DAILY NEWS 23 May 1964

From address of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy at the Lehman Award dinner of the American Jewish Committee-Human Rights Appeal for Human Relations, Plaza Hotel, New York City, April 16,1964:

"Benjamin Muse, a Virginia writer, says in his new book about integration in the past decade: 'The unrest will end sometime because it is inevitable that in America, justice and humanity in time will prevail.'

"Let us join today not only in his sentiments but in his certainty...."

JAMIN MUSE
OFFICE BOX 312
ASAS VIRGINIA

ABE FORTAS
A. F. POSNER
JOEL L. PORTER
GEORGE HAMILTON (1941-1964)
MILTON V. FREEMAN
NORMAN DIAMOND
WILLIAM L. HEDEVERN
CAROLYN E. AGGER
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G. DUANE VIETH
VICTOR H. KRAMER
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CABLE ADDRESS:
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TELEPHONE
FEDERAL 8-3700

May 23, 1964

Miss Julie Van Vliet
The Viking Press Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Miss Van Vliet:

I am extremely grateful to you and to Benjamin Muse for sending me a copy of his book "Ten Years of Prelude" -- which I have now read. This is a splendid book -- excellently conceived and executed. It deserves widespread reading, and I hope that it is receiving the acclaim which it merits.

The book is worthy of Mr. Muse who is certainly one of our great Americans.

Sincerely,

Abe Fortas

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1964

Dear Miss Van Vliet:

Thanks for your letter and the book.

This book by Benjamin Muse "Ten Years of Prelude: The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision," is an important addition to our literature on the subject. It will prove to be an extremely useful reference work for students of the problem. Moreover, the narrative makes good reading. So, thanks to Benjamin Muse for the extended exertions which produced it.

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

Brooks Hays

Miss Julie Van Vliet
Publicity Director
The Viking Press Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

COMMUNICATIONS CENTER

B-A
Benjamin Muse

File

April 15, 1964

Mr. Denver Lindley
The Viking Press
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Denver:

When Benjamin Muse's TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE came, I had just finished reading galleys of another book on the same general subject. There is no comparison. Not only in relative but in absolute terms, Muse's book is far and away the best- the most thorough and honest, the most interesting, the most carefully written- of the eight or so books on the integration crisis I've read. I'll try to say all this, though with more grace and style, when I review it for the AFROAMERICAN Newspapers.

Thanks for sending it to me.

Cordially,

Saunders Redding

Congress of the United States

JOINT [illegible]

April [illegible], 1964

Miss Julia Van Vliet
Publicity Director
The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Van Vliet:

This is probably a belated statement, but I regard Mr. Muse's book as "the best account of the ten year's struggle over desegregation."

With all best wishes,

Faithfully yours,

Paul H. Douglas

PHD/jce

YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN · CONNECTICUT

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY HALL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

March 4, 1964

Miss Susie Van Vliet
The Viking Press Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Miss Van Vliet:

I think Mr. Rose has put the "Ten Years of Prelude" into [illegible] perspective and clarified our understanding of where we have come and where we have arrived.

You are free to quote me.

Sincerely,

C. Vann Woodward

The Bookshelf

GL PRED HERALD POST

Edited By Laura Scott Meyers

THE YEAR THAT CHANGED THE WORLD —1945. By Brian Gardner. New York: Coward-McCann. $5.75.

Mr. Gardner has chosen for his subject one of the most eventful years in history — 1945, and has correctly labeled it in his title—"The Year That Changed the World".

The events chronicled in this well written book are shown in a new light and the vivid accounts of the closing battles of World War II, the fateful conferences of Yalta, Potsdam and San Francisco where the United Nations Charter was signed, are presented against a background of detail that speaks of an intensive research into many and varied sources.

The author's account of the relationships between Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin before and after the Yalta Conference in February of 1945, until Roosevelt's death in April, are not always in agreement with some of the myths that have grown around these World War II leaders, and, if anything, his reexamination of all three men leads to the conclusion that all three were forced into making fateful decisions by events and pressures they were unable to resist — pressures and events domestic and international honest and deceitful.

Under Mr. Gardner's spotlight, Stalin does not emerge quite so satanic as we would like to believe him, nor is President Roosevelt revealed as being quite the dupe that some historians would mark him out to be. However, in the writer's opinion, neither does Mr. Churchill emerge with his halo quite so firmly in place as Mr. Gardner would have us believe.

The author's account of Mr. Roosevelt's obsession with forcing Britain to renounce all of its former colonies and to "free" all of the people of the far-flung British Empire, which was first made clear to Churchill during the Atlantic Charter Meeting, may surprise some people who were not aware of this facet of Roosevelt's idealism. Some of Mr. Gardner's conclusions seem to be a little far-fetched as when he says that "It seems to have been Roosevelt's ambition to see Britain a compliant power after the war", and might be laid to a slight, but unmistakable, anti-American bias on the part of Mr. Gardner which shows itself in spots throughout the book.

Mr. Gardner's comments on the actions of General Eisenhower, Bradley and Patton are a bit on the [illegible] side and his evaluation of the allied strategy during the [illegible] of the European War is not flattering. In the cold light of 1964, we can all see the mistakes that were made in 1945 — but the strategic decisions were made by events as much as by men, and the events that make history happen too fast sometimes for any man to overtake them.

In the light of the smooth assumption of authority by President Johnson on the death of President Kennedy, it is shocking to learn how unprepared President Truman was when Franklin Roosevelt died in April, 1945, and even more shocking to learn how little was known by President Truman of the true state of our strategy, foreign affairs and plans when he took the oath of office. Mr. Truman deserves more credit than he has received for the way he took over command during that critical time in our history.

This writer would prefer not to comment on Mr. Gardner's opinion of THE BOMB — one should read the book itself to study his conclusions on this subject.

No one can take issue with the fact that we lost the peace before we won the last battles in Europe, or that the "Cold War" started before the "Hot War" was ended. The chronological history of this decisive year, as set out by Mr. Gardner, does help explain why.

A comparison of our post-war policy in the Pacific, particularly in Japan, demonstrates an ambivalence in our foreign policy that is hard to understand from the vantage point of 1964.

Many of Mr. Gardner's views will cause considerable controversy, but he has produced an interesting book about a crucial twelve months of our history that is well worth reading by both the serious student of our times and anyone interested in why and how the world is the way it is in 1964.

ALBERT HORWITZ

* * *

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE. By Benjamin Muse. New York: Viking. $5.

On this tenth anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, Professor Muse, an established writer on race relations, has attempted a definitive history of these troubled years. After reviewing the background of the decision and studying the decision itself, Professor Muse examines the initial reaction ten years ago among Negroes and whites, and in all parts of the nation. Noteworthy, of course, was the prompt desegregation of the El Paso public schools, mention of which is made in the book.

Then followed the troubles in the border states, including the incidents in Clinton, Tennessee, and Mansfield, Texas, and finally in Little Rock. Perhaps for the first time the Mansfield situation is placed in its proper historical perspective. Professor Muse explains, "Governor Shivers was faced squarely with the question which in time would confront three other Southern governors: Whether to preserve order in compliance with the federal court desegregation ruling or to preserve order by causing, or allowing, those rulings to be flouted. In a crisis which occurred almost simultaneously in Tennessee, the governor of that state chose the former course. The governor of Texas chose the latter . . . Calm was restored in Mansfield but the mob accomplished its purpose. Mansfield High School has remained segregated to this writing, seven years later".

The blame for Mansfield is not placed upon Governor Shivers, however, but upon President Eisenhower. The Presidential Press Conference of September 5, 1958, is set out at length, and we learn from his own lips how President Eisenhower was totally unadvised and unprepared for the action taken by Governor Shivers, and how he thus failed to enforce federal law. The White House mistakes on Mansfield, however, proved educational, and at Little Rock Eisenhower was prepared and resolute.

Some thirty valuable insights are afforded into white and Negro thought in the chapters on negrophobia and the banishment of Uncle Tom. Muse explains how with the election of a new administration in 1960 the Negro community experienced a revolutionary change, a permanent effect, maturing this segment of the population. He concludes that we may expect the militancy of the sit-in, the stand-in, the freedom rides, freedom marches, picketing, lobbying and demonstrations, to continue as a permanent phase of the revolution for equality in America, concluding that, "The Negro population has been in America as long as the white. To the Negro American this is his country; he knows no other. What he was striving for in the tenth year after the Brown decision was to become at last a part of the American people".

RICHARD T. MARSHALL

* * *

THE REST OF THE STORY. By Shellah Graham. New York: Coward-McCann. $4.95.

"I wonder at what moment the money becomes interesting and you want to make a profit on what began as a noble idea?"

HOUSTON CHRONICLE
D. 225,598 SUN. 265,358
MAY 31 1964

Supreme Court Decisions In Last 10 Years Studied

THE MAKING OF JUSTICE, by James E. Clayton, Dutton, 319 pages, $4.95.

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE, by Benjamin Muse, Viking, 308 pages, $5.

James E. Clayton, Supreme Court reporter for the Washington Post in his "The Making of Justice," incisively describes the 1962-63 term of the Supreme Court from October, 1962, to June, 1963.

He summarizes recent criticism of the Supreme Court. The court's pre-1962 troubles stemmed largely from bitter, vocal reactions to unpopular decisions handed down in the 10 previous years. Politicians and other opponents accused the court of being integrationist, pro-Communist and anti-states rights.

The 1962-63 term involved many issues certain to arouse more criticisms—constitutionality of governmentally prescribed prayers, legality of lunchroom segregation, constitutionality of Georgia's county unit system, federal review of state criminal procedures, communism and expatriation. Clayton explains each decision clearly. His commentaries about our two newest justices, Byron White and Arthur Goldberg, are interesting and timely.

The book analyzes the new liberal-conservative dichotomy on the court and the judicial philosophy of the two blocs. During the 1962-63 term, the court's liberal wing, composed of Chief Justice Earl Warren and Associate Justices Hugo L. Black, William O. Douglas, William J. Brennan and Goldberg, claimed a majority of five. They were disposed to safeguard "the rights of the individual and to reinforce the guarantees of the Bill of Rights." The conservatives, now in the minority since retirement of Justices Felix Frankfurter and Charles E. Whittaker, urged judicial "self-restraint." This group consists of Associate Justices John M. Harlan, Tom Clark, Potter Stewart and White. Twelve cases were decided by 5-4 votes, and 10 of these involved protection of individual rights.

The book explains the nature and importance of the court's work for the layman and, hopefully, will promote more rational appraisal of its work. It should be worthwhile for citizens of all political persuasions and mandatory for undergraduate students of American government.

May 17, 1964, marked the 10th year since the Brown case decision which declared segregated schools unconstitutional. Benjamin Muse, former Virginia state senator and now on the staff of the Southern Regional Council, has written a book, "Ten Years of Prelude: The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision." It is well timed.

It primarily is a survey of Negro's fight for implementation of the 1954 edict. He chronicles the emergence of many anti-integration organizations pledged to the maintenance of segregated schools and reviews effects of the decree in border states and the 11 Confederate states. Recent impact of the school desegregation struggle in many parts of the North is described. Progress in desegregating areas other than schools is included.

The book reflects the fact that implementation of the court's mandate has been slight. One must concur with Dr. Martin Luther King, who spoke recently in Houston and expressed the fear that at the present pace, it will take a century to achieve total desegregation.

Muse's data clearly show that compliance has been achieved relatively easy where public officials endorsed or accepted the decision. The survey also reveals that more compliance was achieved during the presidency of John F. Kennedy than under President Eisenhower.—MAURICE COMPTON WOODARD, Political Science Teacher, Prairie View A&M College.

One aspect of Kirkpatrick's documentation calls for a word. Several times a living source is identified simply as an "informant." The author explains that several of his sources asked to remain anonymous and that he decided then to name none of them "in order not to discriminate"—though he does except Cardinal Pizzardo and Dino Grandi. Some of the best stories in the book thus remain unidentified. For example, that old anachronism Camille Barrère, French ambassador as late as 1924, saw Mussolini the day the Matteotti crime became known. The Duce was distraught, and Barrère was convinced he had no direct responsibility for the murder. But so far our only reference for this important story is an "informant."

Sir Ivone himself refers to "the apparently insatiable demand for information about Mussolini." For whatever odd reasons, that seems a consoling fact. Certainly every aware person should read at least one good book on Mussolini in the course of a lifetime. This is the book.

DANIEL B. CARROLL

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE
By Benjamin Muse
Viking. 297p. $5

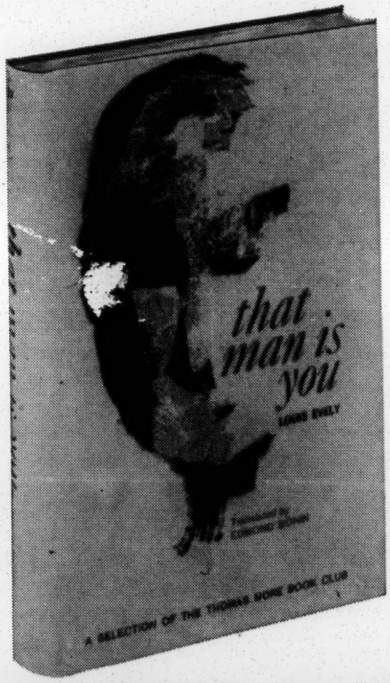
May 17, 1954—a date already assigned its place, alongside July 4, 1776 and Jan. 1, 1863, in the annals of the American nation. May 17, 1954—so soon a date-to-be-memorized by students of history, sociology and law. May 17, 1954—the date on which the American revolution entered its final and perhaps most conclusive stage.

On that date, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place;" that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal"; that any person who is thus separated is thereby "deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment." In a word, the Supreme Court struck down the last major ideological obstruction to the growth and fulfillment of the *idea* of American democracy.

May 17, 1954—the day that suddenly and finally forced the American people to face their dilemma, the contradiction between pride in the democratic ideal of equal rights and opportunities for all, and reluctance to provide those rights and opportunities to the American Negro.

Ten Years of Prelude records the impact of the confrontation of the American nation with the American dilemma. Its author, Benjamin Muse, is a former Virginia State Senator and member of the Southern Regional Council. Its date of publication, fittingly, was May 17, 1964.

From the first ironically mild reactions to the Supreme Court decision by the southern States, through the years of solidifying southern resistence and growing Negro militancy, to the explosion of the Negro revolt at the end of the decade, here is the first completely detailed and objective account of the civil rights movement since that historic day in May. Passive resistance and massive resistance; the "Southern Manifesto"; the civil rights bill; the closing of Virginia schools, Little Rock, the University of Alabama and "Ole Miss"; sit-ins, wade-ins, kneel-ins and Freedom Rides; the NAACP, CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the White Citizens Council; the March on Washington and the National Conference on Religion and Race – all these, in Mr. Muse's book, are transformed from the isolated, complex and



THAT MAN IS YOU

By LOUIS EVELY
Translated by Edmond Bonin

"Abbé Evely is obviously a man of great intensity and his firm conviction that the message of Christ is meant for people who live today puts the reader into contact with the reality of his own life and with what Christ asks of him. The word 'reality' is perhaps the key theme of this work."—*Ave Maria*

"If only one current book could be chosen . . . for year-round meditation the selection might well be Abbé Louis Evely's masterful *That Man Is You.*"—*Virginia Kirkus*

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"...a genuinely original contribution to our literature on the New Testament."
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An Introduction to the Catholic Theology of the New Testament

By Quentin Quesnell, S.J.

Worship described *This Good News* as "a great friend to the gospels. Not only does it sum up what they say, but it adapts them to our time . . . To say that this is a useful book for students, pastors, professors, and religious is an understatement. It is also excellent spiritual reading."

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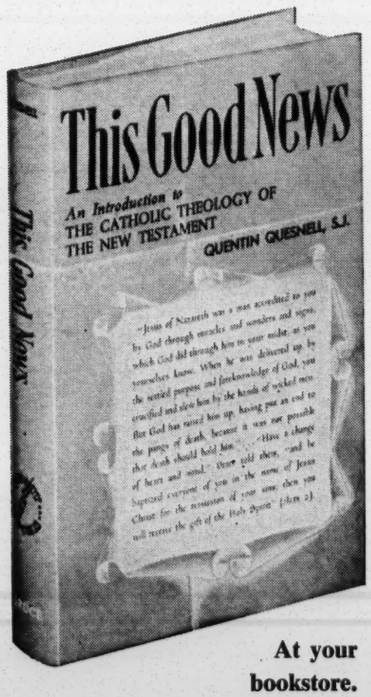


At your bookstore.

THE BRUCE PUBLISHING CO.
105 Bruce Building
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

bewildering facts of the daily newspapers into a masterly historical account in which each detail suddenly falls into chronological and ideological perspective.

Herein lies the greatest value of *Ten Years of Prelude*; it is not a collection of impressions, but a record of facts. And the record of the facts, when seen and comprehended in their totality, enables the observer and participator in the civil rights movement to see that the May 17, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court was not the beginning of the Negro revolt, but the prelude to it; that the Negro revolt is just beginning now; that little has been accomplished in the light of what yet must be done.

Ten Years of Prelude, then, offers what no other book about the civil rights crisis can: the historical perspective necessary for understanding —and thus for controlling—the forces that have been unleashed.

ROY M. GASNICK

SOVIET FOREIGN PROPAGANDA
By Frederick C. Barghoorn
Princeton U. Press. 320p. $6

Prof. Barghoorn was "innocent of any intelligence mission," declared the late President John F. Kennedy at his news conference on November 14, 1963. The Yale professor, in a Soviet prison for 16 days on charges of espionage, was soon released. Appropriately, the book under review is dedicated to the memory of President Kennedy. It was written before the detention and does not cover the incident, except for a reference in the preface.

Barghoorn's work is especially welcome because there is relatively little published about Soviet communication. He covers the doctrine, development, themes, techniques, organization, effectiveness and limitations of Soviet propaganda. It is a capable and useful work, covering a most significant instrument of Soviet foreign policy. His sources include Soviet materials and conversations with Soviet citizens.

The most striking impression that emerges is the totality of Soviet propaganda effort. The network is worldwide. Controlled by the Communist party in Moscow, the channels include the local Communist parties, "front" organizations and "friendship" societies.

Soviet leaders have adapted themselves to changing situations. Recently, Africa has become a primary target of Soviet broadcasts, and Latin America a target of propaganda publications in Spanish, especially on "action" subjects such as guerrilla warfare.

Soviet propaganda continues to portray a polarized, dichotomous image of the world, contrasting the "good" of "socialism" with the "bad" of "capitalism." The primary target is the United States.

The image Soviet propaganda seeks to create of U. S. policy and the American people, as revealed by Barghoorn, is a sober reminder that recent U. S.-Soviet co-operative efforts have not fundamentally altered Soviet policy toward us. "Means change," Barghoorn observes, "but the goal of a world revolution presided over by Moscow has never been abandoned." To this end, Soviet propaganda is designed to associate the policy of the USSR with the aspirations of the peoples of the world.

The Soviet Union has sought to exploit liberation movements, claiming that it has solved the "nationality" problem and portraying itself as a "model" for rapid industrialization and modernization.

To deal effectively with Soviet propaganda, the author says, we must recognize the elements of truth in Soviet claims (how we are to do this is not explained) but also, quoting the American sociologist Alexander Vucinich, be aware of "the titanic and mostly unwitting publicity given to Soviet scientific and educational achievements in non-Communist countries."

JOHN J. KARCH

THE END OF ALLIANCE
By Ronald Steel
Viking. 148p. $3.75

With justification it is often said that the two most critical and persistent problems of the Cold War are the German question and the thermonuclear arms race. Writing as a former Foreign Service officer, Ronald Steel addresses himself to both these problems and argues that the United States has reached an impasse in its foreign relations because Washington attempts to treat these questions separately instead of acknowledging their close relationship.

The author rarely digresses from his main thesis that American foreign policy is fundamentally inconsistent. On the one hand, the United States is cautiously attempting to achieve a détente with the Soviet Union and thereby terminate the arms race. On

WINSTON-SALEM

The President and the People

Two Versions of Racial Progress

MR. KENNEDY AND THE NEGROES. By Harry Golden. World Publishing Co. 319 pp. $4.95.

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE. By Benjamin Muse. Viking. 308 pp $5

By H. Clay Ferree

FEW issues of our day have created so much literature as that of civil rights. This is hardly surprising in view of its social significance and its appeal to idealism and one's sense of morality and justice. But inevitably, with so many writers combing the field there is much repetition and threshing of old straw.

The authors of the above named works cover much ground that has already been covered rather well, but each approaches the civil rights problem from a somewhat different angle, and each succeeds in throwing some new light on it.

Harry Golden, inimitable editor of the Carolina Israelite and author of several best-seller books, eschews some of the wit and humor for which he is widely noted to offer in "Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes" a serious analysis of the Negro movement in the United States and an in-depth study of what he terms Kennedy's total commitment to that social revolution. It was under President Kennedy, he insists, that the civil rights movement, sputtering here and there and largely stalled, really got moving. And this was due to the strong intent and bold planning by the President and his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

Golden traces the history of the civil rights movement from its beginnings during the Roosevelt administration to show how it gained impetus under the equalitarian policies of the New Deal, the active, humane interest of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and a series of decisions in higher education cases by the Supreme Court.

HARRY GOLDEN
. . . Kennedy's role . . .

In flashback style he cites the record to emphasize the point that Jim Crow laws, instead of harking back to ante-bellum days, are of comparatively recent origin. One may question the too-common assumption that they grew solely out of white racism and the desire of political demagogues to put the Negro in his place.

There were many conscientious white leaders in the so-called "red-shirt" days who felt that only by separating the races could order be brought out of the chaos and social anarchy which plagued the South in the wake of Reconstruction. However, the racist factor and demagogy too, played an important role in the enactment of the Jim Crow laws around the turn of the century.

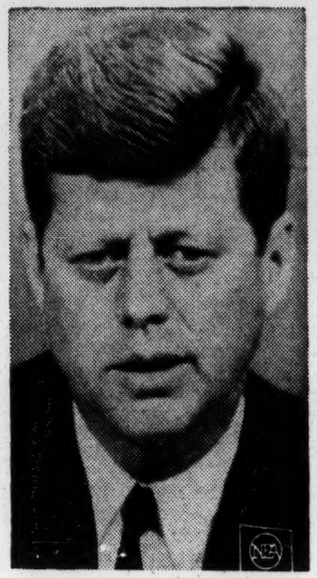
The author is very critical of the attitude of former President Eisenhower for not assuming a more active and positive role in implementing the Supreme Court school desegregation decision and exercising the powers given in the executive branch by the civil rights legislation of 1957. The tools were at hand, but Eisenhower used them only sparingly.

Golden assails the former President's stated belief that the law is not enough, that the hearts of men must change of themselves, an idea echoed by Richard Nixon in the 1960 Presidential campaign. Laws do change the hearts of men, he contends. They provide a moral guide and set a pattern for conduct. The Jim Crow laws changed men's hearts and made them hard, Golden asserts, by creating the illusion, combined with Southern poverty, which helped make segregation for so many years the synonym for inequality in the schools and other facilities and services afforded the two races in the South.

One arresting conclusion by Golden is that the end of official discrimination against the Negro would lift a great burden from the Southern white citizen's back. For the first time in a century he would "be able to go about his own business" as a whole man. And he could at last move back into "what was once the most politically creative society in the western hemisphere."

The Decade Since 1954

In "Ten Years of Prelude," Benjamin Muse, a veteran Virginia state senator, and widely known liberal writer, presents in historical perspective a review of the major events occurring in the integration struggle over the 10-year span stretching from the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 to the March on Washington in August, 1963. This march was the first peaceful wave of a revolution that is permanently altering the social structure of the country. This revolution, as both Golden and Muse emphasize, is unique in the sense that the Negro is not trying to get out of American society; he is trying to get in. It is unique, they also



JOHN F. KENNEDY
. . . a big stride . . .

insist, because the Negro is not trying to overthrow an established society; he is simply trying to become a part of it.

Muse begins with the Supreme Court decision itself in what has come to be known as the Brown case. In accurate and comprehensive detail he reviews its impact and traces its consequences in the nation at large, the border states, and finally in the 11 former Confederate states where the problems it raised were the most serious. Step by step, year by year, he reviews what happened in Baltimore, Louisville, Washington and St. Louis; in Texas, Arkansas, in Clinton, Tennessee; Montgomery, Alabama; in Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem, and many other places.

The author recalls that at first the reaction to the school desegregation decision in the South was mild. State officials and other leaders of public opinion expressed the view that while it created difficulties, the South could adjust to the ruling.

Within a few months this attitude changed. Die-hard segregationist sentiment began to harden in many areas, and officials who at first expressed moderate views began to talk of school closings and massive resistance.

In North Carolina, Florida and a few other places the voice of political leadership remained calm. But as states-rights and anti-Supreme Court zealots arose, Ku Klux Klans and White Citizens Councils sprang up, the stage was set for violence at Clinton, Little Rock, Montgomery, Birmingham and elsewhere. Yet while opposition to integration was bitter and bloody in some areas, obedience to the law slowly but surely began to make headway.

A Liberal Viewpoint

This is the story Muse tells from a liberal viewpoint but with faithful adherence to the facts and a Southerner's intimate understanding of the forces which are alive and active in the region. In telling it he has attempted to put the whole civil rights issue in proper perspective and enable Americans, North and South to understand its deeper implications.

"It is early," he writes, "to attempt to visualize the consummation of a movement that has a long, hazardous way to go. What convulsions, what solutions, what miracles lie ahead no one can say.

"Is there instruction for us in the experience of other times and places? We will look in vain in modern history for a prototype of the American Negro Revolution. In some respects it is unique. It bears most resemblance, perhaps, to the long struggle of the Irish people for dignity and freedom . . . Britain waited tragically too long to face the problem with tolerance and understanding. . . ."

Is that what too many Americans are doing now in the face of the civil rights struggle?

School Integration and Civil Rig

A review by Ju

Ten Years of Prelude

The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision

history by Benjamin Muse

[Viking, 308 pages, $5]

Fire-Bell in the Night

The Crisis in Civil Rights

commentary by Oscar Handlin

[Atlantic-Little, Brown, 110 pages, $3.50]

TWO QUITE DIFFERENT books on the same general subject have appeared punctually at the end of the first decade after the Supreme court outlawed segregation in the public schools.

"Ten Years of Prelude" is a detailed and documented history of the struggle for desegregation that touches lightly and with guarded optimism on the probable future.

"Fire-Bell in the Night" is a critique of the civil rights movement and builds up to a series of do's and don't's which the author says can lead alternatively to a fairly early collapse of Negro hopes or a nebulous success in the distant future. Since he sees danger in many of the demands and techniques on which the Negroes have relied, both his premises and his conclusions are open to question.

BENJAMIN MUSE is a former contributor to the Washington Post and a writer of many magazine articles on the race problem.

His book is no expose; most of the material was front page news in this country and abroad. But neither familiarity with the events nor the restraint with which Muse records them lessens the shock produced by a compilation of the evidence of inhumanity, injustice, duplicity, savagery, and lawlessness.

Fortunately, the dismal story also includes elements from which comfort may be drawn, and thru the smoke from the burning crosses and the debris of bombed buildings there appears a shadowy entity in which are combined firm governmental authority and the ultimate reasonableness and decency of the American character.

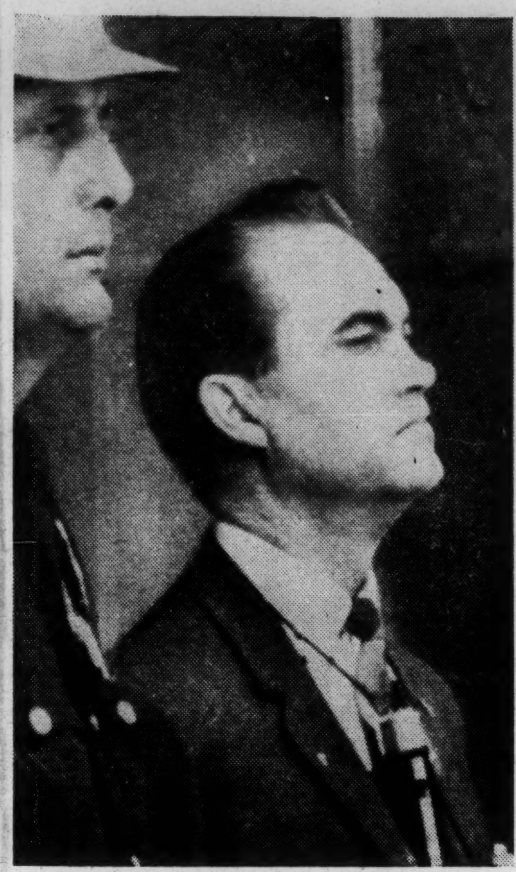
Beginning with the initial reaction to the 1954 court decision and continuing up to the church bombing in Birmingham last September, Muse presents the principal events in the belated struggle for the rights of native Americans.

THE GENERAL PUBLIC, as described by Muse, cannot be categorized simply as supporters and opponents of integration. Between those poles there are infinite gradations based on philosophic and moral considerations, socio-economic situations, education, or the lack of it, misconceptions, fear, and blind prejudice. For the most part, the foes of desegregation are shown as implacable, willful men of fixed ideas, who were not averse to pursuing their ends in defiance of the law and with the aid of the base emotions of their fellows.

The recapitulation shows many citizens prepared—regretfully, reluctantly, but still prepared—to accept the ruling of the Supreme court until racist agitators and men in high position incited them to resist.

Before the violence in Little Rock, desegregation had been accomplished in five Arkansas school districts and Negroes were free to enroll in any of the state-supported institutions of higher learning. Gov. Faubus' statement that integration of Little Rock's Central High school would result in violence appears to have been more in the nature of a threat than a prediction.

It cannot be proved that the danger was or was not sufficient to justify his calling out the national guard, but it is a matter of record [which did not escape this country's critics around the world] that he used the troops to prevent the execution of a federal court order, not to protect the pupils who were attempting to comply with it.



Alabama: Gov. Wallace commands the tide to halt

"TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE" says that the chancellor of the University of Mississippi and the dean of the law school "battled frequently against fierce Citizens' council and political pressure to save liberal members of the faculty" and that the "chief sources of uneasiness [on the part of administrators and professors] were not the Ole Miss students, but the reckless bravado of the state's political leaders and the fear that throngs of extremists would invade the university." It was, of course, the governor of the state who defied the federal courts and attempted in person to prevent James Meredith from entering the university.

In Alabama, Gov. Wallace promised that there would be no violence at the state university, but he himself stood in the doorway of one of the buildings and, like Gov. Barnett in Mississippi, refused admission to Negro students.

Muse differentiates between the stubborn resistance in the former Confederate states and the attitudes found in the border states, where constructive efforts resulted in the calm desegregation of many school districts. In contrast to recalcitrant public officials, the Ku Klux Klan, the Citizens' councils, and others, there were thruout the south determined federal judges, political leaders, school administrators, and good citizens who respected the law, Negro organizations that steadfastly worked thru proper legal channels; and Negro students who endured terrible ordeals with courage and dignity.

Progress, however, has been painfully slow. "The presence of less than 13,000 Negro pupils in schools with whites at the end of the ninth year was a feeble response to a Supreme Court ruling which required that the stigma of segregation should be lifted from the 2,803,882 Negro children in the southern schools. If the speed of school desegregation had increased, it was from that of the snail to that of the tortoise. In fact, many white southerners, finding total segregation no longer possible, had seized upon the compromise of token integration."

Tho Muse writes about various forms of discrimination and qualifies any optimistic statement by pointing out that the Negro's gains have been pitifully small, he does say, "An increasing volume of peripheral attacks was chipping at the structure of injustice to the Negro minority," and he sees encouragement in such an impressive phenomenon as the march on Washington, the considerable participation of white supporters, and the appointment of an increasing number of Negroes to important local, state, and national posts.

He neither minimizes the difficulties nor denies that good solutions are possible but he says that "the unrest will end sometime because it is inevitable that in America justice and humanity will in time prevail."

Julius Hoffman is a judge of the federal District court in Chicago.

BOOKS ALIVE

Fairy Tales for Adults Only

by Vincent Starrett

ALWAYS A PUSHOVER for fairy tales and animal stories, your naive reporter recently took home a collection of dreads and drolls that appeared to offer the usual innocent entertainment. You know, "Little Red Riding Hood," "Puss in Boots," and similar nursery classics—Disney stuff. But instead of those familiar adventures, I found myself reading with petrified attention a series of hair-raising folk tales from central Africa, in which—to quote the publisher's little jacket essay—trees, birds, animals, people, and some very unusual beasts indeed, "carry on outrageously and all too humanly." They will curl your eyebrows.

"African Decameron," by Peter Fuchs [Obolensky, $4.50], a translation from the German, is an aptly titled anthology of surprising and exotic fables gathered by the author, a distinguished ethnologist, who persuaded the inhabitants of Mukulu, an African mountain village, to tell him their best stories—the ones they tell each other during the rainy season. Each of several clans, it appears, claims a special relationship with a different species of animal—lion, elephant, rhinoceros, ostrich, et al—and certain of the stories in which [for instance] people are married to animals, or claim descent from them, are based on their legends.

This is the darndest book of fairy tales I have ever read. It is undeniably fascinating; but read it to yourself, not to the kiddies. Some of their questions could be embarrassing.

I BROUGHT HOME also "Folk Tales and Fairy Stories from India," by Sudhin N. Ghose [Yoseloff, $3.95], which is only slightly more plausible than the African book and, by the same token, lacks the shock value of the first volume, altho it has its moments. The tales are artier than the ingenuous recitals of the primitive Hadjerai women, but none the better for that. In them, as the editor notes, one hears the voices of the professional storytellers of Benares promising, for a rupee, to "make a different man of you" with their stories.

Here, then, are 16 merry tales—witty, humorous, romantic—of ghouls and sorcerers, princes and paupers, saints and sinners, paladins and poltroons, angels and demons, drawn from various Indian languages, some of them dating from the days of Buddha, some from Tamerlane's invasion of India. My favorite, I think, is the lively story of the rival sorceresses who changed themselves into dogs and/or horses whenever they tried to exterminate each other.

Dr. Ghose, who retells the old tales with droll innocence, was at one time a member of the League of Nations secretariat. The black and white illustrations by Shrimati E. Carlile are delightful.

hts: Appraisals at an Anniversary

ius J. Hoffman

OSCAR HANDLIN'S STUDY includes no such assurances. Indeed, he and Muse draw highly different conclusions. Whereas Muse finds hopeful signs of co-operation and support of the Negro by the whites, Prof. Handlin has a chapter on "The Isolation of the Negro."

He cites the increase of white collar and decrease of blue collar jobs as an indication of a growing separation of the races and suggests that when the white man whose superior training lands him in a skilled job and whose income enables him to obtain good housing and other benefits has won his personal struggle for equality, he will abandon the Negro to a lonely and possibly hopeless fight.

While Prof. Handlin deplores that situation, he is curiously unrealistic about the means of improving it. What the Negro should do, he says very reasonably, is to make himself the equal of the white man and compete on his merits.

But how is the Negro to do it? Not thru integration, the author says, but thru better schools for all pupils. Here he ignores both the Supreme court dictum that separate schools are "inherently unequal" and the repeated rejection of pleas for improvement in schools that are wholly or predominantly Negro.

He contends that demonstrations are poor instruments for effecting improvements and may be a deterrent; but it remains that the deterioration of many segregated schools was

New York: Schools are not the only target

rarely halted by negotiation and gentle suasion. Neither does he indicate, to return to the plight of the blue collar worker, how a man who, because of his race, is excluded from apprenticeship can acquire a skill equal to that of the man whose white skin made him eligible to receive the necessary training.

The recognized fact, which Prof. Handlin strongly emphasizes, that the Negro is potentially the white man's equal does not make him equal in the job market as long as he is denied the opportunity to develop his innate ability.

"INTEGRATION AND EQUALITY," Prof. Handlin says, "are not identical"; and who would contradict that statement? The Negro is trying to get equality *thru* integration. The author says that equality should be a primary objective and that it is not being achieved with the necessary speed.

Further, Prof. Handlin argues, "De facto integration looks toward a suppression of the Negro's identity since it assumes that any kind of separation — no matter how defined — involves elements of inferiority. It envisions a society which mixes all men so as to minimize the effects of diverse antecedents and anticipates ultimate racial balance or homogeneity in the whole population." That is an argument that he himself refutes when he emphatically denies the probability of frequent intermarriage which would be the one sure road to homogeneity.

What he seems to be counseling is patience, of which the Negro feels he has displayed enough, and quiescence, which, for 90 years, did not improve his position. "In a free society people consent to be governed not out of terror but out of the awareness that they serve their own best interests and because they prefer order to disorder. But to preserve that preference and that awareness they need assurance on two accounts: that they will receive equal protection of the law and that they will have equal access to the opportunities the efforts of all make possible."

Any Negro would probably say amen to that if he could believe that he had equal protection and equal opportunity. Those are the rights for which he is struggling.

PROF. HANDLIN'S reservations about the value of changing neighborhood school policy in the lower grades will not warm the hearts that were just chilled by the Supreme court's position in regard to Gary; and the same thing is true of many others of his opinions.

Actually, he doesn't spare people on either side of the civil rights fence, or those who are sitting on it. "Fire-Bell in the Night" is packed with ideas that should be examined whether palatable or unpalatable, and most readers probably will find some of each.

Prof. Handlin, a noted historian on the Harvard faculty, a Pulitzer prize winner, and an authority on American minorities, deserves attention. His book contains enough ideas to furnish material for arguments that could last as long as the civil rights debate in the Senate.

...of those who trudged to exile and despair along

THE ROAD TO BEERSHEBA

by Ethel Mannin

This new novel weaves a heart-searing story of a Christian family caught up in the other exodus, the exodus of the Palestinian Arabs. This is the first time their story has been told and the author, with a passion for justice and deep humanitarian values, presents herein its full human and historical dimensions.

"Thinking of the book as a work of art . . . you have succeeded in doing what is perhaps the most important thing a Westerner can do for the Arabs; you have made it impossible for the Western reader to go on supposing that Arabs are not human beings like himself."—Arnold Toynbee

REGNERY/$4.95

Civil Rights: Decade in Retrospect

Ten Years of Prelude, by Benjamin Muse. New York: Viking. $5.

Fire-Bell in the Night, The Crisis in Civil Rights, by Oscar Handlin. Boston: Little, Brown. $3.50.

By Donovan Richardson

From the other end of the decade "Brown" hardly looked like the signal for a revolution. Many Americans sensed a legal and social landmark in the Supreme Court's decisions of May 17, 1954 (lumped together under the title of one—Brown vs. Board of Education). But few could foresee the scope of the upheaval to come. Now we have a review, year by year, of the changes set off by the ban on laws segregating public schools. Because those changes have only begun, Benjamin Muse properly titles his account "Ten Years of Prelude."

It is unlikely that a more comprehensive and authoritative report of the ten-year struggle will appear. Mr. Muse, a former state senator in Virginia, has put four years of firsthand investigation into this book.

For most readers the detailed record will be less useful than the broad pattern of the struggle. This discloses follies that need not be repeated, wisdom that can smooth the future. Of course there are many "souths" and many varities of situations within single states. Yet looking back we can discern something like a timetable of desegregation.

In 1954 17 states still had some schools segregated by law. (Brown was a Kansas case.) In border states all except a few school districts moved voluntarily to desegregate in response to the court's ruling. Even in the South there was — at first — evidence of reluctant compliance. For example, the Richmond News Leader, while opposing the decision, suggested that "a solution might be found" if the court would approve a plan to let the states "integrate 10 percent of their schools a year" over a ten-year period.

Undoubtedly the court would have welcomed such a plan, for in its directions to lower courts it provided for great flexibility to deal with local conditions. But by 1955 the Southern mood had sharply changed. Facing the actual mixing of schools, Southerners began desperately hunting for alternatives. Multiple legal delays were available. But now any adjustment was rejected. Too many politicians and editors began telling the people they could overrule the unanimous Supreme Court.

The dragon's teeth were sown. The harvest quickly appeared in "massive resistance," Little Rock, Mississippi's Oxford, Alabama's "standing in the schoolhouse door" and other fruitless, costly gestures as state governments proved they could not do what the interpositionists told the people they could do. Moreover, the reckless cry that the courts were breaking the law apparently encouraged many segregationists to feel that they could do the same. So good, law-abiding Southerners found themselves represented in this struggle not only by demagogic officials but by ruffians who thought they had a license to bludgeon, burn, and bomb.

Mr. Muse says that 1959 was the turning point. Much turmoil lay ahead. But collapse of alternatives and uneasiness of conscience were subtly altering attitudes. Abuses of pupil placement plans were too obvious subterfuges. Popular revolt against school closings warned Virginia officials that interposition was a massive failure. Little Rock found its much-heralded private school project unworkable and desegregated two high schools.

In 1964 98 percent of the South's Negro children were still segregated, but more than 3,000 school districts had desegregated and the pace was rising. And soon the North as well as the South was awakened to forms of racial injustice long accepted as natural. About 250,000 Negroes were in college, scores of new nations had arisen in Africa under Negro leaders. In America a new generation of educated, self-respecting Negroes began to protest discrimination in transportation and eating places. The movement, mainly nonviolent, spread rapidly and tackled vast areas of inequality in jobs and housing. From this end of the last decade and by light of Mr. Muse's record, it should be possible to approach this larger revolution ahead with somewhat more wisdom.

One cogent effort to draw help from an examination of the last ten years' civil-rights developments is Oscar Handlin's little book, "Fire-Bell in the Night." The title is from a quotation which vividly reflects Jefferson's prescient concern with race problems. One of Mr. Handlin's salient warnings is that integration should not be confused with equality. He points out that many ethnic groups have won equality in America without wiping out their own distinctive heritage. He thinks Negroes can do what Jews, Indians, Mexicans, and Japanese have done.

He seems to overlook special difficulties posed by color and long subjugation. And he fails to note that the entanglement of civil rights in the issue of states rights complicates the problem. Yet many steps toward equality do not depend on integration. The wiser Negro leaders are urging self-improvement, self-control, and self-respect. These qualities have contributed greatly to the force of civil-rights protests. Mr. Handlin takes a clear stand against such artificial integration as racial "balancing" in schools. Like quotas for employment, these proposals tend to racism, disregarding all other factors.

The author believes the decade has driven whites and Negroes farther apart. Certainly it has brought to the surface new and inhuman racism, the more dangerous because it is mechanistic, regarding individuals as mere black or white cogs. One of Mr. Handlin's most useful counsels is a reminder that the key to American society is regard for the individual and his right to develop and express his own nature.

Mr. Handlin wants every legal barrier to equal opportunity removed. But he is aware that this will not in itself create equality. Many types of segregation in the North exist despite laws actively barring discrimination. (It may be worth noting that in parts of the United States where all legal discriminations against women have been removed they have not yet won equality of opportunity.) These books both point to one conclusion: Laws can help, but the most hopeful cure for discrimination is in learning to judge not by physical appearance but by mental and spiritual qualities and to treat each individual as one would wish to be treated.

HOUSTON CHRONICLE 5/31

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Supreme Court Decisions In Last 10 Years Studied

THE MAKING OF JUSTICE, by James E. Clayton, Dutton, 319 pages, $4.95.

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE, by Benjamin Muse, Viking, 308 pages, $5.

James E. Clayton, Supreme Court reporter for the Washington Post in his "The Making of Justice," incisively describes the 1962-63 term of the Supreme Court from October, 1962, to June, 1963.

He summarizes recent criticism of the Supreme Court. The court's pre-1962 troubles stemmed largely from bitter, vocal reactions to unpopular decisions handed down in the 10 previous years. Politicians and other opponents accused the court of being integrationist, pro-Communist and anti-states rights.

The 1962-63 term involved many issues certain to arouse more criticisms—constitutionality of governmentally prescribed prayers, legality of lunchroom segregation, constitutionality of Georgia's county unit system, federal review of state criminal procedures, communism and expatriation. Clayton explains each decision clearly. His commentaries about our two newest justices, Byron White and Arthur Goldberg, are interesting and timely.

The book analyzes the new liberal-conservative dichotomy on the court and the judicial philosophy of the two blocs. During the 1962-63 term, the court's liberal wing, composed of Chief Justice Earl Warren and Associate Justices Hugo L. Black, William O. Douglas, William J. Brennan and Goldberg, claimed a majority of five. They were disposed to safeguard "the rights of the individual and to reinforce the guarantees of the Bill of Rights." The conservatives, now in the minority since retirement of Justices Felix Frankfurter and Charles E. Whittaker, urged judicial "self-restraint." This group consists of Associate Justices John M. Harlan, Tom Clark, Potter Stewart and White. Twelve cases were decided by 5-4 votes, and 10 of these involved protection of individual rights.

The book explains the nature and importance of the court's work for the layman and, hopefully, will promote more rational appraisal of its work. It should be worthwhile for citizens of all political persuasions and mandatory for undergraduate students of American government.

May 17, 1964, marked the 10th year since the Brown case decision which declared segregated schools unconstitutional. Benjamin Muse, former Virginia state senator and now on the staff of the Southern Regional Council, has written a book, "Ten Years of Prelude: The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision." It is well timed.

It primarily is a survey of Negro's fight for implementation of the 1954 edict. He chronicles the emergence of many anti-integration organizations pledged to the maintenance of segregated schools and reviews effects of the decree in border states and the 11 Confederate states. Recent impact of the school desegregation struggle in many parts of the North is described. Progress in desegregating areas other than schools is included.

The book reflects the fact that implementation of the court's mandate has been slight. One must concur with Dr. Martin Luther King, who spoke recently in Houston and expressed the fear that at the present pace, it will take a century to achieve total desegregation.

Muse's data clearly show that compliance has been achieved relatively easy where public officials endorsed or accepted the decision. The survey also reveals that more compliance was achieved during the presidency of John F. Kennedy than under President Eisenhower.—MAURICE COMPTON WOODARD, Political Science Teacher, Prairie View A&M College.

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THE WICHITA EAGLE Sunday, May 17, 1964

EAGLE AND BEACON Sunday, May 17, 1964

Deterioration of Relations Noted

Civil Rights Struggle Chronicled

FIRE-BELL IN THE NIGHT, by Oscar Handlin. Atlantic-Little, Brown, 34 Beacon St., Boston 6. $3.50.
TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE: The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision, by Benjamin Muse. The Viking Press Inc., 625 Madison Ave. New York 22. $5.

Reviewed by
ELVIRA VALENZUELA

Ten years ago today—May 17, 1954—the Supreme Court handed down its dramatic decision on the race issue.

It ruled that segregation in public schools violates the 14th amendment of the Constitution and found that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" and hence deny the minority race the "equal protection of the laws."

THE COURT'S decision was based on five cases from Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware and the District of Columbia. All five were brought by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People's Defense Fund.

Alphabetically, the name of Oliver Brown, who sought to have his 8-year-old daughter, Linda Carol, admitted to a white school near her home was first among the plaintiffs.

It came first on the Supreme Court docket. The four state cases became Oliver Brown et al vs. Board of Education, Topeka, and the most momentous decision of the century "The Brown decision."

IT IS THE EVENTS WHICH have taken place since then that provide the meat for authors Handlin and Muse.

Handlin, American historian at Harvard, takes the title of his book from statements made in 1820 by Thomas Jefferson—then anxious about Missouri's statehood and the status of slavery.

"This momentous question, like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is reprieve only . . ."

HANDLIN THINKS THE BELL still rings. His contention about the racial problem is that not integration but equality of opportunity should be the genuine objective of the Negro.

"The more concerned Negroes become with integration, the more likely they are to see the whole society rigidly divided into blacks and whites.

"We shall avoid disappointment if we realize how little will be gained by equality alone.

"We shall avoid tragedy if we realize how much will be lost without it," he says.

HANDLIN AND MUSE BOTH CONSIDER the deterioration of relations between Negro and white since the decision.

"Only the most cynical or the most foresighted could have foreseen that these circumstances would give racism an ominous new birth," Handlin says. Muse adds, "If interracial relations had been good before the Brown decision, as white Southerners insisted, they now deteriorated rapidly."

In "Ten Years," Muse points out that the March on Washington in 1963 was the first peaceful wave of a revolution that is permanently altering the social structure of the country.

AND HIS BOOK IS AS complete a chronicle on the ten years since the decision as one can hope to find today.

A former Virginia state senator, Muse talks of ten years of sectional and personal prejudice, political implication and maneuver and moral courage. The incidents—riot and death, and schools and restaurants—are all in his book.

Handlin ends on the note that "there is not much time."

"The question we have evaded is now catching up with us. . . . The position of the Negro will not remain fixed; it will either improve as he grasps the opportunities of American society or deteriorate as he fails to do so. Whether conditions permit him to follow one course or the other may prove the crucial test of American democracy."

MUSE SAYS "IT IS EARLY to attempt to visualize the consummation of a movement that has a long, hazardous way still to go."

But he too notes that "Negroes will never again rest until equal status is achieved."

ELVIRA VALENZUELA is a member of The Beacon's staff.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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Muse, Benjamin. Ten years of prelude. Viking, $5. Publication date May 17.

"The central undertaking in this book is to review the impact of the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, declaring race segregation in the public schools unconstitutional."—*Foreword.* Crises such as those at Little Rock, Arkansas and Clinton, Tennessee, incidents of peaceable desegregation elsewhere, the inflammatory work of certain racists, the contrasting roles of Governors Faubus and Collins, school-closing experiments and other attempts to evade the law, and the beginning of the movement toward compliance are significant parts of the record up to 1960 with attention focused on the border and onetime Confederate states; freedom rides, sit-ins, and other manifestations of Negro unrest in North and South since 1960 are included in the overall picture. A timely, temperate report by a Southern integrationist.

Entered from galley proofs. Full imprint, classification, subject headings, and L.C. card number will be given when the finished book is available.

MUSE, Benjamin. Ten Years of Prelude: The Story of Integration Since the 1954 Supreme Court Decision. appendix. bibliog. reference notes. index.

pp. Viking. 1964. $5.

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On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court declared race segregation in the public schools unconstitutional. Since that time this country has seen an unprecedented drive for Negro rights. The author examines with frankness the details of this fight in the South and presents us with a candid and factual history of Southern hatred and bigotry. Mr. Muse describes the various methods used to block integration and gives us a comprehensive view of the racial conflict which every American needs to ponder. Recommended for most libraries. —

Dr. Howard A. Ozman, Jr., Paterson State Coll., Wayne, N.J.

From address of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy at the Lehman Award dinner of the American Jewish Committee~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~Rights~~ Appeal for Human Relations, Plaza Hotel, New York City, April 16,1964:

"Benjamin Muse, a Virginia writer, says in his new book about integration in the past decade: 'The unrest will end sometime because it is inevitable that in America, justice and humanity in time will prevail.'

"Let us join today not only in his sentiments but in his certainty...."

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Failure Was the Word From the Very Start

FIRE-BELL IN THE NIGHT: The Crisis in Civil Rights. By Oscar Handlin. 110 pp. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. $3.50.

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE: The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision. By Benjamin Muse. 308 pp. New York: The Viking Press. $5.

By CLAUDE SITTON

"ONLY the most pessimistic Americans, in 1954, could have imagined that the distance between Negroes and whites would widen in the decade to come, despite prosperity and despite the gains of some colored people. Only the most cynical or the most foresighted could have foreseen that these circumstances would give racism an ominous new birth. Yet that divisive doctrine is once more finding audiences, although it is now put in a new form. For the moment, the idea receives the most attentive hearing from extremists, black and white; but a disconcerting number of moderates are beginning to cock their ears, even if they are not quite ready to listen."

Unfortunately, this assessment by Oscar Handlin of the national racial crisis, on this 10th anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision against public school segregation, is fully supported by the evidence. The book's title is taken from a quotation by Thomas Jefferson, dealing with the question of statehood for Missouri and the slavery issue. Today, the fire-bell is sounded once again by slavery's child, discrimination. And, in truth, the time is short.

How could this situation develop in the wake of a decision that evoked a flood tide of hope among Negroes and a belief among whites in the inevitability of progress toward equality? Most, if not all, of the answers lie in these two books. For those willing to recognize the urgency of the problem and to make the sacrifices required for its resolution, they offer hope. The complacent, the defenders of the status quo and the extremists will find them cold comfort indeed.

BENJAMIN MUSE'S "Ten Years of Prelude" is tied more closely to the Supreme Court decision in Oliver Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, its three companion cases and the implementation decision that followed a year later. These involved 17 Southern and border states. A fifth case dealing with segregation in the District of Columbia, Bolling v. Sharpe, received a separate ruling because the Washington schools are Federally controlled.

Mr. Muse, a former Virginia State Senator, is on the staff of the Southern Regional Council, an organization of white and Negro leaders dedicated to the goal of greater equality for all Southerners. His research for the book, a council project, was done during three years of work throughout the region as a race-relations consultant.

He is eminently qualified to provide an insight into the forces that operate behind the scenes in the various school-desegregation disputes and how they shaped the result. But he does not. Further, he displays a seeming reluctance to draw on his experience in the field for interpretive purposes.

Nevertheless, this book is perhaps the most accurate, comprehensive, fully documented work of its kind, undoubtedly one of lasting value. The impact of the decision, from the initial reaction of Southern whites—surprisingly free of frank hostility—to the civil-rights revolution that developed near the end of the decade, is treated with precision and balance.

The book loses some of its sharpness of focus and organization when it moves beyond the school desegregation field. Some will quarrel with the importance given Virginia's "bell-wether" role. One of the controversy's more distressing aspects has been the failure or refusal of one Southern state to learn from the mistakes of another. There are minor errors of fact.

In a cautious look into the future, Mr. Muse draws a parallel between this nation's racial difficulties and the crisis generated by a British lack of tolerance and understanding in the Irish struggle for independence. "It is not an impulse of hysteria to find in the violence and terror in Ireland in the early nineteen-twenties a warning for the United States today," he says.

This warning and the danger it poses to American democracy is the chief concern of Oscar Handlin, professor of history at Harvard University, an authority on American minorities and author of "The Uprooted," for which he received a Pulitzer Prize. The task ahead, he contends, is not so much to ascribe blame for past errors as to place responsibility for future decisions. He then attacks what he considers the chief barrier to lasting progress, the belief that integration and equality are identical, and in so doing raises a point that deserves serious consideration.

After a strong opening in which the problem is clearly defined, Mr. Handlin lapses into some unfortunate departures from fact in reviewing events in the South since the Supreme Court's decision. Alabama and South Carolina — where desegregation has begun on a token basis—cannot be classed correctly with Mississippi—where it has not—as "totally intransigent." Nor is South Carolina's government dominated by hard-core white supremacists.

Mr. Handlin expresses concern over the blatant denials of equality in some Southern states. Given sufficient Federal determination, these can be rooted out and destroyed. The problem of the future, he points out with skill and forcefulness, lies instead in conditions in the urban North and South that make equality a far more complex goal to achieve. Here is a vicious circle of the disadvantaged which traps the Negro who has an inadequate education, little skill and no capital. This may prevail even after legal segregation disappears.

Yet reaction to the persistence of raw inequities in the South and the heated struggle over them have warped the perspective of civil rights advocates. Thought is focused on one cause, segregation, and one cure, integration. All issues have the same weight: all prejudice seems on the same plane. And the one common ground upon which all can stand—equality of opportunity—is increasingly ignored.

CONCENTRATION on the single issue of integration, frustration and the intrusion of selfish ambition, competition and irresponsibility lead to nihilism, a willingness to raze the social structure unless it is reformed forthwith. Negroes, having lost faith in the law, turn to more and more aggressive forms of direct action in the belief that past gains reflect fear among whites. There is grave danger here. "Fear is the emotion the advocates of equality should least wish to spread," declares Mr. Handlin, "for frightened men will be less likely to respond to ethical considerations than to prepare for self-defense by counterterror."

There is trenchant criticism in this book of the white suburbanite and his fright, those liberals who see the crisis as insoluble and the new racist, black and white. Of the latter group he says that while their arguments may be easy to refute, "the symptoms are nonetheless significant as warnings of the separateness that threatens to divide the nation." He warns that history moves more swiftly in our day than it did when slavery was the issue. Moreover, the penalties of inaction may be far greater, especially in international terms.

Both he and Mr. Muse make one point clear: there can be no peace in America until the equality promised in the Supreme Court's decisions is finally extended to Negroes. And events of the past decade already have indicated that no one would consider the alternative desirable.

A member of The Times staff, Mr. Sitton has long reported on the progress of the integration battle in the South.

Photograph by Tim Kantor.

"Trapped by the vicious circle of the disadvantaged."

Some Facts of the Matter

CRISIS IN BLACK AND WHITE. By Charles E. Silberman. 370 pp. New York: Random House. $5.95.

By SAUNDERS REDDING

TAKE a timely subject, research it hastily and superficially—from a predisposition that somehow encourages a misreading of historical truth as well as historical facts—add a positive intention to "offend and anger," and you have a book like "Crisis in Black and White." It is confused and confusing, a muddle of history, anthropology, sociology, social psychology and today's headlines; a welter of speculations, opinions and conclusions; a jumble of truths, half-truths and untruths. Through it all, however, the author's bias is unmistakably clear. It is a bias towards a social morality and an interracial ethics with which none but the most corrupt Machiavellian and the most ardent racist can possibly disagree. It is towards "a new order of human relations . . . based on justice."

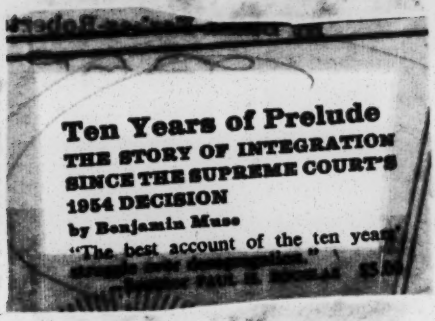
This is a laudable bias. Yet, setting it aside for the moment, the author's treatment of much that has little relevance to his subject is so confused that the over-all impression his book conveys is that justice and equality, when they come, will be a special dispensation for which Negroes are unworthy. Mr. Silberman — an editor at Fortune magazine — seems to say that history and the conception of themselves that history has wrought proves Negroes unworthy.

This is a common and, indeed since Reconstruction, a conventional distortion of the very history we are called upon "to use for an understanding of the current" troubles. Of distorted history in "Crisis in Black and White" there is almost no end. Although serious in any case, it would be less serious if history itself were less important to the author's several arguments. Thus he begins with, and grounds one of his principal themes on, the old canard that Negro slaves in America were "humble" and "submissive." This concept of the patient, docile Negro slave came into being against tremendous odds of fact and circumstance, when the living reality of the Black Codes contradicted it, and in spite of the fact that law courts and

(Continued on Page 20)

Mr. Redding is the author of "Lonesome Road: The Story of the Negro in America."

NYT Book Review Section June 7, 1964



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TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE, The Story of Integration Since The Supreme Court's 1954 Decision, by Benjamin Muse. (Viking). 308 pages. $5. Here, in clear perspective, is the story of a decade of American social revolution, from the May, 1954, decision outlawing public school segregation to today's Congressional battle on the civil rights bill.

Until 1960, Mr. Muse recounts, the court's ruling had impact chiefly in the Southern and border states, but then became part of the larger movement for achievement of long-denied equality of opportunity for all Americans. The prelude has ended, the frontal assault on discrimination has begun.

A former State Senator in Virginia, a staff member of the Southern Regional Council, a careful researcher and a fair-minded writer, he knows the South, its people, its press, its political leaders, its current history. He blends them together with what historian C. Vann Woodward calls "admirable perspective" and into what Senator Paul Douglas calls "the best account of the 10 years' struggle over desegregation."

As to Muse's own view:

"The Negro population has been in America as long as the white. Negroes joined the settlers at Jamestown before the Mayflower reached Plymouth Rock. Negro arrivals in the U.S. virtually ceased before the 19th century flood of European immigration began. To the Negro American this is his country; he knows no other. What he was striving for in the tenth year (after the Court's school decision) was to become at last a part of the American people."

Honolulu Advertiser 6/14/64

Accept the Inevitable— Avoid the Impossible

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE. The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision. By Benjamin Muse. Viking. $5.

Reviewed by H. C. NIXON

This intellectually realistic work should appeal to the general reader and the general scholar, although a meticulous historian might make a few minor complaints. It could serve on the desk of every public leader and publicist of the states of the South and border region. Non-Southerners concerned with racial rights in the South can profit from its perusal. The author is closely identified with the subject as a former Virginia state senator, a staff member of the Southern Regional Council, and a writer of magazine articles in the field. He has an eye for facts and ideas, with a capacity for synthesis and with a philosophy for acceptance of the inevitable and avoidance of the impossible.

The title correctly means ten years of transition from controversial opposition to eventual acceptance of the realistic principle of integration decreed by the United States Supreme Court in the significant Brown case in 1954. It presents a story of the Southern shift from defiance to compliance.

The book is thus an analytical study of American jurisprudence in broad social aspects as exemplified by various court units, high and low in states and nation.

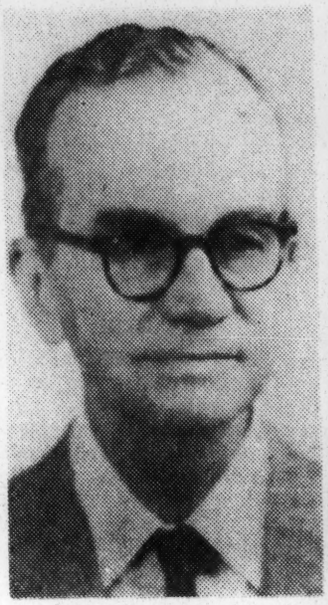
In addition to courts and cases, Mr. Muse gives informing attention to governors, legislators, enforcement officers, military units, and nongovernmental leaders and groups.

Among the governors and former governors who receive adverse criticism and classification are Orval Faubus of Arkansas, Ross Barnett of Mississippi, and George C. Wallace of Alabama. Favorable mentions are made of the late President Kennedy and some of his assistants, including Brooks Hays of Arkansas.

MUCH SPACE is given to demonstrations for civil rights and to organized opposition, with notable mention of violence in such states as Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi. Many Southern cities are listed as trouble spots in the period, including such large centers as Birmingham, Atlanta, New Orleans, and even Nashville.

Recognition is handed out to the NAACP and other organizations for work in the cause of civil rights. Words of praise are linked with certain religious groups and leaders for advancing the cause of human rights, notably Jews and Catholics.

The author notes the effect of the civil rights publicity on America's standing abroad, with foreign friends lamenting the friction and unfriendly Communist observers exploiting it. Relatively, the white race in the world is a small minority.



Benjamin Muse
. . . an eye for facts and ideas

Mr. Muse gives much emphasis to the role and relationship of civil rights in connection with schools and colleges:

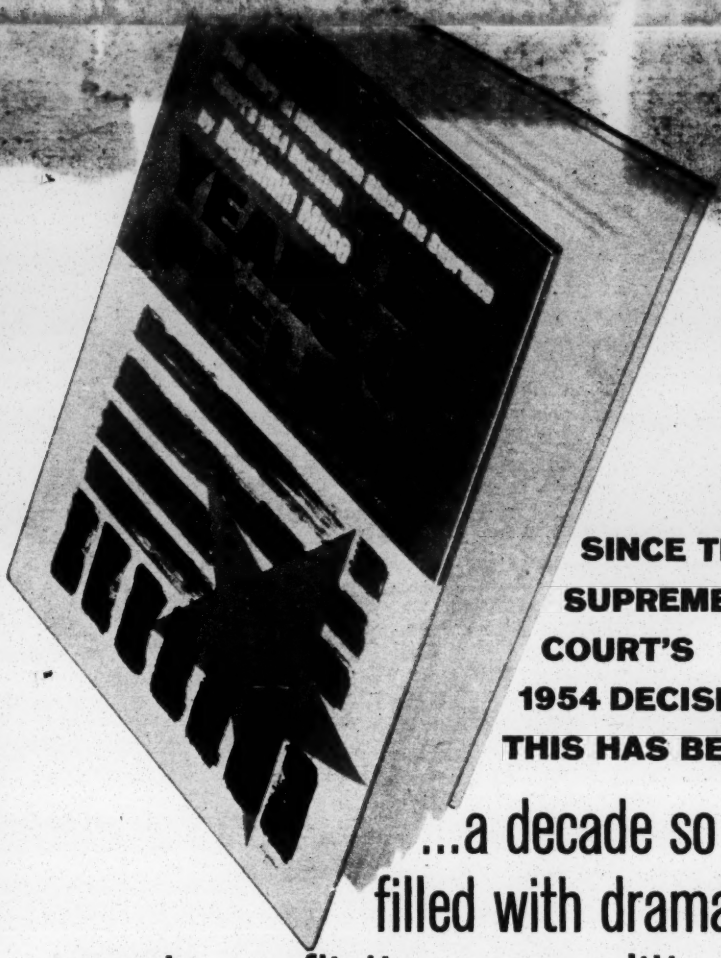
- Genuine education tends to reduce or remove human friction among the educated.
- Integration in education is less costly than a double system of segregated establishments.
- Well educated whites are less self-conscious than uneducated whites in dealing or associating with colored persons.
- Educated Negroes can maintain status in human relations more effectively than can the uneducated members of their race.
- Education tends to increase the rule of reason in all human affairs.
- Education tends to improve the role and influence of the press, both with respect to the journalists and to the readers. Our higher institutions of learning and our higher brackets of newspapers and magazines can and should play a significant role in the present-day revolution that is developing in the sphere of human rights.
- Our political leaders need more balanced information and enlightenment, and education is the answer to this need.

The last chapter of "Ten Years of Prelude" has the appropriate and significant title "The Revolution;" all previous chapters lead up to this one.

This work is well documented with sources of books, press, and official items. It has over two pages of bibliography. An appendix reproduces "The Brown Decision" of May 17, 1954.

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE: THE STORY OF INTEGRATION SINCE THE SUPREME COURT'S 1954 DECISION, by Benjamin Muse (Viking). A thoughtful, compact history. The author, who has been a Virginia state senator and therefore knows something about the practical side of Southern politics, traces the record of compliance with and defiance of the school-integration decision over the past decade. He treats individual cases with care and doesn't rush into generalizations, but he does see one repeated pattern: wherever violence has occurred, as in Little Rock, business has suffered. And from that point on, Southern whites have preferred prudence to prejudice, with the result that token desegregation has become the fashion through most of the South, while various Confederate theories of state power, such as "nullification" and "interposition," have lost ground. Though there has been much to discourage hope—the number of professional troublemakers and the extent of their audience are dismaying—enough progress and decency have been demonstrated to justify Mr. Muse's remark that "it is inevitable that in America justice and humanity in time will prevail."

THE VIKING PRESS



SINCE THE SUPREME COURT'S 1954 DECISION, THIS HAS BEEN

...a decade so filled with dramatic events, conflicting personalities, shifting public attitudes, that the underlying pattern of our progress has been lost in the day-to-day details.

NOW THIS BOOK TELLS THE WHOLE STORY. IT IS "the best account of the ten years' struggle over desegregation."
—SENATOR PAUL H. DOUGLAS

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE

The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision

by BENJAMIN MUSE • $5.00

18 Authors Attempt to Define Revolution All Around Them

By James E. Clayton
Staff Reporter

THE LIST OF questions an American can ask about the effects on his society of racial events during the last ten years is almost endless.

What really happened? Do our memories deceive us when we think of Clinton, Little Rock, Birmingham, Oxford?

What has it all meant? Is our society more viable now or is it on the verge of collapse? Has the strain of these years permanently damaged our legal system?

Where do we stand now? Where does the Nation go in the future? Why is there a crisis in civil rights?

No one article or one book, no one author, can deal with all these questions. The answers demand the expertise of the historian and the lawyer; the perception of the philosopher and the sociologist. But even with that expertise and that perception, the answers to most questions are not yet clear. Those who live in the midst of a revolution, social or political, can rarely glimpse its full outlines.

Answers Attempted

YET THERE is much to think about in the answers various authors are now trying to provide. In the last few weeks, 18 books that relate to the Nation's racial crisis have accumulated on my desk.

A word of warning is struck by Oscar Handlin in what is perhaps the best of the 18. In "Fire-Bell in the Night" (Atlantic, Little-Brown), he writes, "But one thing is certain: the situation will not remain stable; it will change for the worse or the better."

The worst, as he sees it, is the development of racism—white supremacy on one side and black supremacy on the other—that could destroy national unity, and even the Nation.

Hadlin calls for equality but not necessarily integration.

"We can be equal and different—in color as in creed or national origin," he writes. "It has not been necessary in the past to wipe out all group distinctions in order to afford each individual equality of opportunity."

But Handlin, as do many other authors, points out that the pace of economic and social development is so rapid that a group which starts behind must run to catch up.

Is There Time?

TO CHARLES E. SILBERMAN, the best hope of the Nation is in the growing political and economic power of Negroes. In his "Crisis in Black and White" (Random House), Silberman argues that the problem is not just the disappearance of prejudice; it is the restoration to Negroes of dignity and initiative and a good life.

But Silberman, like Handlin, wonders if there is time enough. Both seem to agree with the words of Thomas Jefferson that provided the name of Handlin's book. Writing in 1820 about the question of slavery in the new states, Jefferson said:

"This momentous question, like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only . . . We have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him nor safely let him go."

Picking up one line of thought, Milton M. Gordon argues that the old "melting pot" concept of American life is not all it seems. In "Assimilation in American Life" (Oxford), Gordon says other racial and religious groups have been assimilated into American society without losing their sense of separateness.

His account of the way in which various ethnic groups have retained their internal cohesion while obtaining equal rights may allay some fears of desegregation that are based on the prospect of intermarriage between Negroes and whites.

From Then to Now

WHILE THESE three books deal with current problems in theoretical ways, here are others that recall recent events.

Benjamin Muse's "Ten Years of Prelude" (Viking) is the best history of the decade that has been written. From the Supreme Court's decision in 1954 to the events of last fall, it tells the story of racial strife with considerable detail and objectivity.

Names that one had almost forgotten, like George Bell Timmerman and Ace Carter, leap out from the pages of Muse's book. So do the events at Hoxie, Clinton and Mansfield that were later so overshadowed. The lessons that could have been drawn from the first years, it seems, were never used later.

Perhaps the most pleasant reading of all these books is "Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes" by Harry Golden (World). The North Carolina writer, whose humor is already widely known, has added another touch of it while driving home the point that the way President Kennedy will fare in history is tied to his role on the race question.

Golden may well be right in arguing that President Kennedy's deep involvment in civil rights was not caused solely by a commitment to the Negroes. He recalls the story of the support given Capt. Dreyfus by Georges Clemenceau in France at the turn of the century.

"Dreyfus thinks we are doing this for him," Clemenceau once said. "Nonsense. We are doing this for France."

Let George Do It

THERE IS A somewhat similar message in Charles Morgan's "A Time to Speak" (Harper and Row). No one who read Morgan's words immediately after four Negro girls were killed last fall in a church bombing in his home town of Birmingham is likely to forget them soon:

"What's it like living in Birmingham? No one ever really has and no one will until this city becomes part of the United States. Birmingham is not a dying city. It is dead."

This book is Morgan's story: why he said that, why he left Birmingham a few weeks later. But Morgan's book is more than his story. It is an indictment of all moderates and liberals who have stood aside and left the race problem to the extremists. It is a word of warning to other communities where, as in Birmingham, the good people sat at home and let the storm clouds gather.

The picture of segregation presented by William Stringfellow in "My People is the Enemy" (Holt, Rinehart, Winston) is quite different from that written by Morgan. Morgan is talking about the problems of the white moderate in a white world. Stringfellow, a graduate of the Harvard Law School who chose to live and work in Harlem, tells of a white man in a Negro world.

African Relevance

IDA LEWIS, a young Negro writer, has looked at poverty among the Negroes in Africa in her "The Deep Ditch and the Narrow Pit" (Pavilion). But her words have relevance for America in that they express the way some young Negroes approach modern problems.

Perhaps the Negro's view of what is going on in America today is best represented in a paperback, "The New World of Negro Americans" (Compass), by Harold R. Isaacs. This book is based on interviews with Negro leaders and suggests the complex turmoil that must be going on as Negroes lose the feeling of "nobodiness" and gain that of "somebodiness," to use the Dr. Rev. Martin Luther King's words.

Some of the other books have neither the message nor the style of those mentioned thus far. Jackie Robinson's "Baseball has Done It" (Lippincott) is the story of desegregation in baseball in the words of major leaguers as they spoke to Robinson.

Beauregard James's "The Road to Birmingham" (Bridgehead) is a third-rate novel built around some rather unsavory Freedom Riders.

"Black Champion" (Scribners) by Finis Farr is the story of Jack Johnson, the first Negro to win the world's heavyweight boxing championship, and the way the world treated him.

"Integration vs. Segregation" (Crowell) is a useful collection of documents and articles on events of the past 10 years. It was edited by Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.).

"White on Black" (Johnson) is a collection of essays by well-known figures such as Eleanor Roosevelt and Pearl S. Buck, written for Ebony magazine.

"Equality in America" (Oxford) by Alan P. Grimes deals with the drive for Negro equality as it relates to problems of political and religious equality.

"Conference on Disadvantage" (Tuskegee) is an interesting collection of papers and discussions presented at a Tuskegee Institute seminar last fall.

The Highest Tribute

THERE REMAIN two rather unusual books. One is "A Southern Prophecy" (Little, Brown) written 75 years ago by a Virginia businessman, Lewis H. Blair, and revived this spring by historian C. Vann Woodward. Blair warned even then of the dangers that segregation might breed. It is interesting to speculate on what might have happened if his voice of realism had prevailed in the South.

Marion L. Starkey, who once taught at Hampton Institute, has gone farther into history on the race problem than almost anyone else. Her book, "Striving to Make It My Home" (Norton), is the story of how Negroes first came to America. Their life in Africa, the slave trade, the early years in a New World are all vividly recalled.

July 10, 1964

Miss Pamela Nelson
c/o Mme. E. Leduc
17 Rue Joseph Flouest
Dieppe (Seine Maritime), France

Dear Miss Nelson:

I read your letter with interest. Since, as you can see, I am no longer with the paper, I have forwarded it to Eugene Patterson, editor of the Atlanta Constitution. I would suggest that you write him (Box 4689, Atlanta 2, Ga.) saying you understand he has received the letter, and saying what about it?

The experience you are having sounds wonderful, and I think it's fine that you are not only getting all that you should from it, but that you want to share this with others. I hope very much that you and Mr. Patterson can work something out along these lines. I'll be looking forward to reading your stories.

Good luck.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mp

Rec'd 3/17/65

File

PW

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE 32306

UNIVERSITY BROADCASTING SERVICES

March 16, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I've discovered that many of the people I had hoped to see in Atlanta on the 18th will be attending the Conference of the Georgia Council on Human Relations at Athens that day. Therefore, I think it would be best to delay my visit. At this time I'm not certain when it would be possible to make this trip. However, I will write or phone you in advance for an appointment.

Thank you for your interest in this program.

Sincerely,

Marjorie Newman

(Mrs.) Marjorie Newman
Program Director
WFSU-FM Radio

MN/cb

June 27, 1967

Mrs. Judith Chayes Neiman
3640 Cloudland Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

Dear Judy:

Am returning your masterpiece which I heartfeltly enjoyed.

It was good seeing you at the AJC dinner; stop by some time when you are up this way.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl.

From the Desk of – ~~Florence B. Robin~~

ACLU OF GEORGIA

via Patsy Morris via Judy Neiman

6/7/67

Dear Pat –

Couldn't locate my copy of this, so I had to get it back from Patsy, hence the delay.

Hope you enjoy reading it as much as I enjoyed writing it. Let's keep in touch.

Sincerely,

Judy

February 14, 1969

Mr. Charles Negaro
603 Watertown Avenue
Waterbury, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Negaro:

Thank you for your good note. I'm sorry things didn't work out as you had hoped. Let's stay in touch, by all means.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

File

603 Watertown ave.
Waterbury, Conn.
February 8, 1969

Dear Mr. Anderson,

As you know, we did not win the national committee seat from Georgia. A testament, I believe, both to the continuing anachronisms of the National Democratic Party and to the lack of organization and influence on the part of the reform elements who intend to challenge the existing structure.

Ben Brown did receive about 32 votes so there is some basis for hope.

I passed the information you provided on to some people who were interested. I don't know if it arrived on time or had

any effect.

Thank you for your efforts. I have strangely mixed memories of Atlanta. I have generally warm memories of my experiences and acquaintances in Atlanta last summer but occasionally I tend to think in terms of that thing called "Georgia" and all it represents and the memories are cold. Having contact with you, and other at SRC, reminds me again of the promise of Georgia.

Thanks also to your staff.

Sincerely,

Charles Negaro

May 14, 1970

Mr. Jack Nelson
Los Angeles Times
Washington Bureau
1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 19806

Dear Jack:

Thank you for getting the story to us. It's great stuff. It seems to fit an immediate slot in South Today and Reese will be contacting you soon.

Sincerely,

Bob Anderson

BA/lb

File

Los Angeles Times WASHINGTON BUREAU
1700 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., N.W. • TELEPHONE 202-296-1440

May 11, 1970

Mr. Robert Anderson
Southern Regional Council
5th Floor
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Bob:

If you or Reese use the enclosed piece you might point out that I covered both Orangeburg and Kent and that Jack Bass and I have written "The Orangeburg Massacre," to be published in the fall by World Publishing.

The number of parallels between the two was downright uncanny. I don't believe in such things, but as Cleveland Sellers said in describing the ~~eris~~ eerie atmosphere at Orangeburg on the day of the shooting, if I did...I would think the Kent thing was a matter of divine retribution on the white community.

Sterling Lord's address is: The Sterling Lord Agency, 660 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10021.

Let me know if you decide--or Reese decides--to use the enclosed piece.

Best wishes,

Jack Nelson

Jack Nelson

P. S. You or Reese also might be interested in the recap Dick Cooper (our Chicago bureau) and I did on Kent--page one of Sunday's paper. We've got quite a bit of stuff no one else had.

"N"

November 16, 1970

Mr. Thomas Naylor, Director
Center for Southern Studies
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Tom:

Thank you for sending me the prospectus for your ambitious book. I wish you luck with it. I believe you would profit by conversations with one of my former students, Raymond Gavins, who is now a member of the Duke history faculty. I am sure that he would be interested in learning more about the Center for Southern Studies.

I thank you also for the material on your new society. I must confess, though, that I would find it hard to march under the banner of L.Q.C. Lamar. By my lights, Lamar and the post-Reconstruction ruling class to which he belonged represent a fine model of precisely those things the South needs to guard against. That's a large subject we'll have to discuss sometime.

I enclose the list of categories under which we file our newsclips. We have a roughly similar list for magazine articles.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Gaston
Director of Research

PMG:lb

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

CENTER FOR
SOUTHERN STUDIES

POSTAL CODE 27706
TELEPHONE 919-684-6774

October 15, 1970

Dr. Paul Gaston
Research Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

It was a real pleasure meeting you last weekend at the Southern Regional Council's research seminar in Atlanta.

I thought you might have some interest in a research project which we now have in progress at the Center for Southern Studies at Duke University. A copy of a description of our project entitled "The South: A Strategy for Change" is enclosed.

I am also enclosing some material on the L. Q. C. Lamar Society which might be of some interest to you.

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas H. Naylor
Director
Center for Southern Studies

THN:km
Enclosures

P.S. Could you possibly send me a list of the topics which are included in your newspaper files?

Blet

July 9
Miami Beach
wants to attend
Blet Camera as per
6/14/72 NYT

N

June 16, 1972

VIA AIR MAIL

Ms. Yoriko Nakajima
5-12-301 Yamazaki-Danchi
Machida City, Tokyo 194-01
JAPAN

Dear Ms. Nakajima:

It was good to hear from you again. It hardly seems four years since you were last here. It may well be that there are meetings you will want to attend--but at the moment I know of nothing in particular that should warrant your change of flight plans.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jrlb

~~Mr. Robert~~ Anderson Avedis Allen, Charles Rooks
~~Mr. Hamlin~~ Wall, Mr. John Lewis
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30303

5-12-301 Yamazaki-Danchi
Machida City, Tokyo 194-01
June 11, 1972

Dear Mr. Anderson and Mr. Wall: and Mr. Lewis

Forgive me for not writing to you often. My keen interest in Black politics in this Presidential elelction year drives me to come to visit U.S. this summer. The purposes of my visit are threefold. I hope you could kindly help me to make my trip fruitful as you have done so much to me in 1961 and 1968.

The first purpose is to make research on a newly developing Black national leadership and its influence on the Democratic National Convention and following election campaign. I have read in New York Times about the Black National Political Convention held in March and the Black political Agenda which was documented by its steering Committee on May 19th. I also read about the Black Caucus which has a slight different direction of development from the Black National Political Convention. I would like to know about these movements, meeting theorists and activists of them during my trip.

The second purpose is to catch up what is happening in Southern politics since 1968. I'll wholly depend upon you and SRC for this. And the third purpose is to make research on the legal aspect of the case of Robert F. Williams who lives in Baldwin, Michigan now, fighting against extradition to Monroe, N.C.

Would you please look through the itinarary I made below and let me know if there is any black political meeting in connection with the first and second purposes which I should not miss in my schedule. I'll change my schedule accoring to your suggestions.

Arrival:	July 1st in Loa Angels by Korean Air Line
	July 2nd to ~~some~~ July 20: Detoroit- Baldwin- AnnArbor area
	July 21 to 30: New York and Washington D.C.
	Aug. 1st to 3rd: Monroe, N.C. (hometown of Robert F. Williams)
	Aug. 4th to 20th: Atlanta (if time is allowed me I would like to visit Alabama and Mississippi)
	Aug. 25 to Sept. 4th: Baldwin- Ann Arbor area
Deaprture:	Sept. 7th from Los Angels to Tokyo by the same Air Line

Any further suggestions would be deeply appreciated. It is a time to buy ticket now but I will wait to hear from you, first.

Meanwhile, I am sending, under a separate envelop by sea, three magazines to which I wrote about my observation and experiences in the South in 1968 and 6 articles excerpted. They are written in Japanese but translated titles so that you can imagine what I wrote.

Give my best regards to SRC people whom I am looking forward meeting again very much.

Yoriko Nakajima

Yoriko Nakajima

N

June 23, 1972

The Honorable Charles D. Diggs Jr.
House of Representatives
2464 Rayburn Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Sir:

Ms. Yoriko Nakajima, a Japanese political scholar, has contacted this office, asking that we try to get her permission to attend, as an observer, the Black Caucus called for the Black Congressional members on July 9 at Miami Beach. I understand that you are convenor of the Caucus and I am writing to ask if this is something that can be arranged. I would appreciate knowing such procedures as may be necessary so that I can have the information for her when she arrives in this country on July 1.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Sent July 31 1972

YORIKO NAKAJIMA [redacted] C/O FOLAND HANDBEGGS LODGE, CRANE LAKE MINNESOTA

HAVE CONTACTED THE OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN CHARLES DIGGS CONVENOR OF THE MEETING REGARDING YOUR REQUEST AND TO DATE HAVE RECEIVED NO [redacted] RESPONSE. I AM SORRY. WILL LET YOU KNOW WHAT I HEAR.

ROBERT E. ANDERSON, JR.
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
52 FAIRLIE ST. ATLANTA, GA

522-3700

western union

Telegram

AB022
AAC006(0527)(1-001245A185)PD 07/03/72 0526
ICS IPMMMME MPS
ZCZC 020 E RM NL PDB ADL DULUTH MINN 2
PMS ROTERT ANDERSON JR
SOUTHERN COUNCIL 52 FAIRLEE ST ATLA

ARRIVED USA JULQ 1 HAVE RECEIVED METROPOLITAN UPPLIED RESEARCH GRATT
WISH YOUR ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE REGARDING JUPY 9 BLACK POLITICAL
MEETING PLEUSE WICE C/O FOLAND HANDBECGS LODGE CRANE LAKE MINNESOTA
REGURDS
YORIKO NAKAJIMA.

DW

SF-1201 (R5-69)

Wrote - July 3 - telling her of this

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
13TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN

DETROIT OFFICES:
EASTSIDE: 1201 E. GRAND BLVD. 48211
AREA CODE 313, 925-8300
WESTSIDE: 6523 GRAND RIVER 48208
AREA CODE 313, 896-8900

MISS DOROTHY QUARKER
CHIEF OF STAFF

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEES:
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEES:
AFRICA, CHAIRMAN
ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS

COMMITTEE ON THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
AD HOC COMMITTEE:
CHAIRMAN,
CONGRESSIONAL
BLACK CAUCUS

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2464 RAYBURN BUILDING
AREA CODE 202, 225-2261

N

June 28, 1972

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, Publications
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for your recent letter on behalf of Ms. Yoriko Nakajima and her interest in attending, as an observer, the meeting scheduled for July 10 in Miami Beach.

This meeting is for Black Delegates and Alternates ONLY. If it is decided to open the meeting to the press, then Ms. Nakajima could attend.

Sincerely,

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
Member of Congress
13th District of Michigan

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Bob Anderson

July 3, 1971

Dear Ms. Nakajima:

After sending my wire I received the enclosed from Congressman Diggs.

The meeting apparently will be closed to all but black delegates to the convention. No observeros will be permitted.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

September 14, 1959

Professor C. H. Parrish, Chairman
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Ky.

Dear C. H.:

We have recently been considering the usefulness of publishing something dealing with Negro crime. Our immediate interest arises from concern over the spate of news stories in recent months, and our belief that we might be able to do something, by way of interpreting crime rates, to put these stories into a more correct perspective. The problem, though, is what to do. We have a few ideas, but I am wondering if any approach occurs to you, which would be both feasible and effective, in presenting Negro crime as primarily a social and economic, rather than racial, problem. Tentatively, we think of this, if we do it at all, as a mimeographed report; if it seemed desirable, however, we might make a pamphlet of it.

How goes the manuscript?

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

September 14, 1959

Professor Lee Coleman
Department of Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Lee:

We have recently been considering the usefulness of publishing something dealing with Negro crime. Our immediate interest arises from concern over the spate of news stories in recent months, and our belief that we might be able to do something, by way of interpreting crime rates, to put these stories into a more correct perspective. The problem, though, is what to do. We have a few ideas, but I am wondering if any approach occurs to you, which would be both feasible and effective, in presenting Negro crime as primarily a social and economic, rather than racial, problem. Tentatively, we think of this, if we do it at all, as a mimeographed report; if it seemed desirable, however, we might make a pamphlet of it.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

September 21, 1959

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les :

The suggestion that something might be published by SRC to put the high crime rate of Negroes into proper perspective is a timely one. It is also very difficult to implement. The approach, I take it, will be counteractive to the propaganda campaign of the segregationists and will be directed primarily to the "Silent South" and to those who need facts and figures to defend themselves in small discussion groups.

The ideas that come to mind immediately may be set forth briefly:

1-Virtually unanimous authoritative opinion of criminologists supports socioeconomic or other explanations of high Negro crime rates rather than the biological one. The evidence is imposing. Examples:

Barnes and Teeters, NEW HORIZONS IN CRIMINOLOGY 2nd ed. Prentice Hall, 1952 pp 163-9.
Cavan, CRIMINOLOGY; 2nd ed. Crowell, 1955. pp 58-60.
Korn and Mc Corkle, CRIMINOLOGY AND PENOLOGY; Henry Holt, 1959. pp 234-249. Comprehensive discussion.
Sutherland and Cressey, PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY; 5th ed., Lippincott, 1955. Chapter 8, pp 138-150.
Taft, CRIMINOLOGY; revised edition, MacMillan, 1950. Chapter 6, pp 92-108.

2-Comparisons with European immigrants might prove helpful. Crime rates are(or were) particularly high for second generation immigrants. This would seem to be a matter of culture conflict.

3-In large cities crime rates vary with area, irrespective of race. Children of different races who are thrown together in elementary and junior high schools reflect the behavior patterns of the neighborhood.

4-I understand that delinquency rates have gone down in Washington in spite of desegregation and the increasing percentage of Negroes in the population.

Tell Harold that I am planning to attend the Executive Committee meeting, October 5. I wish I could overlook the embarrassing question about the manuscript. It has been a frustrating experience but I work a little every day with a deep sense of obligation and a disturbing lack of inspiration.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
DEPARTMENT OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

October 9, 1959

attach with my letter & reply to memo to HF

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I regret having been so long in replying to your letter of September 14. I have carried it around thinking I might come up with a "bright idea", but so far I haven't particularly. I also asked Dr. Sidney Kaplan, who teaches criminology here, but he didn't have an immediate suggestions.

What about some "success stories" or case histories on instances or programs of crime prevention or cutting of crime rates in Negro communities? Do you know of any good examples?

The presentation of differentials in Negro crime rates between socio-economic areas within a single community would be a possibility, but I don't think offhand of any good research on this.

Sincerely yours,

Lee

A. Lee Coleman, Head
Departments of Sociology
and Rural Sociology

ALC:cfw

November 12, 1959

Mr. Rupert B. Vance
Kenan Professor of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Professor Vance:

I wonder if we may turn to you for a word of advice?

We feel an increasing obligation to offer, through our publications, an informed perspective on the subject of Negro crime, which has bulked so large and sensationally in the press of recent months. We are not overly optimistic that we can influence either the reporting of the news or the reading of it, but we would like to try. The best method of doing so, however, is anything but clear, what with the murky state of our knowledge on the causes of crime.

It occurs to us that our soundest first step would be to engage a person of authority to prepare a memorandum for us which would enable us to plan intelligently the shape of a publication. What we have in mind is a paper of modest length which, without elaborate documentation, would do these things:

- summarize the presently accepted conclusions as to the principal causes of crime, with some special attention to the importance of social and economic factors;

- summarize the presently accepted conclusions and (if any) scientific disagreements about the relation of race and crime;

- in reference to the objective of understanding the high Negro crime rate, indicate what are the principal inadequacies (if any) of present data or theory.

Could you advise us as to what Southern specialist we might go for this sort of consultation? Ordinarily, I suppose, we

would have approached Dr. Guy Johnson. In his absence, would A. L. Porterfield, who contributed to The Urban South, be a likely resource? Or could you suggest someone else? We would, of course, intend to pay a modest honorarium.

Although I have limited this request to advice as to persons, we would be glad to have your comments on the outlined scope and content of the memorandum itself.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

November 18, 1959

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am glad to have your letter and to offer whatever advice I may on so perplexing a subject as that of Negro crime.

Our best resource here is Professor Wiley B. Sanders, who teaches our courses in criminology and juvenile delinquency. I do not know that you could persuade him to do the statement, but if you could, it would be worth having. If not, he can certainly give you good advice. I have not spoken to him about this, partly because I thought the best opening might come from you.

I have a great deal of regard for Porterfield and we liked his chapter in The Urban South. I do have the feeling, however, that anything he writes will be somewhat of a replication of this, largely directed toward Urban ~~climb~~ crime and the comparison of cities. I may say, and this may be an admission of my ignorance, that beyond these two I do not know of anyone in the South who is especially interested in Negro crime or doing outstanding work in the field.

With your permission, I will speak to Dr. Sanders and possibly have him somewhat prepared in case you should wish to write him about this.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Rupert B Vance

Rupert B. Vance
Kenan Professor

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RBV:pm

P.S. I find Prof. Sanders is too busy to teach but joins me in suggesting you write Dr. Lee M. Brooks at Webster N.C. Brooks is a retired U.N.C. Professor of Sociology. I may say that social statistics of crime are in a chaotic state and theories of causation are even worse. R.B.V.

Letter 1/30
Already
Research
Southern Prof
Council

State of North Carolina
Prison Department
Raleigh

W. F. BAILEY
DIRECTOR

December 31, 1959

ELMER H. JOHNSON, PH. D.
ASSISTANT DIIRECTOR

Dr. Rupert Vance
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Vance:

Our brief chat about a possible study on the relationship between the Negro and crime has intrigued me.

At 9:30 A. M. January 6, I am to meet with Dr. Arthur Fink of the School of Social Work in regard to a project in the Prison Department.

I wonder if you would be available later that morning?

Sincerely,

Elmer H Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson
Assistant Director of Prisons

EHJ:mkj

cc: Records

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

January 11, 1960

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Since writing to you about the proposed bulletin on Negro crime, I have done some additional reconnoitering and am able to come up with a very good suggestion.

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson, a sociologist, and an able one, is now Assistant Director of the Prison Department of the State of North Carolina. He has long been interested in this subject; has statistical means at hand; and I believe, if approached rightly would be glad to do this pamphlet for your group.

He can do it either one of two ways; he can make it heavily statistical or he could write ~~one of~~ with a general social and humanitarian interest. I think when you write him you should specify, as you did in writing me, the line of approach. Please let me know if this appeals to you.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Rupert B. Vance

Rupert B. Vance
Kenan Professor

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RBV:pm Letter enclosed

January 12, 1960

Professor Rupert B. Vance
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Professor Vance:

We are grateful to you for your letter of January 11 and we have written to Dr. Johnson as per the enclosure. I want to thank you, too, for your earlier letter with its mention of Dr. Brooks. That we have written to Dr. Johnson instead is due to your enthusiastic recommendation and to his most interesting position. Now we can only hope that something will come from this and, if it does, we shall be even more in your debt.

Somewhat to my dismay, I find that you apparently are not on any of our mailing lists. Though I don't want to burden you with more material than I suspect you already get now from too many sources, it does not seem right that such an old friend of the Council is escaping our distribution net. So I have taken the liberty of asking that a few things be sent to you and that you be included in future mailings.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
L-reports, 1-13
Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence
If the Schools Are Closed...
The Negro and the Ballot in the South
Background Report on School Desegregation in 1959-60
Housing for Negroes in Atlanta

Negro Crime

January 12, 1960

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
Assistant Director of Prisons
State of North Carolina
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

At the suggestion of Dr. Rupert Vance I am writing to you in regard to an issue of common interest.

We are concerned with making some contribution, if we can, to a better, more informed general understanding of Negro crime. The best way, perhaps, of doing this would be through a pamphlet which, properly distributed, could be expected to help newsmen, ministers, public officials and other opinion leaders to discuss the subject in a valid perspective.

The obstacles to doing this have been our difficulty in locating a person with the competence and interest to handle the question (and Dr. Vance's referral ends that problem, as far as we are concerned); and the apparent inconclusiveness of the scientific data on crime causes and incidence. The fact is that some matters do and some don't lend themselves to pamphlet presentation. A pamphlet, if it is to be effective, has to have a certain firmness in its findings, a certain neatness of analysis and conclusions; to use a metaphor, it has to be a sort of tool kit which people can draw upon as need be: if the findings are too tentative, people don't know how to use them. To be a mite concrete myself, I would say that Table 2 in Porterfield's and Tolbert's study in Vance and Demerath, The Urban South, is good pamphlet material. So are some of the census tract comparisons which the Citizens Crime Committee of Atlanta has done. On the other hand, we do not think the highly simplified primers of "Do's" and "Don'ts," usually illustrated with abstract sketches, are very useful.

It was my thought, therefore, that we might begin by having a scholar prepare for us a memorandum which would enable us to make publication plans. In an earlier letter to Dr. Vance, I mentioned three things such a memorandum might, without elaborate documentation, do:

- summarize the presently accepted conclusions as to the principal causes of crime, with some special attention to the importance of social and economic factors;

- summarize the presently accepted conclusions and (if any) scientific disagreements about the relation of race and crime;

- in reference to the objective of understanding the high Negro crime rate, indicate what are the principal inadequacies (if any) of present data or theory.

I am not wedded to this approach. What we would like to do is to ascertain your interest in this undertaking. If it is favorable, we would like to invite your participation in planning with us a subsequent publication, to give us your ideas and suggestions.

I do think that a good way to start would be for you to write ~~in~~ either a long letter or a short memorandum which in a general way would indicate what are the areas of knowledge regarding Negro crime which will permit more or less definitive conclusions (what, in other words, we can tell people). If you would be willing to do this, I think we should reimburse you for it separately in advance of an author's commission for a pamphlet if we succeed in getting to that point. Would $50.00 be an acceptable honorarium for the memo, or would you prefer working out a per diem arrangement?

Dr. Vance's letter encouraged me to write at this length. I hope it may lead to a fruitful partnership. Because you may not be familiar with our publications, I am sending two under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Rupert B. Vance
Mailed separately:
The Negro and the Ballot in the South
If the Schools Are Closed...

OK title 200 - spare - spirit

State of North Carolina
Prison Department
Raleigh

W. F. BAILEY
DIRECTOR

ELMER H. JOHNSON, PH. D.
ASSISTANT DIIRECTOR

January 14, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I would be pleased to develop a pamphlet on the topic with the working title "The Negro and Crime." However, to be certain that you will be satisfied with me as an authork let me indicate some of the factors which restrict me.

At present, I have an official connection with North Carolina State College which would permit me to be reported.

I deem it most improper to present myself in my present official capacity as Assistant Director of Prisons, under which I am in charge of all rehabilitation programs of the North Carolina Prison Department. At present, I have an official connection with North Carolina State College (the engineering and agricultural branch of the Consolidated University of North Carolina) which would justify me as being a member of its faculty. Therefore, I would prefer that I be presented without an official position or as a member of the faculty of North Carolina State College.

Secondly, I shall complete this project with utmost dispatch but I will not be able to give it my full attention immediately since there are several official and private projects which would have a prior claim on my time. In effect, I am saying that I cannot guarantee to deliver this manuscript in less than six months. I wish to be committed only to delivery as soon as I can produce a competent piece of work. You may rest assured that no unnecessary dawdling (to which many authors are addicted) will occur, but I am not in a position to give full-time attention to this project and cannot give all my spare-time attention to this project in less than a month.

OK

Thirdly, I am familiar with your publications, including Dr. Vance's project. Since I was a newspaperman (1935-1941) before I enrolled in the University of Wisconsin, I hope I will be able to write in the style you require. I am very sympathetic with the object of avoiding overrelaborate documentation. It would be my objective to write a sound document which avoids the excesses of "scholarly publications" which raise semantic

OK but

barriers to communicating with the type of audience you seek.

Fourthly, I am not a "crusader." Rather I shall present the facts and the approaches without attempting to make any personal "case." I think this is what you want.

OK

Fifthly, criminal statistics are very inadequate. A full discussion of this problem will not be possible or desirable, but I must depend on very inadequate statistical data. This will make solid documentation of statements impossible. You seem to understand this.

OK but

Sixthly, I agree that this should be a summary of the subject. Therefore, I do not propose to come out with an original bit of research. Its value will be in overall survey of the general aspects of the topic.

OK

Seventhly, I propose to submit a draft of the general outline of the chapters after I have completed my initial library research. This will take the place of the memorandum you suggest. It will give you a clearer picture of my work and will save me the extra effort of preparing a memorandum. In this way you will have the opportunity to offer suggestions before I have committed myself to full effort in any special area.

OK

Actually, my interest in this project does not stem from any purely economic motivation. I do not "hate" money, but you need not be concerned about this as a source of difficulty. I do not believe you would care to pay me on a per diem basis for this sort of project, since I assume many hours of effort will be required before any tangible product emerges. The $50.00 as a token honorarium for my initial draft will be acceptable as a means of formalizing a mutual obligation. As a matter of curiosity, what is the "author's commission."

You may be interested in knowing more about my qualifications. Therefore, I am enclosing copies of two of my publications. Of course, these are not in the style you seek.

If you have any further comments or questions, I would be delighted to receive them. I will want your comments on my points before I will assume that I shall undertake the project. If you agree with the above, we have a "deal."

Sincerely,

Elmer H Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson
Assistant Director of Prisons

EHJ:mkj

Negro Crime pamphlet

January 25, 1960

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
Assistant Director
North Carolina Prison Dept.
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

It was with real pleasure that we received and read your letter of January 14. We have, as you put it, a "deal".

With your list of qualifications and observations we have no hesitation at all in agreeing fully with the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th and 7th. With the others we are also in accord, though I would like to offer some brief comments regarding them.

I can well understand that you do not wish to identify yourself as writing in your official capacity as assistant director of prisons, and I want to assure you that we shall be guided by your wishes on this, whatever they are. I would like to point out, however, what you know well yourself, and that is that readers like to know the credentials of an author. It is not a matter of exploiting a relationship, but of giving the writer his proper identification and indicating his special authority. As far as we are concerned, no title at all need be shown on the cover or title page; but I do suggest that you consider allowing us to print, perhaps on the back of the title page or cover, a short biographical note which would, among other things, indicate your present positions.

As you say, statistics are inadequate and documentation of statements not fully possible. I would add that this in itself is a point which deserves some stress in your presentation. Perhaps it might be worthwhile to note that crime statistics are

gathered somewhat more diligently with each passing year and that this in itself somewhat exaggerates the crime rate.

The honorarium of $50, payable after submission of the general outline, is satisfactory. The further honorarium for preparation of the pamphlet will be $200 plus clerical expenses, if any. We shall also be glad to mail copies of the pamphlet to such persons as you would wish to receive it. I think the discussion should be in the neighborhood of 10,000 words, but we would not quarrel if it were somewhat more or less.

We are very glad to have your participation in our work and look forward to receiving your outline and the subsequent article. Perhaps, too, we shall have an opportunity to meet with you sometime.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

AF ✓
LD

State of North Carolina
Prison Department
Raleigh

W. F. BAILEY
DIRECTOR

ELMER H. JOHNSON, PH. D.
ASSISTANT DIIRECTOR

January 27, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
62 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

I hope he can write more clearly than this

me too
H.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In reply to your letter of January 25, I shall begin work on the booklet "The Negro and Crime". Because of existing commitments, this will not be before April. You may depend on me to do this as rapidly as possible.

As I said, my "outline" shall consist of an initial rough draft which will enable you to offer any criticisms you may find appropriate. I shall assume that you will feel no compunction about offering suggestions since both of us are interested only in turning out the best product. For myself, I have no interest to cloaking myself in any form of authorial immunity from criticisms.

=?
??

In my official capacity as assistant director of prisons, I could be subject to restrictions which do not go with sound and objective scholarship. Therefore, it is my desire to prepare this document in the role of social scientist, not in the role of government official. You are correct that my biography should mention my work experience and qualifications, but I feel it only proper that you should know my attitude on this matter before either of us is obligated to the other. Since you understand my problem, this does not appear to be an issue.

The only clerical expenses involved would be typing the final copy of the manuscript in the appropriate number of copies. I shall submit the rough draft as a product of my own typing. For the final copy, I shall inform you of the cost in advance. If you find this cost acceptable, I shall have it typed in Raleigh. If you prefer to receive my crudely typed copy and have it typed in atlanta with one copy returned to me, this will be acceptable to me.

Of course, I will be delighted to chat with you. Unfortunately, it is doubtful that my obligations will permit me to visit Atlanta in the foreseeable future.

Cordially,

Elmer H. Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson
Assistant Director of Prisons

EHJ:md

February 8, 1960

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
Assistant Director of Prisons
Prison Department,
State of North Carolina
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of January 27. I believe we are in agreement on everything. I note your statement that you shall not be able to begin work before April on your essay regarding Negro crime. This is satisfactory.

In answer to your inquiry, I believe it would be best that you have the final copy typed in Raleigh.

I would like to tell youa word more regarding our publication plans. We have been looking forward to issuing a series of pamphlets defining basic problems confronting contemporary Southern society. The various numbers of the series will appear without any definite schedule, simply according to when each contribution is obtained. The series will have a general title (as yet unselected) and will be attractively presented. Donald Dewey, of the Duke Economic Department, has promised us a piece on certain economic issues caused by segregation, and C. H. Parrish, of the University of Louisville Sociology Department, is at work on an analysis of the contemporary urban context of racial relations; both of these articles should end up in the series, and we hope that your study of Negro crime will also. The series will be launched, within the month

probably, by the reprinting of a rather exciting (we think) address by Governor Collins of Florida; we have just within the last several days received the Governor's consent and his paper should go to the printers this week. It is a general characterization of the South at mid-century and the South's potential for national leadership. These, then, are our plans which I thought you would be interested in knowing of.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

CC: Rupert Vance
Donald Dewey
C. H. Parish

file

State of North Carolina
Prison Department
Raleigh

W. F. BAILEY
DIRECTOR

ELMER H. JOHNSON, PH. D.
ASSISTANT DIIRECTOR

March 25, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
62 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The copy of the letter written by Professor C. Wilson Record, Sacramento, on the subject of crime statistics and the Negro, reache me today. This is to thank you.

It was a well written summary of the complexities involved. In fact, it has many of the points I shall include in my critique of criminal statistics.

At present I am attempting to gather together all pertinent statistics to select out the most apt and the most recent. This is a time-consuming and monotonous task. Once it is completed, the core of the pamphlet will exist and I need only build a structure around it.

It is still my plan to submit a rough draft which will require editing in the sense of reducing space devoted to one subtopic and adding other points to fit it into the specific function on this pamphlet in your total series. This method takes more effort but we both should be more happy with the final product.

Sincerely,

Elmer H Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson

EHJ:lmp

July 25, 1960

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
Asst. Director of Prisons
Prison Department
State of North Carolina
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Because it is our usual practice to place on our mailing list all persons who assist in the Council's work, I was more than a little chagrined recently to discover that we had slipped somehow in your case. A package of material has been sent to you in partial correction. I hope, whenever you find an opportunity to look at any of it, it will meet with your approval.

I trust that your work on our article on Negro crime goes on as scheduled. We are tremendously interested in what you may produce.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

State of North Carolina
Prison Department
Raleigh

GEORGE W. RANDALL
DIRECTOR

Martin R. Peterson
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

July 27, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Next week I hope to place in the mail my draft of the pamphlet on "Negro and Crime." As we agreed, this is in lieu of the general dfaft you suggested for the first honorarium.

There have been times when I regretted my decision to prepare this draft rather than the easier task of an outline. My work as Assistant Director of Prisons gives me little, if any, spare time. Therefore, it has been rather a struggle. However, I feel this draft will give us a better basis for reaching a common understanding. The draft does not serve as a model for typing classes, but it should serve your purposes.

Of course, I would be very pleased to learn that this meets your needs. However, my purpose is to give you an opportunity for full and frank criticism so that the pamphlet will serve your purposes. Since we did not have the opportunity for a full discussion on your purposes, I had to rely on my own imagination and conceptions of the function of your organization and the specific place of this pamphlet in your program. The possibility of my error must be recognized. Furthermore, a document of this sort subjects the author to loss of perspective after he becomes immersed in its preparation. I admit the loss of "freshness" in recent days of writing. Thirdly, I may have failed in my effort to be clear to the "lay" reader without insulting his intelligence. Therefore, fire away where required.

The pamphlet is organized in this fashion:

Chapter I: Patterns of Negro Crime*----The general statistics of crime are summarized to offer a general description of the nature and quantity of Negro crime and the state's reaction to it, as compared with whites. It appeared necessary to open the discussion with the background "facts" before going into more detailed analysis. Statistics do not make a glamorous opening, but this appears to be the best approach.

Chapter II: Critique of Statistics on Negro Crime---The weaknesses and exaggerations of statistics are presented. The case is made for the argument that statistics distort the extent of Negro crime. However, it is admitted that the extent of Negro crime probably is greater than that of the white.

Chapter III: The Concepts of Crime and Race----It is explained that crime itself is a social and cultural concept, stemming from the need to have norms to regulate human behavior. Roughly stated, crime itself varies with the socio-cultural situation because it is based on laws which are man-made for social purposes. Therefore, an assumption of a racial criminality is ridiculous. Then race as a concept is explored briefly to show that it is not a source of deviant behavior on biological terms. In short, the formula that the "Negro equals crime" has no basis.

Chapter IV: Environmental Factors Behind Negro Crime----If race as a biological concept does not explain the higher Negro crime rates, what does explain it? Here we go into discussion of various cultural and socio-economic factors. The explanation of a separate "Negro culture" is refuted. The social class, urbanization, migration, delinquency areas, differential law enforcement, family disorganization, poverty, inferior education, and other factors are explored.

A bibliography and some statistical tables are offered.

On September I, I shall have returned officially to North Carolina State College as Associate Professor of Sociology. When the College refused to grant the Prison Director's request that my leave be renewed for a third year, it was my choice to return to my college post. My successor as Assistant Director of Prisons assumed the office on July I. On August 4, I shall leave for a vacation in Wisconsin(%William M. Holmes, Route I, Merrimac, Wis.). I shall return to Raleigh on or about August 25, but leave for Montgomery Alabama, on August 27 for two-weeks active duty with the Air Force at Maxwell Air Force Base. I should be passing through Atlanta on August 28 and, on my return, probably Septebmer 10. Perhaps we could chat at this unorthodox time, if you consider it worthwhile. If so, I suggest that you give me a means of telephoning you when I reach Atlanta.

On September 12, my formal duties at State College begin. The problems of beginning classes and organizing my lecture notes will require me to delay any further work on this pamphlet until October. Then I shall be able to spend much more time on it than I have been able to spare this summer. This advantage of college teaching for my research interests was a major reason for my choice of return to State College.

I shall await your comments on my draft with great interest. Incidentally, than you for the material you have sent me now and then.

Sincerely,

Elmer H. Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson

Home Address:
3921 Arrow Drive
Raleigh, N. C.

August 2, 1960

Mr. Elmer H. Johnson
Assistant Director of Prisons
Prison Department
State of North Carolina
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your manuscript arrived today as did also your letter of August 1. The former looks every bit as good and exciting as your letter of July 27 had led us to expect. I am enclosing a check for $50, as agreed, for your initial honorarium.

Unfortunately, my own commitments are such for the rest of this month that I shall have to be a little slow in my reading, but shall get to it just as quickly as possible.

At any rate, I shall certainly have read it before I see you in Atlanta, whether it be August 28 or September 10. I expect it will have to be the latter date, because on the weekend of August 27-28 I'll be in New York where I am to read a paper at the meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems.

My telephone number at the office is on the letterhead; my home telephone is Melrose 4-0182. Please feel free to call me there if I am not at the office.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

State of North Carolina
Prison Department
Raleigh

[redacted]
GEORGE W. RANDALL
DIRECTOR

[redacted]
ASSISTANT DIIRECTOR

August 1, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

As I promised last week, you will be receiving shortly under separate cover the manuscript of the pamphlet on "Negro and Crime." I am retaining a carbon copy as protection against the possibilities of loss of the manuscript.

In preparing the manuscript, I emphasized coverage of the topic, rather than the limitation of approximately 10,000 words. I estimate that the manuscript includes some 15,000 words without considering statistical tables and the bibliography. The economics of publication may require elimination of portions of the manuscript. If so, I invite specific editing.

There will be the problem of typing this rough copy. What do you suggest?

I look forward to your comments.

Sincerely,

Elmer H Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson

EHJ:lmp

August 22, 1960

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
c/o Wm. M. Holmes
Rt. 1
Merrimac, Wisconsin

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I look forward to seeing you on September 10. From your letter I infer that you will be driving. If so, when you reach Atlanta get someone to give you instructions for the Northeast Expressway (the Expressways are so inadequately marked that I am afraid to write you the directions, especially not knowing how you will be coming in; I think you will do better getting them on the spot), come out the Northeast Expressway to the North Druid Hills road exit, turn right, go through one stop light past a cluster of radio signal towers, and mine is the next left street: 1529 Berkeley Lane. Seeing you at home I think will be the most convenient place for you, if you are driving on to Raleigh; you will be already through Atlanta and can pop back to the Expressway. If, on the other hand you are flying, I suggest you take the airport bus to the Biltmore Hotel where I shall pick you up.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

c/o Wm. M. Holmes
Route 1
Merrimac, Wisconsin
August 17, 1960

Mr. Leslie M. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

My secretary at the Prison Department forwarded your letter of August 2 and the enclosed check. Since my wife encountered more than her usual quota of bargains in Milwaukee and Madison shopping, the check will be useful at this time.

It would appear that a Saturday September 10 meeting would be of greater convenience to both of us. For my two-weeks of active duty as an air Force lieutenant colonel, I shall attend a course at Maxwell Air Force Base on principles of instruction. It seems strange to study "how to teach" after some 15 years of college teaching. However, one strange matter is that college professors do not take education courses on how to teach as part of their own graduate training. So I expect the course to be useful.

On my last tour of duty in Boston, Mass., last February, my last duty day ended at 4 P.M., but I was not permitted to sign out until after midnight. As a result I left at 3 AM in a snowstorm. It may be that I shall encounter the same situation (minus snow, I trust) at Maxwell. There, I expect to leave Montgomery early in the morning of September 10. Probably I shall be in Atlanta around 10 A.M. After our conference, I shall continue on to Raleigh.

We expect to be in Raleigh about August 25 where I shall pause briefly before my military tour.

My return to college teaching seems like a new career after the challenging and frustrating experience of prison administration. The general flury has prevented me from attending the Amer. Social Society meeting where you will be.

Sincerely,
Elmer H. Johnson

3921 Arrow Drive
Raleigh, N.C.

file

State of North Carolina
Prison Department
Raleigh

[redacted]
GEORGE W. RANDALL
DIRECTOR

ELMER H. JOHNSON, PH. D.
ASSISTANT DIIRECTOR

3921 Arrow Drive
Raleigh, North Carolina
August 26, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Your letter of August 22 was forwarded from Wisconsin and reached me today. I apologize for neglecting to state that I shall be driving my own vehicle, a 1959 black Ford Country Club station wagon.

While at Maxwell Air Force Base, my address will be

Lt. Col. Elmer H. Johnson A0563417
Student, Reserve Officer Instructor Orientation Course
Academic Instructor School
Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama.

I shall endeavor to find my way to your home. If I get lost, I'll look for a Boy Scout or two.

I look forward to our meeting.

Cordially,

Elmer

Elmer H. Johnson

October 3, 1960

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
Associate Professor of Sociology
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for the material and references on the South's high rate of violent crime. I have made copies for our files and forwarded copies to Mr. Wright. Both your notes and the other material were engrossing; they will, I feel sure, meet Mr. Wright's needs.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE • RALEIGH

School of General Studies
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

October 21, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

For your information, I have completed the modifications of my draft of the pamphlet, "Negro and Crime." This was done to meet the excellent criticisms sent me.

The manuscript has been turned over to the Typing Service, Mrs. Adele Covington, Room 3, 2416½ Hillsboro Street, Raleigh. I asked that it be prepared with one carbon for protection against possible loss in the mails. Her charges are 60 cents per page, plus $2.50 an hour for the tables, plus cost of materials. This is for an original and one copy. She will give me her bill which I shall forward to you for payment. She assures me that it will be completed to permit delivery to you before November 15, the deadline we set.

I assume that these arrangements are satisfactory.

Will there be any other requirements? I assume you will take care of the introduction, since your other pamphlets so indicate. Will you require any biographic information?

Sincerely,

Elmer H Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson, Ph.D.
Associate Professor

EHJ:ib

October 24, 1960

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
Associate Professor
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

You have done marvelously, and there are no other "requirements." We look forward to receiving the final product. Send the typing bill to me.

We would like to have a brief biographical note.

Incidently, have you seen the article by Carl Rowan in the Saturday Evening Post for October 22? There are some interesting comments in it about Negro crime.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE • RALEIGH

School of General Studies
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

October 27, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Yes, I saw the Rowan article in the Saturday Evening Post. I thought he did well. He covered many of the points I have sought to present.

Incidentally, I just received a copy of the pamphlet, "The Civil Rights Fight -- A Look at the Legislative Record," published by the Industrial Union Department, AFL - CIO, 815 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. You may find it intersting.

My biography: Born in Racine, Wisconsin, April 10, 1917. Copy editor and reporter for Racine Journal-Times, 1935-1940. B.A. degree, 1946; M.A. degree, 1948; and Ph.D., 1950, in Sociology at University of Wisconsin. Military service: Army Air Force, July 1941 to February 1946, discharged in rank of captain. Now Lieutenant Colonel in Air Force Reserve. Joined staff of Department of Sociology and Anthropology of North Carolina State College, a branch of the Consolidated University of North Carolina, in 1949. Served one summer as parole supervisor for North Carolina Board of Paroles. On basis of a leave from State College, served as Assistant Director of Prisons, North Carolina Prison Department, from July 1, 1958 to September 1, 1960. As such, I was in charge of the statewide rehabilitation programs of a prison system which ranks fifth in nation in size of prisoner population. Married and have two daughters.

I do not know whether the sentiment is appropriate for a biography, but I see myself as an adopted son of the South who has a deep appreciation for and sincere interest in the region.

Sincerely,

Elmer H Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson
Associate Professor of Sociology

EHJ:ib

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE • RALEIGH

School of General Studies
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

November 16, 1960

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Under separate cover, you will receive the completed manuscript for the pamphlet, "Negro and Crime."

The typing people did not have their bill ready when they released the corrected manuscript to me. The bill will be sent to me for certification that the task has been completed, and I shall forward it to you for your action. At the same time, I shall include a list of persons to whom I would like copies of the pamphlet sent. You were kind enough to offer this service. Of course, I would like an appropriate number of the pamphlets sent to me directly.

Although I am delighted to complete this task because of other commitments pressing me, I must say that this has been a stimulating experience. Your assistance and friendly counsel played an important part in whatever degree of success this pamphlet will achieve.

Sincerely yours,

Elmer H Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Sociology

EHJ:ib

November 18, 1960

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Professor Johnson:

Your manuscript arrived yesterday, as did your letter. I shall be in touch with you again as soon as we have had a chance to give the report a thorough reading. Of course we already know pretty well what is in it and we look forward to its publication with real satisfaction.

Please send the typing bill to me when you receive it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: $200 check

3921 Arrow Drive
Raleigh, North Carolina
January 31, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I have two favors to ask.

First, if possible, I would like a W-2 Withholding Tax Statement to cover the $250 honorarium for preparing the "Negro and Crime" pamphlet. I am about to subject myself to the frustrations of preparing my income tax reports.

Secondly, I would like my address changed in your mailing list to the above. The materials are being directed to my North Carolina Prison Department address and must be forwarded. Because I find the reports most interesting, I would like this change to be made.

I trust your work proceeds satisfactorily. If I can be of further service, you know you can depend on me.

Sincerely,

Elmer H Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Sociology

February 3, 1961

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
3921 Arrow Drive
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Our treasurer is ill, but is expected back on Monday, and I'll ask her to send you a statement for income tax purposes covering your honorarium.

We have changed your address on our mailing list.

I opened your letter with some hesitancy, for I expected it might contain a justified expression of concern about our slowness in handling your manuscript. It was very charitable of you to make no reference to this. I have read the manuscript through. It will require some shortening, as I believe we discussed earlier. The last couple of months have been very full ones for us and I simply have not had time to get to it. I want to do this as soon as possible and am hopeful I can by the end of this month or early March submit to you suggested revisions which will have the effect of reducing the length.

In the meantime, best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE · RALEIGH

School of General Studies
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

File

June 1, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I have hesitated to write you, since it is not my desire to prod you in any fashion. However, your letter of February 3 indicated you would wish me to perform some function in reducing the length of my manuscript on THE NEGRO AND CRIME.

Next Saturday I shall be leaving Raleigh for Boston and the midwest, to return approximately July 20. This may affect your use of me. However, I hope not.

At any rate, I shall be available after that date if you should so require. Perhaps you will be able to give me some definite word on your publication plans at that time. Naturally, I am curious.

Sincerely yours,

Elmer H Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson

June 6, 1961

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
3921 Arrow Drive
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Mr. Dunbar has asked me to write you since he is out of the city and has been during a majority of the time recently. He does want you to know that a great deal has been done on your manuscript. It is not now in print only because of our staff changeover and the considerable temporary staff shortages, particularly in our research department. We still look forward to publishing the study this summer.

We will keep you advised of our progress (or lack of it) but did want you to have this information.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:A

October 6, 1961

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am writing for Dr. James A. Moss, our director of research, to let you know that he will be arriving at the Raleigh-Durham airport on EAL #522 at 1:45 p. m. on Tuesday, October 10th. He would like to confirm an appointment with you for the afternoon of October 10th.

Dr. Moss will be going on to Chapel Hill Tuesday night, and already has hotel reservations there.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Carolina Inn
Chapel Hill
Oct 10, 11, 12

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[illegible] [illegible]ORGIA
[illegible]-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO October 16, 1961

TO: LWD
FROM: JAM Re: Chapel Hill, N. C. Trip
Elmer Johnson manuscript

I met first with Elmer Johnson at North Carolina State College. We spent about two hours reviewing his manuscript. He was in agreement with me that the article as originally drafted was perhaps too academic to serve profitably in broad distribution. He was strong in his feelings, however, that he could not give much more time to this article than he had already invested. He feels that the article reflects his orientation as an individual and as a scholar on the subject of the Negro and Crime, and that little could be gained from any substantial restructuring of the article. I agreed in essence with all that he had to say, but made some specific recommendations:

1) The article could be substantially reduced in length if he would limit, first of all, the number of topics with which he attempts to deal in the article (e.g., the introductory section on the concepts of crime and race could be reduced to a statement of the most relevant questions that confront us on the Negro and Crime; this in itself could reduce the first chapter some 7 or 8 pages).

2. I also suggested to him that it might not be necessary to enter into a full discussion of the theory of race, but to point out that at least one criterion of race, that of skin color, has often been selected to provide the basis of attitudes held towards the Negro and criminal behavior; and, having said this, to go into these prevailing conceptions and to treat their validity based upon available evidence.

The rest of the discussion dealt with ways in which he might combine a number of ideas treated in the paper for greater readability and effectiveness. We agreed that much of the statistical material presented could be eliminated, and that the paper would be improved also by shifting, wherever possible, to the present tense. Similarly,

if he would state just those questions that he will deal with in this paper at the beginning of the paper, hold tightly to those questions in the subsequent sections, and conclude with some unresolved problems in the area of Negroes and Crime--with some suggestions for further treatment in future monographs--I assured him that we would then push for the ~~p~~ publication of this document.

It is a sound paper and, with the modifications suggested, should make a fine publication. He promised us that he will get the revised manuscript to us within a month. I assured him that this would be satisfactory.

November 21, 1961

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
School of General Studies
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your revised manuscript on the Negro and crime. I have not yet been able to get to it to review your changes and to arrive at a decision as to its publication. I anticipate that progress will be made in this direction as soon as the Thanksgiving holidays are over - which brings me to wishing both you and your family a very happy Thanksgiving.

Thank you also for the very cordial visit that I had with both you and your wife at the college.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:mpb

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE • RALEIGH

School of General Studies
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

November 9, 1961

Dr. James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Moss:

Under separate cover, I am sending the redraft of the pamphlet on relationship between crime and Negroes. It appears to be improved.

Since the original draft was completed, 1960 statistics have become available. Therefore, all the statistical analysis was redone. This was the major reason for my failure to meet the two-week deadline I set for myself. However, I am more content with this draft than with the original version.

I have a carbon copy of the draft. This will simplify further correspondence.

At the appropriate time, I would like to submit a list of persons to receive the pamphlet. The original agreement was that I would have this privilege.

I enjoyed your visit, finding you a most stimulating person in every respect. May we meet again.

Cordially,

Elmer H. Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson

EHJ:ib

June 26, 1962

Dr. Henry Allen Bullock
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Dear Dr. Bullock:

It was so kind of you to see me last week, and on such short notice. I was pleased to have the opportunity to talk to you. I do hope that your son will consider Stockbridge School, for my wife and I think it is such a fine school.

I appreciate your willingness to look over the manuscript on crime and the Negro which I am enclosing. Your comments on the merits of the manuscript and any suggestions you have to offer will be most appreciated.

Cordially,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl
enc.

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
HOUSTON, TEXAS

GRADUATE SCHOOL RESEARCH

August 13, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Below is presented my reactions to the paper on Negro crime. Frankly, it is much later than I had intended due to periodic seizures of dental trouble which kept me less active than usual. I apologize for this.

On the whole, I find the paper too loosely organized for the purpose that is apparently intended. Instead of being a refutation of the stereotype of excessive Negro criminality, it appears to be an apology for it based upon the usual "excuses" of low economic status, rapid urbanization, and high mobility rates. In making these causes for crime, the author fails to explain why, most Negroes, though possessing these same characteristics, are not criminal.

More specifically, the following apparent weaknesses bother me:

1. The author (p. 1) sets out to answer the questions (1) To what degree do Negroes surpass whites in the perpetration of crimes? and (2) Why do Negroes commit more than their share?

a. The author presents no systematic logical answers to these questions. The answers seem to get lost in a statistical maze.

b. He starts by stating that "criminal statistics are insufficient to give a precise comparison of the races", yet he builds a comparison, apparently seeking an answer to question #1, on the basis of this inadequacy. He contends, and rightly so, that "the study of a sub-group requires more exact control of factors", but he does not make these controls in his comparison. In fact, the kind of data which he uses is not conducive to rigorous statistical control.

2. The author, in attempting to give reasons for excessive arrests and imprisonment of Negroes, resorts to the trite and loose explanations one usually encounters in "run-of-the mill" surveys. (see: pp. 29-37)

a. How does the author <u>know</u>, beyond mere suspicion, that there is a differential arrest policy based upon the racial factor?

(1) He does not equate arrested persons, except on the basis of the racial factor, and study the significance of statistical differences of the arrest rates of the two races.

(2) He does not even show that cities having similar proportions of Negroes have differential arrest rates.

b. Prison sentences are a function of many factors. The author's data do not recognize these factors.

(1) Imprisonment rates are not compared between the races while holding such factors as offense, plea, number of previous convictions, etc. constant.

(2) By drawing his data mainly from Uniform Crime Reports, the author allows these potent variables to slip through his fingers.

3. The paper obviously suffers from these difficulties:

a. It is too long for what it says. The case, for what it is, could be put more concisely.

b. Most of the "factual" data and many of the value-judgments it contains are old and somewhat common place.

c. Any attack upon racial discrimination in the administration of criminal justice should be tight, dramatic, and unique. One fails to see these qualities clearly in the author's report.

Of course the Council must judge this critique within the framework of my scientific bias. I cannot avoid believing that social action should be based upon diagnosis that is just as exact as that upon which the medical practitioner

bases his therapy. I do not find this degree of exactness approximated in the author's report. In order that my bias may not escape you, I am enclosing a paper on Negro crime which was recently published for me by the Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science.

If I can be of further help, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

H. A. Bullock

H. A. Bullock, Professor
Department of Sociology
Director, Graduate Research

HAB:nwl
Enclosure

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SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RACIAL FACTOR IN THE LENGTH OF PRISON SENTENCES

HENRY ALLEN BULLOCK*

The author is Professor of Sociology and Chairman of Graduate Research in Texas Southern University. He is also President of CAPRA, Inc., and a member of the Societe Internationale De Criminologie.

Do Negroes generally receive differential treatment by juries in the assessment of sentence? Do they receive longer sentences than whites for certain crimes, but shorter sentences for other crimes? In an attempt to discover the validity of charges that Negroes are treated differently than whites in sentencing, Professor Bullock conducted a study of 3,644 inmates in a Texas state prison. Careful comparisons of data were made, after controlling the influence of non-racial factors, to determine the effect of race on the length of sentence. This article reports the findings and discusses their implications.—EDITOR.

Sociologists have given some attention to the problem of accounting for the Negro's disproportionate representation in the records of police departments, courts, and prisons. Many, accepting the record at face value, have sought an explanation on the basis of the Negro's greater exposure to the social and cultural conditions that foster criminal behavior.[1] Others, more critical in their evaluation of the record, have sought an explanation in the inadequacy of available criminal statistics. This paper represents an exploratory inquiry growing out of the latter approach. It attempts specifically to test the significance of the racial factor in the length of assessed prison sentences under conditions that control many of the other factors which also appear to be influential in determining such sentences.

The idea that racial discrimination exists in the administration of criminal law has been suggested indirectly through theoretical attacks upon the validity of criminal statistics and directly through field evidence charging racial discrimination at various levels of law enforcement.

The theoretical attack has been largely directed against the confusions inherent in the definition of "crime." One of the great barriers to adequate crime reporting has been unstable definitions of the kinds of behavior identified in criminal records. Some scholars have persistently located this instability in the area of human judgment, where perceptual qualities are refracted by social values and attitudes. An examination of the literature dealing with the concept "crime" reveals a considerable amount of confusion among scholars who have attempted to clarify this term.[2] And writers have warned that interpretations and implementations of the law vary widely from place to place and from time to time even within a particular jurisdiction.[3] Sutherland's studies of "white collar" crime demonstrate that not *all* unlawful behavior is treated as criminal behavior; that an entire social class enjoys protection from criminal treatment for offenses committed in connection with their occupations and that criminologists have derived theories of criminal behavior from statistics loaded against the lower class and in favor of the upper.[4] Sellin has also based his conception of the inadequacy of criminal statistics upon our variable attitudes toward crime and what it is. He has contended that the nature of such statistics varies with social status, social customs, and social sensitivity; that a dependable crime index cannot be derived from criminal records unless they are sufficiently free of these variations to reflect real criminality.[5]

* Naomi W. Levi served as a research associate in connection with the preparation of this paper. Assistance in the form of financial support was given by the Faculty Research Committee of Texas Southern University.

[1] See REID, IN A MINOR KEY (1940); McKeown, *Poverty, Race, and Crime*, 39 J. CRIM. L. & C. 480 (1948); RECKLESS, THE CRIME PROBLEM 37 (1955); BERNARD, SOCIAL PROBLEMS AT MID-CENTURY 518 (1957); MERRILL, SOCIETY AND CULTURE 293 (1957).

[2] For a summary of this type of literature, see Wilber, *The Scientific Adequacy of Criminological Concepts*, 28 SOCIAL FORCES 165 (1949).

[3] SUTHERLAND, PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY 18 (1947).

[4] Sutherland, *Is "White Collar Crime" Crime?*, 10 AM. SOC. REV. 132 (1945); SUTHERLAND, CRIME AND BUSINESS, 217 ANNALS 112 (1941).

[5] Sellin, *The Basis of a Crime Index*, 22 J. CRIM. L. & C. 335 (1931).

Field evidence of racial discrimination in the administration of criminal justice has generally indicated that public officials, under the influence of their prejudices, tend to make decisions that exaggerate Negro criminality. It is generally concluded that Negroes receive differential treatment in arrest, sentencing, and imprisonment[6]; apparently even Negro juveniles receive such treatment.[7] This type of differential treatment, some authors conclude, artificially increases the Negro's *apparent* criminality and makes any comparison of criminal statistics between the two races exceedingly hazardous.[8] Generally, therefore, observations of the Negro's contacts with all stages of criminal treatment suggest that statistics exaggerate his criminality because the prejudices of public officials give members of the race a higher risk of being included in the record.[9]

The Procedure

These two sets of criticisms—the charges of faulty statistics and racial discrimination in law enforcement—have one implication in common; they imply that equality before the law is impaired because decisions about criminal behavior are influenced by other than recognized legal considerations, namely racial prejudice. Is this implication supported by fact? The study reported in this paper tests this implication as regards racial bias at the judicial level of law enforcement.

Many factors affect the decisions of public officials concerning a subject and his criminal behavior. The type of offense, number of previous felonies, nature of the plea, and nature of community sensitivity are factors that enter at various stages of law enforcement.[10] It is possible, therefore, that previous studies that failed to control these variables have derived conclusions concerning racial bias from comparisons of white and Negro subjects whose characteristics differed significantly in factors other than race.

We have attempted to make an objective study of racial and non-racial bias at the judicial level of law enforcement by seeking to test these assumptions:

1. The length of prison sentence will be found significantly associated with non-racial characteristics of the offender, of both legal and "extra-legal" nature.
2. Negro prisoners will be found to possess these non-racial characteristics in greater proportion to their number than will white prisoners.
3. Negro prisoners will be found to receive long sentences in greater proportion to their number than will white prisoners, even when the two groups are similar in other characteristics found to be associated with length of prison sentence.

Our data were provided through a survey of prisoners in the Texas State Prison at Huntsville in 1958.[11] Specific facts designed to characterize each prisoner were secured from the Prison Classification and Identification Department concerning 3,644 white and Negro inmates who had been committed for burglary, rape, and murder.[12] These facts were: (1) his racial identity, (2) type of offense for which he was committed, (3) number of previous felonies for which he had been convicted, (4) nature of his plea before the court, (5) county from which he was committed, and (6) number of years to which he was sentenced.

Prisoners were classified on the basis of these facts to test the significance of racial differences in length of sentence for each class. The data were coded, placed on IBM cards, and sorted according to the above characteristics. A series of dichotomous tables was constructed, first resulting in a classification of prisoners according to length of sentence and their characteristics excluding race, and later according to length of sentence and race under conditions that held other characteristics constant. Sentences representing less than ten years were defined as "short"; those ten years and over were defined as "long." By this method we were able to observe the number and per cent of prisoners in each racial group actually receiving short or long sentences as compared with the quantity expected to receive such sentences if judgments were not passed on the basis of race. We used values of chi square to determine the statistical significance of differences in observed and expected frequencies, and we used the contingency coefficient of association, represented by

[6] Weaver, Social Problems 596 (1951). See also Donald, *The Negro Migration of 1916–1918*, 4 J. Negro Hist. 383 (1921).

[7] Axelrod, *Negro and White Male Institutionalized Delinquents*, 47 Am. J. Soc. 569 (1952).

[8] Sellin, *The Negro Criminal*, 140 Annals 52 (1928).

[9] Taft, Criminology, 134 (1956).

[10] See Walter, Race and Culture Relations 436 (1952); Johnson, *The Negro and Crime*, 217 annals 93 (1941).

[11] The survey was made by Professor R. C. Koeninger and students of the Department of Sociology at Sam Houston State Teachers College, Huntsville, Texas.

[12] Prisoners awaiting the death sentence were omitted. All subjects included in the study were male.

TABLE 1

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF 3,644 PRISONERS ACCORDING TO SELECT CHARACTERISTICS AND LENGTH OF SENTENCE

Select Characteristics	Per Cent Short Sentences	Per Cent Long Sentences	Total Prisoners
Type of Offense			
Burglary	77.0	23.0	1,482
Rape	36.1	63.9	374
Murder	39.3	60.7	1,788
Total	54.3	45.7	3,644
$\chi^2 = 521.67$, $P < .001$, 2-df			
Type of Plea			
Guilty	64.5	35.5	2,118
Not Guilty	40.1	59.9	1,526
Total	54.3	45.7	3,644
$\chi^2 = 211.96$, $P < .001$, 1-df			
No. of Previous Felonies			
Less than two	53.9	46.1	3,063
Two and over	56.3	43.7	581
Total	54.3	45.7	3,644
$\chi^2 = 1.21$, $P < .300$, 1-df			

the symbol Q, to measure the degree of relationship existing between the main variables.

THE FINDINGS

Absolute equality before the law is difficult to realize. The imprecise nature of legal norms allows the values, attitudes, and prejudices of individuals to influence their responses to criminal behavior. The statutes of many states, including Texas, not only set a relatively wide range within which punishment for a given felony may fall, but also empower juries to assess a particular punishment within that range.[13] The assessment tends to vary significantly according to characteristics not necessarily involved by law in criminal punishment. One of these characteristics is a prisoner's racial identity.

The Influence of Non-Racial Characteristics

The assumption that non-racial factors of both legal and "extra-legal" nature influence the length of prison sentences is validated by the stable relationship existing between these sentences and certain traits that may characterize a prisoner at the bar. Obviously, the first sign that the validation is likely appears in the close relationship between length of sentence and type of offense. The Texas Penal Code provides that one found guilty of burglary shall be confined to the penitentiary not less than two nor more than twelve years.[14] It specifies that punishment for rape or murder shall be death, life imprisonment, or prison sentences for any term of years not less than five for rape nor less than two for murder.[15] According to the statutes, therefore, juries could assess the same penalty for each of these offenses. As one would expect, however, they exact the shorter sentences for burglary; the longer ones are for rape and murder. Prisoners convicted of burglary constituted 40.7 per cent of our study group, but 57.7 per cent of those receiving short sentences. Those committed for murder formed 49.1 per cent of the total group, but 65.2 per cent of those receiving long sentences. Similar disproportion existed among those committed for rape. The chi square value of 521.67, computed from data presented in Table 1, virtually eliminates the probability that these variations are due to chance.[16] The dichotomous distribution resulting from a combination of those committed for rape and those committed for murder yields a coefficient of association ($Q = .68$) that indicates a substantial relationship between length of sentence and type of offense.

The variation of length of sentence with type of offense indicates, not surprisingly, that the sentences studied and the Texas Penal Code reflect like views concerning the relative seriousness of the offenses involved.

In contrast, despite statutory recognition of previous conviction as a factor tending to increase the length of sentence, this factor does not appear to influence significantly the length of sentence which a jury imposes. The Texas Penal Code stipulates that a second felonious offender be given the maximum rather than the minimum sentence; and that a third be given a life sentence.[17] However, the length of sentence received by our study group did not vary significantly when prisoners were classified according to this factor. Slightly more than four-fifths of them had been convicted of less than two previous felonies, and relatively the same proportion received long sentences. It should be noted that juries tended to favor shorter

[13] See TEXAS CODE CRIM. PROC. art. 693 (1950).

[14] See TEX. PEN. CODE art. 1397 (Vernon, 1948).

[15] See TEX. PEN. CODE arts. 1188–89, 1257 (Vernon, 1948).

[16] In all tables chi square accepted as indicating genuine association if large as 3.84 for probability of .05 with one degree of freedom.

[17] TEX. PEN. CODE art. 62–64 (Vernon, 1952).

TABLE 2

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF 3,644 PRISONERS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF AREA AND LENGTH OF SENTENCE

Type of Area	Per Cent Short Sentences	Per Cent Long Sentences	Total Prisoners
Type of Region			
East Texas	51.8	48.2	2,526
West Texas	59.8	40.2	1,118
Total	54.3	45.7	3,644
$\chi^2 = 19.99$, $P < .001$, 1-df			
Degree of Urbanization			
Large Cities	51.5	48.5	1,548
Small Cities	56.3	43.7	2,096
Total	54.3	45.7	3,644
$\chi^2 = 8.37$, $P < .010$, 1-df			

TABLE 3

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF 3,644 PRISONERS ACCORDING TO SELECT CHARACTERISTICS AND RACE

Characteristics	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent White	Total
Type of Offense			
Burglary	38.6	61.4	1,482
Rape	31.8	68.2	374
Murder	58.0	42.0	1,788
Total	47.4	52.6	3,644
$\chi^2 = 78.28$, $P < .001$, 2-df			
Type of Plea			
Guilty	47.7	52.3	2,118
Not Guilty	47.0	53.0	1,526
Total	47.4	52.6	3,644
$\chi^2 = 0.22$, $P < .634$, 1-df			
No. of Previous Felonies			
Less than two	48.5	51.5	3,063
Two and over	41.8	58.2	581
Total	47.4	52.6	3,644
$\chi^2 = 8.94$, $P < .010$, 1-df			
Type of Region			
East Texas	51.5	48.5	2,526
West Texas	38.1	61.9	1,118
Total	47.4	52.6	3,644
$\chi^2 = 55.98$, $P < .001$, 1-df			
Urbanization			
Large Cities	52.0	48.0	1,548
Small Cities	44.0	56.0	2,096
Total	47.4	52.6	3,644
$\chi^2 = 22.71$, $P < .001$, 1-df			

sentences for those convicted of the greater number of previous felonies, but the differences were apparently an accident of sampling.

More important to our view is the variation of length of sentence with factors not reflected in the penal code. One such factor is the nature of the offender's plea before the court. Prisoners pleading "guilty" were given short sentences in a significantly greater proportion to their number than were those pleading "not guilty."[18] As an index of this imbalance, prisoners pleading "guilty" composed 69.1 per cent of those receiving short sentences, but only 58.1 per cent of the total group. The chi square value of 211.96 validates the statistical significance of these differences, and the coefficient $Q = .46$ indicates a fairly high degree of relationship between the two variables. These facts tends to support the view that bargaining between the prosecution and the offender operates through the plea, and those pleading guilty are rewarded for their cooperation.

Another set of non-racial factors apparently associated with length of prison sentence pertains to the type of area from which prisoners are committed. Assuming community sensitivity to criminal behavior to be based upon the type of culture area in which the prisoner is tried, we grouped the counties from which our prisoners were committed according to the cultural regions of Texas and the degree of urbanization characterizing these counties. As shown in Table 2, those committed from counties composing the traditional East Texas region tended to get long sentences in greater proportion to their representation in the total group, while those from West Texas tended to get short sentences.[19] Likewise, prisoners committed from counties having large cities tended to get long sentences in greater proportion than did those committed from counties having small cities.[20] Although the coefficients of association were low,

[18] "Guilty" also includes those pleading guilty to one charge though "not guilty" to another.

[19] Geographically, the line which divides East and West Texas is hazy. It may be said to follow roughly the 98th meridian. Culturally, it is more definite. It separates two different types of economies—East Texas, the region of lumbering, small farms and oil industries; West Texas, the region of large ranches. For cultural descriptions, see STEEN, THE TEXAS STORY 290–305 (1948); GOODWYN, LONE STAR LAND 39–47 (1955).

[20] A county was identified as a "large city" county if it had one or more cities 50,000 or over in population size. Others were identified as "small city" counties.

the chi square value in each instance indicates that such areal factors are significantly associated with the length of sentences which juries of these areas tend to assess.

It appears, therefore, that established legal norms are not the only grounds upon which juries decide the fate of an offender. Whether he pleads guilty or not guilty and whether he is committed from a highly urbanized area or one less urbanized also operate as factors determining how long a prison sentence he will be required to serve.

Exposure of Negro Prisoners to Effective Non-Racial Factors

Because of the inclination of jurors to be influenced by these particular characteristics of prisoners, Negroes who possess such characteristics to a greater degree than do white prisoners would be expected to receive longer sentences, even when their racial identity is not being considered. From the point of view of expressed criminality, Negro prisoners do run such a "risk." They appear more likely than white prisoners to be committed for a type of offense for which juries usually assess long sentences. According to Table 3, a greater proportion of them were committed for murder. Approximately 60 per cent of the Negro prisoners were committed for this offense as compared with 39 per cent of the whites. On the other hand, only one-third of them were committed for burglary, while 47.5 per cent of the white prisoners were committed for this offense. Approximately the same proportion of the prisoners of each racial group entered pleas of guilty and not guilty, and a smaller proportion of the Negro prisoners had committed two or more previous felonies.

Negro prisoners also run a greater confinement risk from the point of view of the areal factor. They were committed from the East Texas region in greater proportions than were whites, and a greater proportion of them were committed from counties having large cities. It should be recalled that these are the kinds of areas in which juries tend to give long sentences. These are the kinds of factors which must be controlled if the influence of the racial factor is to be objectively tested. When the effects of these factors are eliminated, the association of race and length of prison sentence should decrease and become less significant.

Significance of the Racial Factor Under Controlled Conditions

However, control of these non-racial factors fails to reduce the gross association which we observe to exist between race and length of prison sentence. Instead, it increases the degree of this association, changes its direction, and strengthens its validity. Although the total coefficient is low, "being black" generally means one type of sentence while "being white" means another. This conclusion, however, is much more valid when observed through white and Negro prisoners who were committed for the same offense. Table 4 shows that there is a slightly higher degree of association between race and length of sentence among prisoners who were committed for burglary and murder. Juries tended to give Negro prisoners committed for murder shorter sentences than they gave whites who were committed for the same offense. They gave Negroes committed for burglary longer sentences than they gave whites committed for this offense. These judicial responses possibly represent the indulgent and non-indulgent patterns that

TABLE 4

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF 3,644 PRISONERS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF OFFENSE, LENGTH OF SENTENCE, AND RACE

Offense	Short			Long			Q	χ^2	$P^*<$
	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent White	Total	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent White	Total			
Burglary	35.9	64.1	1,141	47.5	52.5	341	.23	14.45	.001
Rape	36.3	63.7	135	29.3	70.7	239	.16	1.92	.250
Murder	62.1	37.9	702	55.3	44.7	1,086	.14	8.10	.010
Total	45.2	54.8	1,978	50.0	50.0	1,666	.10	8.20	.010

*With one degree of freedom.

TABLE 5

COEFFICIENT OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN RACE AND LENGTH OF SENTENCE FOR PRISONERS CLASSIFIED BY AREA AND TYPE OF OFFENSE

Area and Type of Offense	Q	χ^2 1-df	P <
1—East Texas Counties			
a. Burglary	.25	5.36	.050
b. Rape	.27	2.32	.200
c. Murder	.10	1.57	.300
2—West Texas Counties			
a. Burglary	.33	5.43	.020
b. Rape	.00	0.00	
c. Murder	.15*	4.12	.050
3—Large City Counties			
a. Burglary	.10	2.55	.200
b. Rape	.13*	0.55	.500
c. Murder	.23*	7.70	.010
4—Other City Counties			
a. Burglary	.31	12.62	.001
b. Rape	.18	1.46	.300
c. Murder	.12*	3.91	.050

* "Being Negro" and receiving shorter sentences.

characterize local attitudes concerning property and interracial morals. Murder is an intra-racial crime.[21] Since the victims of most of the Negroes committed for this offense were also Negroes, local norms tolerate a less rigorous enforcement of the law; the disorder is mainly located within the Negro society. On the other hand, burglary is mainly an interracial offense. When a Negro is an offender, his attack is usually against the property of a white person.[22] Local norms are less tolerant, for the motivation to protect white property and to protect "white" society against disorder is stronger than the motivation to protect "Negro" society.

These indulgent and non-indulgent patterns of racial discrimination are even more firmly established when other variables are controlled. In three of the four types of areas a significantly greater proportion of Negroes received short sentences for murder. Only in the cases of prisoners from East Texas committed for murder were racial differences in length of sentence not statistically significant.

[21] Bullock, *Urban Homicide in Theory and Fact*, 45 J. CRIM. L., C. & P.S. 565 (1955).

[22] That burglary offenses committed by Negroes are usually or more often directed against the property of whites than the property of Negroes has been verified by evidence secured from the District Attorney's offices of sample counties.

TABLE 6

COEFFICIENT OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN LENGTH OF SENTENCE AND RACE FOR PRISONERS CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF OFFENSE AND PLEA

Type of Offense and Plea	Q	χ^2 1-df	P <
1—Total Prisoners:			
a. Plea of Guilty	.24	29.75	.001
b. Plea of Not Guilty	.08	2.46	.200
2—Committee for Burglary:			
a. Plea of Guilty	.31	14.00	.001
b. Plea of Not Guilty	.03	0.01	.900
3—Committee for Rape:			
a. Plea of Guilty	.40*	4.79	.050
b. Plea of Not Guilty	.12*	0.82	.800
4—Committed for Murder:			
a. Plea of Guilty	.28*	8.40	.010
b. Plea of Not Guilty	.12*	3.69	.100

* "Being Negro" and receiving shorter sentences.

TABLE 7

COEFFICIENT OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN RACE AND LENGTH OF SENTENCE FOR PRISONERS CLASSIFIED BY AREA OF ORIGIN, TYPE OF OFFENSE AND PLEA

Area, Type of Plea and Offense	Q	χ^2 1-df	P <
1—East Texas Counties:			
a. Burglary, Guilty	.33	5.78	.02
b. Rape, Guilty**	.61*	5.02	.05
c. Murder, Guilty	.31*	4.64	.05
d. Murder, Not Guilty	.09	0.88	.80
2—West Texas Counties:			
a. Burglary, Guilty	.53	15.64	.001
b. Rape, Guilty	.00	0.00	
c. Murder, Guilty	.23*	4.38	.05
d. Murder, Not Guilty	.00	0.00	
3—Large City Counties:			
a. Burglary, Guilty	.09	0.80	.80
b. Rape, Guilty	.22*	4.31	.05
c. Murder, Guilty	.27*	4.48	.05
d. Murder, Not Guilty	.15*	2.20	.20
4—Other City Counties:			
a. Burglary, Guilty	.43	24.87	.001
b. Rape, Guilty	.15*	0.78	.50
c. Murder, Guilty	.75*	111.99	.001
d. Murder, Not Guilty	.15*	2.19	.20

* "Being Negro" and receiving shorter sentences.

** Those pleading not guilty except in the case of murder, when distributed for these variables, yielded frequencies smaller than 10 for the different cells of our tables.

However, the higher coefficients of association derived from a comparison of white and Negro prisoners committed for burglary from East and West Texas counties indicate that the greater risk which Negroes run with regard to this offense persists under the control of areal variables. This is also true for those counties that have small cities.

Although juries generally favor with short sentences those who plead guilty of the charges held against them, their attitude appears different when their judgments are observed through the influence of the racial factor. Negro prisoners who entered a plea of guilty received long sentences in greater proportion than did whites who entered this plea. When racial differences were observed under conditions that controlled both type of offense and plea, as shown in Table 6, the degree and significance of the association increased while the direction remained the same. Negro offenders who plead guilty of murder also get shorter sentences than do whites who plead guilty of this offense, and those who plead guilty of burglary get longer sentences. The indulgent and non-indulgent patterns appear to operate undisturbed by the nature of an offender's plea.

According to Table 7, racial differences in the assessment of prison sentences tend to persist even though the prisoners are alike in all effective characteristics except race. Negro prisoners committed for murder get short sentences more often than whites committed for this offense even when prisoners of the two racial groups are alike in terms of plea and area from which they were committed. Those committed from East Texas counties and from counties having large cities also received short sentences in greater proportion than did white prisoners of similar characteristics.

Rape, too, is a form of intra-racial crime that elicits short sentences when Negroes are the offenders. Despite the wide publicity given interracial cases, the victim and the assailant are usually of the same race. That Negroes are given short sentences in greater proportion than are whites is probably another expression of the employment of a double standard of moral expectation from the Negro society. In addition to responding to the law, jurors appear also to respond to the race of an offender. If his offense carries him across racial lines, his penalty is heavier than that given whites who appear in court under the same circumstances. If his offense remains within the confines of his segregated community life, his punishment is less than that imposed upon his white counterpart. These patterns, indulgent and non-indulgent, seem to operate irrespective of the area from which he was committed, the nature of his plea, or the number of previous felonies for which he was convicted.

Summary and Conclusions

In light of basic criticisms directed against criminal statistics, and certain charges directed against the agencies of law enforcement, an exploratory study designed to observe the significance of racial differences in length of prison sentences was undertaken. Certain factors other than those specified in the law were found significantly associated with the length of sentences imposed by a jury upon an offender. Negro prisoners were observed to be more greatly exposed to these factors than white prisoners, but were also observed to receive sentences significantly different from those given white prisoners even when these factors were controlled. Assuming indulgent and non-indulgent patterns in which Negro offenders are apparently under-penalized for one type of offense and over-penalized for another, racial discrimination appears to be motivated more by the desire to protect the order of the white community than to effect the reformation of the offender. If the study has any theoretical suggestion at all, it is this: Those who enforce the law conform to the norms of their local society concerning racial prejudice, thus denying equality before the law. That criminal statistics reflect social customs, values, and prejudices appears to be further validated.

September 10, 1962

Professor Elmer Johnson
School of General Studies
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your manuscript has been with us so long that I feel humbly apologetic. In handling it, we have failed badly in mastering the problems attendant upon shifts in our research directorship, and neither I nor Jim Moss succeeded in clearing through it before leaving the post. I think now it would be unfair to you for us to hold it longer.

There has been, as you know, a problem of presentation. The topic on which we asked you to write is itself, I need not tell you, a murky one and you have labored manfully to clarify it. Perhaps the case is that the subject is not amenable, at this stage of the game, to relatively straightforward and easy discussion. On the other hand, we had your manuscript read by a recognized authority who both applauded the effort you had made and counselled against publication because of his belief that the data you were dealing with simply cannot be accurately presented in a pamphlet designed for lay comprehension.

I hope very much that you will proceed with publication of this material through another outlet. When you do, I am certain that we shall want to order reprints in advance, if you or the publisher will advise us beforehand.

I want to thank you again for taking on this assignment and for putting up so patiently with us. I remember most pleasantly our meeting of many months back and I hope there will be future occasions when we may see you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

WIRE SENT 8/15/62 3PM

TO: Prof. H.A. Bullock
Department of Sociology
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Johnson manuscript omitted from letter. Please send soonest. Thank you.

Leslie W. Dunbar, Ex. Dir.
Southern Regional Council

August 7, 1962

Professor Elmer H. Johnson
Department of Sociology and
Anthropology
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, NorthCCarolina

Dear Professor Johnson:

Leslie Dunbar, who is out of the city this week, asked that in the interim before his return I drop you a note in reply to your letter of July 24 to Dr. Moss. Mr. Dunbar will be writing you as soon as he is back with regard to your "Negro and Crime" manuscript.

Dr. Moss has completed his year with SRC and is presently in Africa on a lecture tour for the State Department. Correspondence will reach him via his home address, 831 DeCamp Avenue, Schenectady, New York.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

8/3

BP

I talked with Bulloch today, & ~~he'll~~ he promised to return over by end next week. Dropped blank note to Johnson telling him ~~we'll be writing definitely so~~ I'll be writing soon as return vacation, that town is gone.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE • RALEIGH

School of General Studies
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

July 24, 1962

Dr. James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Moss:

There are two general reasons for this letter.

First, you may understand that I should wonder about the date of publication of my pamphlet, "Negro and Crime." Is it possible to obtain some information on this matter?

Secondly, as I explained during our most pleasant visit in Raleigh, I shall be using some material on crime among Negroes in my criminology textbook. I would be happy to lend you a copy of my first draft of this chapter if it would be of any use in expediting the publication of the pamphlet.

I hope your work continues to be as stimulating to you as you described it during our chat. If there is any way I can contribute to it, you know you can count on me.

Cordially,

Elmer H. Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson
Professor of Sociology

EHJ:ib

Les,
Bullock has mo., as you know
Glan

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
HOUSTON, TEXAS

GRADUATE SCHOOL RESEARCH

A.C. 713
JA. 8-0611

July 19, 1962

Dr. James A. Moss, Director of Research
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Moss:

Your letter of June 26, including the manuscript, came while I was away. I am now in the process of examining it, and will have some recommendations very soon.

It certainly was nice of you to stop by and visit us. We feel that we greatly profited by our conversations with you not only as related to Stockbridge School but also with regard to your work in New York State and with the Southern Regional Council.

Please expect to hear from me soon with regard to the manuscript.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

H. A. Bullock

H. A. Bullock, Professor
Department of Sociology
Director, Graduate Research

HAB:nwl

LWD

1) this is the whole file on the crime works

2) the only copy Jean Levine says we ever had was sent by her, on Jim's instructions, to Bullock

3) Jim saw Bullock personally while on a trip to Texas and whatever arrangements were discussed for Bullock's reviewing the ms. were verbal - the enclosed letter is all we have from Bullock. Jean does not believe, however, from her touch with the situation that any mention was made of an honorarium

BP

Wire I tell him manuscript was omitted from letter and send it.

Les wants this back.

O/C BP

Notes From The American Dilemma (Pp. 974 - 979)

Explanations of the Negro crime have usually started out from the statistical finding that Negroes commit more crime than do whites. If this is done , the first group of"causes" of Negro crime to be considered are the discriminations in justice which we summarized at the beginning of this section. Because the criminal statistics reflect police and court practices as much as they do crime, it is impossible to prove whether or not the Negro crime rate would be higher than the white crime rate if there were nodiscrimination. In the same way, the general characteristics of the Negro population - poverty, ignorance of the law, lack of influential connections, Southern patterns of illegality and use of weapons in fights, concentration in the citues and in young adult ages in the North-operate to make theNegro crime rate higher than the white crime rate, and so may be thoughtof as anoyher group of causes of Negro crime. Existing data are insufficient to hold these factors constant in order to determine whether Negroes would still have a higher crime rate if they did not have these general characteristics in any greater degree than does the white population.

A third group of causes of Negro crime is connected with the slavery tradition and the caste situation. It has always been expected of Negro servants in the South that they should pilfer small things-usually food but sometimes also clothing and money. In fact , their money wages are extremelylow partly because the whiteemployers expect them to take part of thier earnings in kind. Something of the same custom prevails between all white employers and Negro employees in the South. This custom has had two effects which operate to raise the Negro's criminal record: First , it has developed in the Negro a disrespect for the property of others, which sometimes leads him to pilfer things from people to whom he does not stand in the relationship of indulged servant. .... The second way in which this Southern custom gets the Negro in trouble iswhen he moves North. In the North any type of taking of property without permossion is regarded as stealing and it may sometimes lead to arrest: Negro servant women in the North have a bad reputation for petty pilfering , and this adds to bad interracial feeling.

Much more deeply based in the caste situationthan this custom is the Negro's hatred of whites. A not insignificant number of cromes of Negroes against whites are motivated by revenge for discriminatory or insulting treatment. Such a crime may be emotional , ... Negro literature is filled with stories of Negroes suddenly breaking out in such a manner. The revenge motive may also lead to a cold and calculating crime: it is said by many Negro social scientists that"mugging" - the robbing and beating of a victim in a certain way by a group of three or four petty professional criminals- was originally practiced only in Negro neighbor hoods on white men whowere thought to be searching for Negro prostitutes. The revenge motive is seen in the unnecessary and cruel way in which the victim is beaten.

The Negro's reaction to caste is much more general than can be expressed by calling it a revenge motive. Caste, especially when it operates to cause legal injustice and insecurity of life and property, prevents the Negro from identifying himselfwith society and the law. Because the white man regards him as apart from society, it is natural for a Negro to regard himself as apart.

... The slavery tradition and the caste situation are also reflected in the low regard for human life that characterizes lower class Southerners generally, and especially Negroes. ... Negroes have taken over the white man's attitude and have even exaggerated it. ... The fact that the law is arbitrary, in the South, further depreciates the value of a Negro's life and property. For crimes committed against other Negroes, Negro criminals often go unpunished or are lightly punished, especially if they can get white men to act as " character " witnesses. Sometimes even a white man will not insist on having a Negro who steals from him arrested, usually because he needs this Negro as a worker.

Certain traits , prese everywhere, but more developed the Negro as a conse quence of his slavery background and his subordinate caste status, have also been conducive to high Negro crime rate. Sexual looseness, weak family bonds, and poverty have made prostitution more common...Carelessness and idleness have caused the Negro to be the source of a disproportionate amount of accodental crimes and of vagrancy. Negroes also have a high record in crimes connected with gambling and the use of liquor, although it is not certain whether their record is higher than that o of other lower class groups .

social organization is generally at a low level among Southern Negroes, but disorganization only reaches its extreme when Negroes migrate to cities and to the North. The Controls ,of the rural community are removed; and the ignorant Negro does not know how to adjust to a radically new type of life. ... Negroes are especially prone to take over the criminal pattern of the urbanslum since they have such difficulty in getting regular and decent jobs. More Negro mothers than white mothers have to work for a living and so cannot have the time to take care of their children prperly. Negro children, more tham white children, are forced to engage in street trades, where they can easily pick up the are of robbing and prostitution. The over-crowdedness of the homes and the consequent lack of privacy prevent the growth of ideals of chastity and are one element in encouraging girls to become prostitutes. The friction that is bound to develop in a poverty-stricken household, especiallywhere there are no strong family tradition, weakens still further the family controls over the children,and the children then become more subject to the influences of the streets

... Partly because Negro neighborhoods are slum areas and partly because Negroes are supposed to be masters of sensuous pleasure , Negro neighborhoods are frequented by whites who which to do somethings illicit or immoral.... All sorts of tastes, including those which are regardes as immoral and perverted, are cateres to in Negro sections. Illegal selling of narcotics is much simpler in Negro neighborhoods. ...In such a neighborhood Negroes, especially children, develop a distorted sense of values. Much of the crime and vice among Negroes,in cities, and sometimes even in smaller towns, exists because the white man brings his own crime , vice and disrespect for law to the Negroes.

The intense competition between Negroes and the relatively unfixed moral standards serve to encourage crime inflicted by Negroes on others Negroes. With so few opportunities available tothem Negroes are willing to take greater risks to obtain some of t them. ...

... The greater bulk of the crime among Negroes has the same cause as that among wh white. It is only the differences between the two rates for which we have had to seek special explanation. There are the same variations in the crime rate between social classes among Negroes as among white: The upper and middle classes among Negroes are at least law-abiding as the corresponding classes among whites; much of the differential in gross crime rate lies in the fact that the proportion of lower class Negroes is so much greater.

Johnson
Negro Crime

2, 2nd Paragraph - without disputing magnitude Negro crime, do the data show that percentage has increased? Between 1941-1958 Negro migration was to places more likely to bereporting crime data. My point is, do the figures show that Negroes are increasingly engaged in criminal activity?

2, 2nd Paragraph - would you object to presenting citations of authorities without attribution in the text; here, e. g., saying simply "Between 1940-46 the white.....79%." You would have your footnote to support. I think this would give a more congenial tone for most readers.

Incidentally, we'll have to decide later whether footnotes go at the bottom of the page, at the end of each chapter, or at the end.

5, 1st Paragraph - most readers will not understand "age-adjusted." Also, isn't Johnson material so old that it should be introduced with some phrase such as, "This indicates there has been little or no change over the years...."

5, 3rd Paragraph - I don't keep close to these things, but hasn't there been some contention that "white collar crime" is the biggest chunk of crimes against property? Would its extent be worth mentioning?

5, 3rd and 4th Paragraphs - except for the close reader, I am afraid expressions such as "the smaller Negro rate" will be misleading. The fact is that the Negro rate for these offenses is greater than that of whites, and unless we keep this finding always at the front and clear we may be accused of deliberate obscuring of the picture.

7, 1st Paragraph - do you object to rounding off percentages? Here, e.g., change to 31% and 41% ?

7, last Paragraph - I doubt that this will be clear, and I am not sure that I understand it. (a) What is relevance of "age" - 7, last line? (b) Is the "rate" related to population? Also, shouldn't we say in a footnote what states are included in the "South?"

Query: does the higher relative rate in non-South raise a question that ought to be met? i.e., ecnnomically, non-Southern Negroes better off yet relative imprisonment rate higher.

10, 3rd Paragraph - "Therefore, the Negro releases...." Does this follow?

13A, 1st and 2nd Paragraphs - I think the Green quotation--which apparently denies discrimination--would leave readers in mid-air, coming as it does in context of your speculation about judicial favoritism. Your 2nd paragraph is jam-packed; can you give reader more help? or should you say less, and put it in the form of a qualification of some of your earlier statements?

26, 1st Paragraph - is a 1928 study still authoritative on a point such as this?

32, 1st Paragraph - would this answer those who define Negro criminality in terms of "violence prone" or "valueless" behavior?

34, 1st Paragraph - this is a sharp point, well stated. Would it be worth enlarging?

34, 2nd Paragraph - you forgot the "it would be necessary" form.

40, 2nd Paragraph - there was heavy though not as heavy migration also during World War I, which continued at a lower level through the 20's.

"10 times" and "50 times" - are you sure of these figures?

44-45 - "Through questionnaires...fortify each other." This section seems somehow a diversion. Can it be omitted, or its conclusions woven into another section?

52, Table G - I don't have P-20, No. 93 so can't readily check. But can there be so little difference between the 5-34 totals in vie w of the fairly marked difference in sub-totals?

53, 1st Paragraph - "and probably the higher arrest rates" - why doesn't conclusion apply in same degree to arrest and imprisonment rates? Does sentence refer to a lack of specialized institutions? does it imply that these exist for certain types of whites.?

I agree with CHP that you should consider putting Chapter 3 first; after that, 1, 2, and 4 probably should come in order.

Better Days at Bowie

Neg Observer 12-30-63

Negro Higher Edu.

White Integration Helps Save a Negro College

BOWIE, MD.

For a school that was measured for a shroud less than two years ago, Bowie State College is a picture of health. Not many months ago, Maryland officials talked of "a dignified burial" for this one-time training school for Negro teachers.

But Bowie's president talked happily recently of the plans for a new dining hall and student union (the money already has been appropriated) and, later, a new science hall. The college hopes to build improvements worth $3,346,000 within the next five years.

Enrolment is up, too, and Bowie is offering night classes for the first time. What makes this really remarkable is that much of Bowie's growth is stimulated by a sudden influx of white students from a vast nearby housing development that is restricted to white buyers only.

'Why Shouldn't It Work?'

Desegregation has come quickly to Bowie State. The transition has been smooth and without incident. Dr. William E. Henry, a son of a college-trained slave who has been president of Bowie State since 1943, seems to resent any suggestion that it could have been anything but smooth.

"Why shouldn't it work?" he asks tartly. "Is there any reason why it wouldn't? We don't even look at the color of a skin at this college."

But there are reasons. There's little integration in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C. In the years just after the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated segregation laws in 1954, many whites fled downtown Washington, where public school enrolment has become nearly all-Negro. Most of Bowie's 3,000 breadwinners work in Washington, 18 miles away.

Dr. Henry insists most of the new white residents of Bowie don't object to desegregation. He might be correct; the white influx at Bowie State lends evidence to his belief. But Bowie has had picketing and protests.

Negroes Refused Houses

Last May, two Negroes tried to buy houses in Belair, a rolling development of 2,300 medium-priced dwellings built by Levitt and Sons. Levitt wouldn't sell. "We'll be neither the first nor the last to desegregate," a company spokesman said. The Levitt policy is to "obey the law and follow local custom. To do anything else would be economic suicide."

The next Sunday, as Levitt salesmen showed prospective buyers the neat, pastel-colored split-levels, pickets from the Congress on Racial Equality took up places at the entrance to Belair. Counter-pickets have showed up, too; a group that calls itself the Fighting American Nationalists passed out anti-Negro pamphlets.

Belair residents note that pickets of both viewpoints don't live in Bowie; sentiments expressed by the demonstrators aren't necessarily shared by Belair homeowners. Nevertheless, the demonstrators introduced the race issue to Bowie.

It's particularly interesting that most of Bowie State's 85 white students live in the Belair section of Bowie. Nearly all commute to classes; one girl pumps a bicycle along the hilly, two-mile route from Belair to the campus. Only two white students live in Bowie State dormitories with the 350 Negro students.

Grade School Integration

There's greater mixing in Bowie State's red-brick Charlotte Robinson Elementary School, where 95 white children attend classes with 155 Negro youngsters. Almost all the white pupils live in Belair. Some Belair parents have signed up toddlers for enrolment in 1968.

Dr Henry notes with satisfaction that his faculty is thoroughly mixed, too. Eleven of the 26 college-level instructors are white; the principal of the elementary school is white, and so are 2 of the 7 teachers. "My maintenance man is white," Dr. Henry said, "and we've got a yellow man as assistant librarian. He's a South Korean."

Bowie State's origins go back to 1867, when it was chartered as the Baltimore Training School for Colored Youth. The state bought the 187-acre Bowie campus in 1908. Then, Bowie was just a whistle-stop on the Pennsylvania Railroad, noted only for its thoroughbred horses.

Samuel Ogle, the colonial governor of Maryland, built his home here in 1742 and raised horses. He sold racing stock to George Washington. Later, his farm became Woodward Farms and the birthplace of such great horses as Nashua, Omaha, and Gallant Fox. Although the Woodward estate was sold to Levitt in 1958, the tree-covered hills still resound to the pounding hoofbeats of thoroughbreds.

"We've got the brightest future of any college in the state," Dr. Henry says. "Big new developments are going in all around us. There's Bowie, and Lanham, and Laurel. We're going to grow."

Bowie State's prospects for growth changed overnight. Its problem basically was the same that other Negro schools in the South faced in the years following the 1954 school desegregation decision. As Negro youngsters went off to schools that previously had been closed to them, the enrolments of the Negro schools inevitably declined.

"The future here looked bleak," Dr. Henry recalls. "It was debatable whether this school would ever grow.

"Then this new development came in, and there has been a broad range of buyers. Many of the new people are from New York and New Jersey, coming here to work for the Government. There's a degree and a half in every family in Belair, on the average. They took an interest in the school."

State education officials in Annapolis didn't share Dr. Henry's optimism. They thought it unlikely that many, if any, whites would enroll at Bowie State.

Budget Cuts Restored

Dr. Henry argued, but when Bowie State's appropriation request was submitted for 1962-63, budget-planners cut it by $500,000. When the news got back to Bowie, an eight-car caravan of whites went to Annapolis to plead for restoration of the $500,000 items. Bowie State got the money.

This year's enrolment of 435 is 71 more than last year, and Dr. Henry thinks 1,200 students will attend Bowie State by 1970. Of these, he thinks, 1,000 will be white.

Bowie State's sudden growth has changed its curriculum, too. More liberal arts courses are being added, and the emphasis is less on teacher-training. This year Bowie State offers majors in history, English, and political science. "We must broaden our scope," Dr. Henry says. "We need to have more of what to teach than how to teach it."

The ratio of white-to-Negro students will depend largely on the racial make-up of Bowie. The city's population is expected to reach 30,000 by 1967. Eventually, planners say, 300,000 persons will live in Bowie.

Already at work in Bowie is the Committee for Higher Education for Belair. It helps college officials plan the school's growth, and suggests ways for Bowie State to expand its courses.

Another group is working in Belair, too. The City Council has a Human Relations Council, which would try to ease pressure on the council if desegregation comes to the neighborhoods of Belair.

The future of desegregation at Bowie State seems sure, if the pace of desegregation in Belair does not. But what's happening on Bowie's neat green campus seems sure to affect the communities surrounding it.

"Bowie State's new life has come from residents of a white-only development," the Baltimore Sun observed not long ago, "a fact which once would have seemed ironic but now only serves to demonstrate that race relations have many aspects."

—WESLEY PRUDEN, JR.

1-12-64

Agnew Heads Drive to Aid Negro Pupils

Dr. Donald C. Agnew, president of Oglethorpe University, has been named to direct a multimillion-dollar project aimed at the improvement of Negro education.

Dr. Agnew

His appointment was announced Saturday by Dr. Frank G. Dickey, executive director of the Atlanta-headquartered Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.

The association will receive grants from a number of national foundations to carry out the educational effort. The initial program is expected to run five years.

IT ENVISIONS the establishment of a number of "centers" in the Southeastern states. These would work at all levels of education, from elementary schools to graduate studies.

The association said that Dr. Agnew expects to begin work in his new post immediately, but will remain Oglethorpe president until a successor has been appointed.

Dr. Dickey said Dr. Agnew has worked with educational institutions throughout the South and in a variety of capacities with the Southern association. "His lifetime experience in education includes high school teaching, research in elementary education, college teaching and administration."

A native of Denver, Dr. Agnew was formerly the president of Coker College in Hartsville, S.C. He came to Oglethorpe in 1957 after three years on the Southern association staff.

During his six years as president of the Atlanta institution, the enrollment tripled, faculty salaries and benefits increased, and an over-all development plan was mappped.

January 29, 1964

Miss Carolyn Huson
5720 South Woodlawn
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Miss Huson:

Mr. Paul Anthony, to whom you spoke on the telephone when you called Tuesday, asked me to send your some information on current studies--published, unpublished, unusual--on Southern Negro higher education. Since you wished the information as quickly as possible, I am sending you a partial report now and will write you again as soon as I can come up with additional information. All our staff is involved with our annual meeting, and we are also packing up to move to roomier quarters the 30-31 of this month.

U. S. National Student Association, 347 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa. has a 73-page mimeographed report: "Higher Education in the South," compiled and edited by Dennis R. Yeager

The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students has a 1963 report of 59-pages: "The Negro Student at Integrated College," by Kenneth B. Clark and Lawrence Plotkin of the Department of Psychology, The City College of the City University of New York

The Southern Regional Education Board, 130 Sixth St. N.W., Atlanta 13, Ga., has a report: "State Legislature Affecting Higher Education in the South," 1963.

For the "unusual" category, you may be interested in the (enclosed) copy of a Work-Study Project at Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Mississippi.

The Hon. Berl I. Bernhard, staff director of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, delivered a commencement address at Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio, on June 2, 1963: "Equality and 1984" You may find this interesting reading and I should think the CCR in Washington would be glad to send you a copy.

If you haven't read the following two articles, they may interest you: U.S. News & World Report, 11-25-63, "Negroes in College: What Figures Show"

SEA FOAM BOND

and Saturday Evening Post, 1-19-63, "The Travesty of Integration," by Carl T. Rowan; "halfhearted compliance frustrates the law of the land."

When I have been able to talk with Dr. Bond (Atlanta University) and one or two staff members, I hope to be able to add other information. In the meantime, you may wish to telephone Dr. Kenneth Clark at City College in New York; he keeps up with research studies in Negro education.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosed:
photocopy: Tougaloo Work-Study Project

SEA FOAM

Nat'l. Opinion Research Center

Southern Reg. Educ. Board –
study – on research

Southern Negro Higher Educ –
wrote on current studies

Miss Carolyn Huson [redacted]

for news Journal of Negro Edu.

5720 So. Woodlawn

Chicago [redacted]

Unpublished or Unusual –

Call Dr. Bond
Sec. Negro Education
regarding negro
edu. –
news release?
report?

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

L.W.D. speech

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THURSDAY

NOVEMBER						
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5

NOV. 1964

Several Sou. Negro Colleges have arranged student & faculty exchange programs with larger institutions for the school 1964-65 year

Ala - Tuskegee - 4 of Mich

Ark - 2 la State U. - 2 La. A & M

Talladega - Iowa St. Univ.

NC A & T Col, Greensboro
NC Col, Durham
Texas Sou., Houston
} 4 of Wisconsin

FRIDAY

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NOV. 1964

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8:00 White host schools for 8 week
8:30 summer institutes for
9:00 250 faculty - 1964
9:30
10:00
10:30 Woman's Col, U of NC
11:00 U of NC at Greensboro
11:30 Syracuse Univ
12:00 Princeton Univ.
1:00 Carnegie Inst of Tech.
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Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Education - Higher

Economist, Jan. 26, 1963
"Another Pioneer," comments
on Clemson College, S.C.

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

Negro Edu. Higher

Wall St. Journal - 5-6-64

Negro Campuses
Colleges in South Seek to Improve
Facilities, Lift Academic
Levels

Teachers are Tougher

by Neil A. Maxwell

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Kenneth B. Clark & Lawrence Plotkin,

The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges, 1963 59 pp.

Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

A follow-up study of 5 classes of the 1,519 students who, as h.s. seniors, sought some type of aid, counseling, or financial assistance from NSSFNS in order to enter interracial colleges in the years 1952 to 1956.
(Completing on 509 students)
Contains charts & tables: e.g., drop out rate & achievement ratings

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

MA

Is this worth ~~offering~~ put to the ~~genealogy~~ bibliography

Also, Dr. Bond's address "How to Breed Scholars: Genealogies of Character" may be available - I should know tomorrow. And he is writing a book - Search for Talent

Good

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Vol. XXIX, Summer 1960 - "The Negro Private and Church Related College"
Vol. XXXI, Summer 1962 - "The Negro Public College"

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Negro Communities, 10 pp. By Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, Donald C. Agnew, project director, Atlanta, Ga.

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January; "James Meredith in Perspective."
August-September; "The American Negro in College, 1962-1963."

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9-21-1963, Louis Lomax, "Young Negroes Aren't Ready."

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TUESDAY

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18

FEB. 1964

Negro publications

1963 Year Book of Collier's Encyclopedia

long article on Negro publications, pp 423-5.

49 - TUESDAY, FEB. 18 - 317

SATURDAY

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FEB. 1964

Negro education

book

The Census & the Schools. 1963

Jack Nelson & Gene Roberts Jr

Little Brown.

46 - SATURDAY, FEB. 15 - 320

MONDAY

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FEB. 1964

Negro Edu.

Carnegie Corp. has underway 2 studies of Negro Colleges which Mr. Frederick H. Jackson Carnegie Corp. Frank G. Dickey, Div. of Teacher Colleges & Sec. Ass. of Secondary Schools, Atlanta has been & is now deeply engaged in studying & developing program in this area. (over)

48 - MONDAY, FEB. 17 - 318

TUESDAY

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FEB. 1964

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8:00 also
8:30 Woodrow Wilson
9:00 people Knowledgeable
9:30 Dean Charles Hounshell
10:00 Emory Univ. —
10:30
11:00 reg. rep. for W.W.
11:30 latest report
12:00
1:00 Nat'l Scholarship Service
1:30 + Fund for Negro students
2:00
2:30 "The Negro Student at
3:00 Integrated Colleges,"
3:30 by Kenneth Clark &
4:00 Lawrence Plotkin.
4:30
5:00
5:30

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CORNER STONE LAYING

LIBRARY BUILDING

DILLARD UNIVERSITY

MAY TWENTY-SEVENTH

NINETEEN HUNDRED THIRTY-FOUR

THREE O'CLOCK

Program

HYMN: AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

O beautiful for spacious skies
For amber waves of grain
For purple mountain majesties
Above the fruited plain!
America! America!
God shed His grace on thee
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea!

O beautiful for pilgrim feet
Whose stern, impassioned stress
A thoroughfare for freedom beat
Across the wilderness!
America! America!
God mend thine every flaw,
Confirm thy soul in self-control,
Thy liberty in law!

O beautiful for heroes proved
In liberating strife,
Who more than self their country loved,
And mercy more than life!
America! America!
May God thy gold refine,
Till all success be nobleness,
And every gain divine!

O beautiful for patriot dream
That sees beyond the years
Thine alabaster cities gleam
Undimmed by human tears!
America! America!
God shed His grace on thee
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea!

INVOCATION ..... Reverend John B. Boyce
Pastor St. Luke's Episcopal Church

GREETINGS ..... Honorable T. Semmes Walmsley
Mayor of New Orleans

ADDRESS ..... Doctor Will W. Alexander
Acting President of the University

ADDRESS ..... Mrs. Lucius R. Eastman
Member Administrative Committee,
American Missionary Association

ADDRESS ..... Doctor Mordecai W. Johnson
President Howard University, Washington, D. C.

ADDRESS ..... Doctor James Hardy Dillard

LAYING OF CORNER STONE ..... Bishop R. E. Jones
Vice-President Board of Education,
Methodist Episcopal Church
Doctor Fred L. Brownlee
Executive Secretary
American Missionary Association

✣ Program ✣

NATIONAL NEGRO HYMN:

Lift ev'ry voice and sing, Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty,
Let our rejoicing rise, High as the list'ning skies
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us;
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod, Bitter the chasting rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat, Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered:
We have come, treading our path thro' the blood of the slaughtered;
Out from the gloomy past, Till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years, God of our silent tears,
Thou Who hast brought us thus far on the way;
Thou Who hast by Thy might, Led us into the Light,
Keep us forever in the path. We pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God, where we met Thee!
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the world, we forget Thee,
Shadowed beneath Thy hand, May we forever stand;
True to our God, True to our Native land.

BENEDICTION.....Doctor M. J. Holmes
Secretary Board of Education,
Methodist Episcopal Church

EDGAR B. STERN
President, Board of Trustees
Presiding

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DR. THADDEUS TAYLOR	New Orleans

26-Negro in America

SOURCE MATERIALS

ON

THE URBAN NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

1910-1938

A list of selected data
prepared by the National Urban League
and its Affiliated Branches

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH

1133 BROADWAY

New York City

SECOND EDITION

May, 1939

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on
THE URBAN NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES: 1910-1938

A list of selected data
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compiled by
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INTRODUCTION

During the many years that the National Urban League has been functioning in the interest of the urban Negro, it has been the League's policy to follow scientific procedure in carrying out its program. This made it imperative that investigations be made prior to action in any prospective field of social endeavor. As a matter of record and as a guide and example for those who wish to do further work in the same or related fields, the reports on these surveys and studies are still of great value.

The Research Department has, therefore, listed selected data prepared and summarized by the League, for such service as it may be to students and social workers interested in promoting an understanding of the problems of life which Negroes face in cities.

This compilation, though by no means complete, gives some idea of the volume of factual material gathered through Urban League channels during the past twenty-eight years.

PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Opportunity - Journal of Negro Life
Official organ of the National Urban League, published monthly. Bound volumes: 1910-1938.

Annual Reports: 1910-1938

A Quarter-Century of Progress in the Field of Race Relations.
Twenty-fifth Anniversary Souvenir Booklet of the National Urban League: 1910-1935. 30 pp.
(A booklet which outlines the history, growth and development of the National Urban League)

Constructive Race Relations.
(A leaflet outlining the purpose, program and needs of the National Urban League)

Handbook of the Emergency Advisory Council for Negroes.
1933. 44 pp.

Labor Program of the National Urban League.
1934. mimeo.

Occupations for Negroes.
Plan and Work of the Industrial Relations Department of the National Urban League. June 1928. 8 pp.

Plan and Organization for the Emergency Advisory Council for Negroes. 1933. mimeo.

Program for Local Work of the National Urban League.
(A brochure outlining the main features of the Urban League's activities in cities)

Secretariat, The: 1938-present.
(A quarterly bulletin which serves as a medium for the exchange of ideas among the Secretaries of the affiliated branches of the Urban League)

Urban League Bulletin.
Issued bi-monthly. 1921-1922.

COMMUNITY SURVEYS AND INVESTIGATIONS

(These community surveys contain data concerning Negro Population, Employment, Housing, Education, Health, Recreation, Dependency, Delinquency, Religion, Social and Fraternal Organizations, Race Relations. Conclusions and recommendations are made in the case of each study.)

State and City	Title and Description of Study	Sponsoring Agency
CALIFORNIA		
Los Angeles	The Negro Population of Los Angeles, California. 1927. 43 pp. (typewritten ms.)	
COLORADO		
Denver	The Negro Population of Denver, Colorado: A Survey of Its Economic and Social Status. 1929. 46 pp. (printed)	Denver Interracial Committee
CONNECTICUT		
Hartford	The Negro Population of Hartford, Connecticut. 1921. 150 pp. (typewritten ms.)	
Norwalk	Observations on the Social Conditions of the Negro Population of Norwalk, Connecticut. Based on a two days' visit: October 30, 31, 1929. 12 pp. (typewritten ms.)	
Waterbury	The Negro Population of Waterbury, Connecticut. 1923. 43 pp. (typewritten ms.)	

State and City	Title and Description of Study	Sponsoring Agency
ILLINOIS		
Springfield	The Negro Population of Springfield, Illinois. 1927. 74 pp. (typewritten ms.)	
INDIANA		
Fort Wayne	The Negro Population of Fort Wayne, Indiana. 1928. 75 pp. (typewritten ms.)	
MARYLAND		
Baltimore	The Negro in Baltimore Industries: A Study of the Industrial Situation in Baltimore, Maryland. 1922. (typewritten ms.)	Baltimore Interracial Committee (now merged with the Baltimore Urban League)
	The Negro Community of Baltimore, Maryland. (A study conducted during 1934 and published in 1935) - Printed Volume - "The Negro Community of Baltimore, Maryland". 1935. 46 pp. (A summary report, with pictograph statistics; available for purchase from the Baltimore Urban League - $1.00) - Typewritten Manuscript - "The Negro Community of Baltimore, Maryland". 283 pp. (A complete report of the findings and recommendations; available for use in the offices of Research Department of the National Urban League and at the Baltimore Urban League office)	Baltimore Urban League

State and City	Title and Description of Study	Sponsoring Agency
MASSACHUSETTS		
Worcester	The Negro Population of Worcester, Massachusetts. 1928. 115 pp. (typewritten ms.)	Interracial Council of Worcester
MICHIGAN		
Detroit	Negro New-Comers in Detroit, Michigan: A Challenge to Christian Statesmanship -A preliminary Survey. 1918. 42 pp. (printed)	Home Missions Council of New York City
Grand Rapids	The Negro Population of Grand Rapids, Michigan. 1928. 129 pp. (typewritten ms.)	Interracial Council of Grand Rapids (financed by Foster Welfare Foundation)
MISSOURI		
St. Louis	A Study of the Industrial Status of Negroes in St. Louis, Missouri. 1934. 81 pp. (typewritten ms.)	Welfare Plan Committee of St. Louis and St. Louis County
NEW JERSEY		
Elizabeth	The Negro Population of Elizabeth, New Jersey: A Survey of Its Social and Economic Conditions. 1930. 98 pp. (mimeo. ms.)	
Morristown	A Survey of the Negro Population of Morristown, New Jersey. 1924. 22 pp. (typewritten ms.)	
Plainfield	Survey of the Negro Population of Plainfield, New Jersey. 1925. 62 pp. (typewritten ms.)	Plainfield Community Chest

State and City	Title and Description of Study	Sponsoring Agency
NEW JERSEY (contd.)		
Trenton	Survey of the Negro Population of Trenton, New Jersey. 1924. 153 pp. (typewritten ms.) Section I - Historical Note and Industry " II - Housing, Crime and Delinquency, Institutions and Schools, Health " III - Summary and Recommendations	
New Jersey (state-wide)	The Negro in New Jersey (A state-wide study covering sixty-three communities, conducted during 1931 and 1932). 3 vols. - Printed Volumes - The Negro in New Jersey. 1932. 115 pp. (State-wide printed report) New Jersey's Twentieth Citizen - The Negro. 1932. 18 pp. (A summary of the facts and recommendations of the survey "The Negro in New Jersey" - pamphlet, pictograph statistics)	N.J. State Department of Institutions and Agencies, in cooperation with the Interracial Committee of the N.J. Conference of Social Work

- Unpublished Mimeographed Manuscripts -

(Community Reports - available for use in office of Research Department, National Urban League)

ASBURY PARK	LONG BRANCH	PORT NORRIS
ATLANTIC CITY	MADISON	PRINCETON
BAYONNE	MAGNOLIA	RAHWAY
BLOOMFIELD	MAHWAH	ROEBLING
BURLINGTON	MILLVILLE	ROSELLE
CAMDEN	MIZPAH	RED BANK
CAPE MAY	MOORESTOWN	SALEM
CAPE MAY COURT HOUSE	MONTCLAIR	SCOTCH PLAINS
CLAYSVILLE	MORRISTOWN	SOUTH GROVE
EAST ORANGE	MOUNT HOLLY	SUMMIT
EAST RIVERTON	NEPTUNE	SWEDESBORO
ENGLEWOOD	NEWARK	TIMBUCTOO
ELIZABETH	OCEAN CITY	TRENTON
FLORENCE	ORANGE	VAUX HALL
FREEHOLD	PALMYRA	WEST CAPE MAY
GLASSBORO	PASSAIC	WEST ORANGE
HACKENSACK	PATERSON	WESTFIELD
JERSEY CITY	PENNS GROVE	WHITESBORO
JERSEYLAND	PERTH AMBOY	WILDWOOD
LAWNSIDE	PLAINFIELD	WOODBURY
LINDEN	PLEASANTVILLE	WOODSTOCK

State and City	Title and Description of Study	Sponsoring Agency
NEW YORK		
Albany	A Preliminary Study of the Social and Welfare Needs of the Colored People of Albany, New York. 1926. 7 pp. (typewritten ms.)	Mr. Charles Gibson
	The Negro Population of Albany, New York. 1928. 44 pp. (mimeo. ms.)	Albany Interracial Council
Buffalo	The Negro Population of Buffalo, New York. 1922. 92 pp. (typewritten ms.)	
Flushing Long Island	The Negro Population of Flushing, New York. 1922. 39 pp. (typewritten ms.)	
Freeport Long Island	Observations on the Social Condition of the Negro Population of Freeport, New York. Based on two visits made on March 31, 1938 and April 8, 1938. 14 pp. (typewritten ms.)	
Glen Cove Long Island	The Negro Population of Glen Cove, New York: Its Social Adjustment. 1932. 26 pp. (typewritten ms.)	Glen Cove Branch of the NAACP
Nassau and Suffolk Counties Long Island	Our Colored Folks in Nassau and Suffolk Counties, L.I., New York - A Study of the Conditions of the Colored Population in 20 Communities and an Inventory of Resources for Work with Them. 1919. 97 pp. (typewritten ms.)	YMCA of Nassau and Suffolk Counties, Inc., Mineola, Long Island
Troy	Trojans of Color: A Social Survey of the Negro Population of Troy, New York. 1931. 54 pp. (typewritten ms.)	Presbytery of Troy, N.Y.
Westchester County	A Survey of the Negro Population of Westchester County, New York. 1924. 92 pp. (typewritten ms.) (A study of life and conditions among the colored people of Westchester County in New York State, with particular reference to their recreational facilities and with recommendations for bettering their condition)	Westchester Community Club, the Westchester County Children's Aid Society and the Westchester County Recreation Commission

State and City	Title and Description of Study	Sponsoring Agency
NEW YORK (contd.)		
White Plains	A Survey of the Living Conditions Among Negroes in White Plains, New York. 1929. 25 pp. (typewritten ms.)	Committee on Negro Housing of White Plains
NORTH CAROLINA		
Winston-Salem	Some Aspects of the Social Problems of Negroes in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. 1937. 59 pp. (typewritten ms.)	North Carolina Committee on Negro Affairs
OHIO		
Cleveland	The Social Needs of the Negroes of Cleveland and the Activities Fostered by the Several Agencies to Meet These Needs, with Special Reference to the Part the Negro Welfare Association is Playing in this Set-up. 1931. 36 pp. (typewritten ms.) (An analysis based on a three days' visit)	Joint Committee of the Welfare Federation and the Negro Welfare Association (Mr. Raymond Clapp)
Warren	The Negro Population of Warren, Ohio: Its Social Status, Recommendations. 1929. 12 pp. (typewritten ms.) (A brief analysis of the Negro population of Warren, Ohio, based on a two days' observation made July 19 and 20, 1929)	Warren Community Fund
PENNSYLVANIA		
Pittsburgh	Social Conditions of the Negro in the Hill District of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. 1930. 117 pp. (printed)	Committee on the Hill District Survey

State and City	Title and Description of Study	Sponsoring Agency
RHODE ISLAND		
Kingston (Sand-Turn)	A Memorandum on Sand Turn - A Negro Community. 1935. 10 pp. (typewritten ms.) (A brief analysis based on observations made during a two days' visit: May 15-16, 1935)	Rhode Island Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and Women's Missionary Society of Rhode Island
TEXAS		
Houston	A Study of the Social Welfare Status of the Negroes in Houston, Texas. 1929. 107 pp. (printed)	Joint auspices of the Negro Citizens Committee, Interracial Committee and Chamber of Commerce, Houston, Tex. The cost was borne by the public-spirited Negro citizens.

SPECIAL STUDIES

(listed chronologically)

*Indicates studies conducted under the auspices of and published by other agencies, in which the National Urban League cooperated by assembling factual data.

Title and Description of Study	Sponsoring Agency
HOUSING CONDITIONS AMONG NEGROES IN HARLEM, NEW YORK CITY. National Urban League Bulletin No. 2, 1915. 29 pp. (printed)	National Urban League
A STUDY OF NEGRO EMPLOYEES OF APARTMENT HOUSES IN NEW YORK CITY. National Urban League Bulletin No. 5, 1916. (printed)	National Urban League
*A STUDY OF DELINQUENT AND NEGLECTED NEGRO CHILDREN BEFORE THE NEW YORK CITY CHILDREN'S COURT. 1927. 48 pp. (printed) (A study made by the Joint Committee in cooperation with the National Urban League and the Women's City Club of New York)	Joint Committee on Negro Child Study in New York City and the Women's City Club of New York
*REPORT OF THE RESEARCH COMMITTEE TO THE NATIONAL INTERRACIAL COUNCIL. 1928. (mimeographed ms.) (Subject of study: "The Negro in America")	National Interracial Council
*THE PROBLEM OF CHILD DEPENDENCY AMONG NEGROES: A Report to the Committee on Child Dependency as Affected by Racial Factors, Negro Group of Section IV, C-1 - Socially Handicapped, Dependency and Neglect. 1930. (mimeographed ms.) (Published in: Dependent and Neglected Children, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1930. $3.00)	White House Conference on Child Health and Protection

Title and Description of Study	Sponsoring Agency
*NOTES ON THE NEGRO'S RELATION TO WORK AND LAW OBSERVANCE. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. Report on the Causes of Crime, Vol. I, No. 13, p. 221. Washington, D.C. 1931.	National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement
*SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS IN NEGRO HOUSING. Negro Housing: Report of the Committee on Negro Housing, President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, Washington, D.C. 1932. 282 pp. (printed) Chapter III, p. 52.	President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership
A PROGRAM OF HEALTH EDUCATION IN NEGRO HARLEM. 1933. 48 pp. (typewritten ms.) (A project report submitted to the New York School of Social Work by Julia May Young, Fellow of the National Urban League)	National Urban League
*THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION FOR NEGROES. Published as a section of the book: Divine White Right, by Trevor Bowen, Harper Brothers, New York. 1934.	Institute of Social and Religious Research
HOUSING AMONG NEGRO FAMILIES IN CENSUS TRACT #871, BOROUGH OF QUEENS, NEW YORK. 1937. 9 pp. (typewritten ms.) (An analysis of data gathered in the Real Property Inventory Survey of 1934)	National Urban League
RETAIL BUSINESSES OWNED AND OPERATED BY NEGROES. 1937. 18 pp. (typewritten ms. (An analysis of statistical data released by the U.S. Department of Commerce pertaining to Negro Business: 1929 and 1935)	National Urban League
*THE NEGRO AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. By T. Arnold Hill. (Bronze Booklet No. 5). Associates in Negro Folk Education, Washington, D.C. 1937. 87 pp. (A brief presentation of the contribution of the Negro worker to the economic life of America and of the situation in which he now finds himself)	Associates in Negro Folk Education

SPECIAL MEMORANDA AND INVESTIGATIONS

(listed chronologically)

Report of an Investigation of the Recipients of Relief in Dutchess Junction and Brockway, New York. 1932.
(prepared for: New York State Emergency Relief Administration)

The Employment of Negroes on Railroads.
1933. 11 pp. (typewritten ms.)
(A preliminary summary statement for submittal to the Federal Coordinator of Transportation)

Memorandum to the Consumers' Advisory Committee of the National Recovery Administration regarding the effect which the rise in the price of goods, caused by NRA codes, would have upon the Negro consumer. 1933. (typewritten ms.)

Memorandum to the Secretary of Labor regarding: Federal Funds and Local Relief for Negroes; Discrimination Against Negro Workers at Hoover Dam; and Non-employment of Negroes in Breweries. 1933. (typewritten ms.)

The Social Adjustment of the Negro in the United States: A Special Memorandum to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States. 1933. (mimeo. ms.)

A Statement of Opinion to the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate regarding Senate Bill S.2926: "A bill to equalize the bargaining power of employers and employees, to encourage the amicable settlement of disputes between employers and employees, to create a National Labor Relations Board and for other purposes." (Wagner Labor Bill). 1934. (typewritten ms.)

A Statement of Opinion to the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives regarding H.R. Bill 2827: "A bill to provide for the establishment of unemployment, old age, and social insurance and for other purposes." (Social Security Bill). 1935. (typewritten ms.)

The Inadequacies of Present Relief.
A statement presented to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor at its hearings on the Social Insurance Bill. April, 1936. (mimeo. ms.)

The Negro Working Population and National Recovery: A Special Memorandum to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States. 1937. 21 pp. (mimeo. ms.)

Publications and Releases
on

LABOR * EMPLOYMENT * WORKERS' EDUCATION

Labor and Employment

Negro Membership in American Labor Unions.
1930. 175 pp. (printed)

Negro Workers: A Drama of 5,000,000 American Wage Earners.
1930. 15 pp. (booklet)
1931. 12 pp. (revised edition)

Unemployment Among Negroes: Activities of the National Urban League -- Data on 25 Industrial Centers. 1930. 14 pp. (mimeo. ms.)

Unemployment Status of Negroes: A Compilation of Facts and Figures respecting Unemployment Among Negroes in 106 Cities. 1931. 56 pp. (mimeo. ms.)

How Unemployment Affects Negroes.
March, 1931. 41 pp. (mimeo. ms.)
(A statement covering principal cities in the nation and based upon information supplied by persons in daily contact with employment problems.)

Bulletins of the Emergency Advisory Council for Negroes, dealing with Negro participation in the various phases of the Federal Government's recovery program: 1934-36. (mimeo.)

Workers' Education

Expel the Traitor! Kick Out Jim Crow!

Fools and Cowards Cut Their Own Throats: Are American Workers Fools or Cowards? 1935.
(Informative leaflets for Negro workers)

Workers' Councils
Series:

No. 1 - ABC of Labor Problems: A Primer for Negro Workers. June, 1934.
(A pamphlet prepared by the Workers' Bureau especially for Negro Workers' Councils, but of interest to all concerned with the problems of Negro labor. Invaluable for use in meetings, forums, club discussions and classes in economics)

No. 2 - Building A New Road: A Plan to Organize, Educate, Direct and Integrate the 5,000,000 Negro Workers of America. November, 1934.
(This pamphlet sets forth in concise and simple language the labor policy of the National Urban League and the purpose in organizing the Workers' Councils. It details the steps in setting up a Council, and outlines a tentative program for workers' groups to follow)

No. 3 - Labor Leaflets - for workers who think. 1936.
Leaflet #1: Any New Deal Can Be the Same Old Deal.
" #2: Where the Trouble Really Lies.
" #3: Employers vs. Labor - A Football Game.
" #4: White vs. Black Workers - A Tragedy.
" #5: The "Friends" of Negro Workers.
" #6: Can We Afford to Strikebreak?
(A set of six leaflets describing the economic nature of some of the problems facing Negro workers. Written simply and directly. For use in trade union and other workers' meetings)

Workers' Councils
Bulletins:

(From 1934 to date 22 Bulletins have been released by the Workers' Bureau of the National Urban League. These have given to workers information on various subjects with which they should be familiar. Listed below are three Bulletins which are devoted entirely one subject)

Bulletin No. 12: The Organization of Steel Workers and Its Importance to Negro Labor. August, 1936.

16: The Need of Organization Among Household Employees. May 28, 1937.

18: New Trade Union Movements and the Negro Worker. September 23, 1937.

Publications and Releases
on

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

General

Statement of the Work of the National Urban League in the Field of Vocational Guidance. 1938. revised. (mimeo.)

Bibliography on Placement and Employment Office Procedure.
1938. revised. (mimeo.)
(A list of titles suggestive of the range and variety of literature which is available to those interested in the problems and practices of placement and employment offices)

Vocational Guidance Bibliography.
1939. revised. (mimeo.)
(A brief collection of titles of publications dealing with the principles, practices and problems of vocational guidance)

General Information Bulletin.
1937. revised. (mimeo.)
(subject: N.Y.A. Procedures)

List of Approved Schools of Social Work.
1938. revised. (mimeo.)
(For positions of responsibility and leadership in various fields of social work, special preparation is essential. In order to answer the many requests received for the names of schools offering such preparation, this list of institutions has been prepared)

Vocational Opportunity Campaigns

Unemployment and Vocations. 1930.
(V.O.C. announcement - leaflet)

Choosing A Vocation. 1931.
(Suggestions and program helps for high schools and colleges)

Graduation - Then What? 1931.

Vocational Mindedness. 1931.

After the Depression - What? 1932.
(Vocational Opportunity Campaign announcement - leaflet)

My Vocation - With special reference to the problems faced by Negro Youth. 1932.
(V.O.C. booklet designed to make the whole matter of choosing a vocation concrete and intelligent to students)

The Right Vocation. 1932.
(Program helps for high schools and colleges)

Organization Plan for Local Communities Participating in the Vocational Opportunity Campaign: 1932, 1933. (mimeo.)

The Student and His Vocation. 1933.
(Guidance program for high schools and colleges)

Today and Tomorrow. 1933.
(Statement of the purposes and plan of the Fourth V.O.C.)

Practical Programs for Guiding Negro Youth. 1937.

Negro Youth in the World of Tomorrow. 1939.
(Announcement of the purposes and plan of the Seventh V.O.C.)

Go Forward! 1939.
(A four-page leaflet for general distribution among young people to awaken their interest in vocations)

MISCELLANEOUS

Ebony and Topaz: A Collectanea.
1927. (edited by Charles S. Johnson; published by Opportunity - Journal of Negro Life)

Digest of Papers Presented at the Annual Conference of the National Urban League. 1935. (mimeo.)
(Conference held in connection with the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Celebration, New York City, November 26-27, 1935)

The Color Line Series:

No. 1 - The Forgotten Tenth: An Analysis of Unemployment Among Negroes in the United States and Its Social Cost. 1932-33.
(A compact account of the volume of unemployment among Negroes)

No. 2 - 5,000,000 Jobs: The Negro At Work in the United States. 1933.
(A study of the trends in the population and occupations of Negroes; 1930 Census figures incorporated. This pamphlet is a revision of "Negro Workers" published in 1930)

No. 3 - He Crashed the Color Line. 1933.
(A booklet for young people which contains inspiring stories of successful Negroes who broke the barriers of racial prejudice and made outstanding success)

No. 4 - Occupational Opportunities for Negroes. 1937.
(This booklet, designed especially for Negro young people, attempts to give answer, in easy, readable style, to questions concerning the employment situation facing Negro youth, obstacles to job-finding, techniques commonly used to find jobs, fields in which Negroes are finding employment, etc.)

No. 5 - They Crashed the Color Line! 1937.
(A booklet for young people which contains inspiring stories of successful Negroes who broke the barriers of racial prejudice and made outstanding success. The stories appearing in "He Crashed the Color Line" are included in this booklet)

No. 6 - Guiding Negro Youth Toward Jobs. 1938.
(This booklet contains program suggestions for schools and community groups taking part in the Vocational Opportunity Campaign. Adaptable for year-round vocational guidance activities. Suggestible for the use of the library, motion pictures, etc. A program for a community occupational survey and techniques for job-finding are outlined.)

PARTIAL LIST OF STUDIES ON THE NEGRO

AVAILABLE AT LOCAL URBAN LEAGUE BRANCHES

(These studies are available for reference at the Urban League office specified. Though in most cases the study may not be borrowed, those persons interested may secure the information desired by addressing the local Urban League executive)

Title	Date Published	Urban League Branch where Study is Available
ARREST of Negro boys, ages 16-21, from June, 1932 to July, 1933, Study of	1933	Armstrong Association 1434 Lombard Street Philadelphia, Pa.
ATTITUDES of automobile clubs toward Negro memberships	1931	Armstrong Association Philadelphia, Pa.
BAKERY and dairy companies patronized: Inquiry among colored housewives in North and West Philadelphia	1930	Armstrong Association Philadelphia, Pa.
BLIGHTED areas of Columbus as revealed by the N.I.R.A. survey, Outstanding facts of	1933	Columbus Urban League 107 N. Monroe Avenue Columbus, Ohio
BOYS, Social and economic status of Negro	1930	Pittsburgh Urban League 1300 Fifth Avenue Pittsburgh, Pa.
BUSINESS establishments conducted by Negroes in Philadelphia	1935	Armstrong Association Philadelphia, Pa.
BUSINESS in Baltimore, Survey of Negro by: William N. Jones		Baltimore Urban League 1538 Division Street Baltimore, Md.
BUSINESS in Philadelphia: 1858-present, Study of Negro	1933	Armstrong Association Philadelphia, Pa.

Title	Date Published	Urban League Branch where Study is Available
BUSINESS in the State of New Jersey, Survey of	1935	New Jersey Urban League 58 West Market Street Newark, N.J.
CHAIN grovery stores in Negro neighborhoods, Survey of	1928	Armstrong Association Philadelphia, Pa.
CHURCHES in Columbus and vicinity, The Negro	1929	Columbus Urban League Columbus, Ohio
CHURCHES of Columbus, Certain characteristics of Negro by: J.S. Himes, Jr.	1933	Columbus Urban League Columbus, Ohio
CHURCHES of East Baltimore, The Negro by: Dr. Ross Sanderson Council of Churches Baltimore, Md.	1934	Baltimore Urban League Baltimore, Md.
CHURCH people think, What by: Rev. Norman L. Trott Association Press, NYC	1938	Baltimore Urban League Baltimore, Md.
CINCINNATI, Ohio, A series of studies on the Negro in by: John M. Ragland	1932	Negro Civic Welfare Assn. Cincinnati, Ohio (on file at National Urban League)

I. Negro students in the educational institutions of higher learning in the State of Ohio

II. Negroes in personal and domestic service in Cincinnati

III. Wage incomes of Negro workers in Cincinnati industries

IV. Study of help want-ads and situation want-ads appearing in Cincinnati's three dailies covering a period of six months

V. Study of garnishments and wage assignments levied against Negro workmen in Cincinnati industries

Title	Date Published	Urban League Branch where Study is Available
COLUMBUS, A study of standards of service of Colored Big Brothers in by: Edward Blakemore M.A. thesis (85 pp.) Ohio State Univ.	1938	Columbus Urban League Columbus, Ohio
COLUMBUS, Negroes in by: Mary L. Mark Ohio State Univ.	1928	Columbus Urban League Columbus, Ohio
COLUMBUS, Survey of Negro population in the south side of	1928	Columbus Urban League Columbus, Ohio
COLUMBUS, Survey of the south gate addition made for the Urban League of	1930	Columbus Urban League Columbus, Ohio
COLUMBUS, the Negro in by: Richard C. Minor Ph.D. dissertation (300 pp.) Ohio State Univ.	1936	Columbus Urban League Columbus, Ohio
COMMUNITY consciousness among colored people by: Millard T. Woods		Urban League of Lincoln Lincoln, Neb.
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The Negro and The Social Graces

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Atlanta, Ga.

The Negro and The Social Graces

I have chosen to speak to you this morning on a subject which is very near to my soul, "The Negro and the Social Graces." By social graces I do not mean an attitude of cheap servility, assumed for the purpose of currying favor. I mean simply doing the courteous thing and making a pleasing appearance—the practice of everyday good manners so generally lacking nowadays in the conduct of the average young person, regardless of race.

My message for the most part is to that group of young Negroes from high schools and colleges whose education is above the average; for unfortunately many of these are inclined to associate all forms of politeness, fine manners, and social graces with the slavery time performances of the maid and the butler, and to discard anything which they feel might have come out of those days in which their ancestors were slaves. They forget that even in those days many Negroes were schooled in the "correct thing," and that "what they were not taught they caught," in the way of social demeanor.

One needs only to read any book, fiction or fact, associated with the life of Negroes in the households previous to 1865 to see that it was the Negro butler and maid who actually taught the social graces to the children of the aristocracy of the Southern white group; everything from learning how to curtsy to the art of walking with charm and grace across the ballroom floor. The canons of the social graces were learned by those slaves or servants as religiously as their masters learned the catechism.

Fortunate also are those whose parents, immediately after the Civil War, came under the wise and gentle tutelage of the flower of the white race that came from the North and Middle West, built private schools, became their instructors, and were their patterns for intellectual, moral and social behavior. They taught our mothers and grandmothers the dignity of self-reverence and self-restraint. They taught our fathers—through example and precept—the proper attitude toward their women and what was expected of them in the new freedom which was theirs. These cultured Christian men and women gave to the students of that day "Open Sesame" to the best culture that the world knew.

It is perfectly natural that we want to forget much that was associated with slavery and its aftermath; at the same time it is very necessary that we pay attention to some of the things gained by our foreparents through intimate association with an aristocracy schooled in the finer things of life. Well may we add to our modern culture and educational efficiency some of the fine manners of those bygone days.

After all, the success of the American Negro depends upon his contacts with other races who, through the years, have had greater advantages of learning the proper approach to life and its problems. The little courtesies, the gentle voice, correct grooming; a knowledge of when to sit, when to stand; how to open and close a door; the correct attitude toward persons in authority; good manners in public places, such as railroad stations, moving picture houses, and other places where we are constantly under observation—the acquisition of these graces will go a long way in securing that recognition of ability needed to cope with human society, and will remove some of the commonest objections to our presence in large numbers.

Alas, in our day good manners for both races are almost outmoded. In many instances we have lost the art of fine living. The Negro, with all his handicaps, has now the opportunity of his life to develop anew the art of fine manners as one of the means by

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The author of this address was born in North Carolina, but early moved with her parents to Cambridge, Massachusetts. While a schoolgirl there, she won the friendship of Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, former President of Wellesley College, through whom she was privileged to know the Eliots, Cabots, Lowells, and other distinguished people. Educated for the teaching profession, she returned to North Carolina in 1901 and, without funds, started a private school which, in honor of her friend, she named Palmer Memorial Institute. With the help of friends North and South, this has grown into a well-appointed and important junior college.

After twenty-five years of teaching, Mrs. Brown took a year's leave of absence and won the bachelor's degree at Wellesley. She has also received two honorary degrees. She feels that it has been a peculiar privilege to live both North and South and to win friends among the choice spirits of both sections.—Editor.

which he may climb the ladder of success. The white race, having reached such heights of culture in their civilization, ofttimes feel that they can afford to go back to earlier stages of barbarism, to sweatshirt grooming, to hilarious party and dance performances. Unfortunately many of our Negro youth are wont to follow this as a proper way of life. But in order for the Negro to get even half the recognition which he may deserve, he must be even more gracious than others, more cultured, more considerate, more observant of little courtesies and social finesse if he would gain a decent place in the sun.

Let us take time, therefore, to be gracious, to be thoughtful, to be kind, using the social graces as one means of turning the wheels of progress with greater velocity on the upward road to equal opportunity and justice for all.

Additional copies of this address, ten cents per dozen, sixty cents per hundred, postpaid.

COMMISSION ON
INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Ga.

26 - Negro in America

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

DEPARTMENT OF FIELD WORK

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Clip Sheet

~~Series III - Number~~ 12
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MAGAZINES AND BOOKS

Probably not in several decades has the Negro in the United States been the subject of as many articles and books as at present. This increasing awareness of the Nation's racial problem is probably the logical result of Hitler's persecution of Jews and a war in which the Axis and the Allies find themselves fighting with and against both white and colored peoples. Whether or not in the past we have written as much about the Negro, certainly there has been no effort on the part of Negroes to collect and condense the various articles.

Racial and Negro Digests

Using the Reader's Digest as a pattern, Negroes are publishing their own digests, of articles, editorials, and books by and about themselves. The first to enter this field of "digests" was the Racial Digest which began publication in January 1942 in Detroit, Michigan. The following October the Negro Digest published in Chicago, made its bow. Both magazines are similar to each other and to the Reader's Digest in size, general appearance and content. Racial Digest is cheaper in price and quality than Negro Digest.

Beginning as a monthly magazine, Racial Digest continued through 1942. In 1943, the May-June numbers were combined into one as were the August-September issues. The price was increased in the second year. January, 1943, Racial Digest says:

> "The birth of Racial Digest grew out of the desire and need for a collaboration of all the thoughts being expressed upon the Negro by the many writers through the hundreds of current periodicals in a period of world unrest.
>
> "The expiration of one year finds us again in a great period of world unrest. And as we look about in our oldest of the democratic experiments in government, we still find that one-tenth of our population is regarded as Negro, and as such is still subject to a great number of restrictions in practically all avenues of life. While some gains have been made toward the recognition of the Negro in America, we still find that a great number of white citizens of our country are either careless or unconscious of such restrictions, and of the unhappiness that is engendered thereby."

Negro Digest is a much more ambitious magazine than Racial Digest. In addition to being thicker in size and higher in price it carries not only condensations of articles in current magazines and newspapers but conducts a round table on controversial questions, a book section, and a section on special features. Thus far the two magazines have not duplicated their articles. As the names of the magazines indicate the entire contents of each issue deal with racial problems and personalities.

A few of the subjects discussed in the series of round tables are:

Is Lynching Justified? (December 1942)

The Case Against the Negro Press (February 1943)

Is Hollywood Fair To Negroes? (April 1943)

The Case Against Segregation (July 1943)

Is Syphilis Primarily a Race Problem (September 1943)

Should Negroes Sit at the Peace Table? (October 1943)

Will a Long War Aid the Negro? (November 1943)

Do Negroes Want Social Equality? (December 1943)

Some of the books which have been featured in the book section are:

Negroes in Washington - W. M. Kiplinger (November 1942)

American Negroes - Edwin R. Embree (December 1942)

Patterns of Segregation - Charles S. Johnson (March 1943)

New World A-Coming - Roi Ottley (September 1943)

The Darker Brother - Bucklin Moon (October 1943)

"Special Features" carries regularly among other subjects the "Man of the Month" and "Negro Digest Poll." For a time this section presented "Dixie Drivel" and occasional articles by prominent white citizens on "If I Were a Negro." Nominated as "man of the Month" have been Captain Hugh Mulzac, first Negro skipper of a U. S. Liberty Ship; Dr. Gus Hinton, whose blood test for syphilis has replaced Wasserman's in the Maryland Department of Health; Napoleon Edward Taylor, first American soldier to land in North Africa; Judge William Hastie who resigned as civilian advisor to the Secretary of War in protest of segregation in Army; Joe Louis for his role in "This Is the Army"; Lt. Charles B. Hall first Negro pilot to shoot down a Nazi plane. One white man, Edwin R. Embree, President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and one Negro woman, Mary McLeod Bethune, former advisor on Negro Youth for NYA and President of the National Council of Negro Women, are included in the "Man of the Month" series.

Negro Digest has conducted polls on such questions as "Will a Long War Aid the Negro?;" "Is Race Prejudice Curable?;" "Should Negroes Quit the New Deal?;" "Whom Should Negroes Support for President in 1944?;" "Can Negroes Best Win Equal Rights Through Patience or Pressure?;" "Does the Negro Press Speak for Most Negroes In Its Opinions?;" "Should Negroes Be Given War Jobs?;" "Is the Negro Demand for Full Equality Sabotaging the Nation's War Effort?"

"If I Were A Negro" is on its face a compendium of individual opinions of white citizens. Some of those who have accepted the opportunity to express their ideas of what they would do were they suddenly to become Negro are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Thomas Sancton, southern-born editor of the New Republic, Pearl Buck, Oswald Garrison Villard, former editor, The Nation, John P. Lewis, Managing editor, PM , Ruth Benedict, anthropoligist, Columbia University.

After the first five issues of Negro Digest the special feature, "Dixie Drivel," was dropped. It has not reappeared in any later issue. In the issues in which it appeared, the content was made up of quotations from Southern office holders, excerpts from editorials from Southern newspapers and speeches of Southern industrialists and a few miscellaneous quotation, all of a nature to arouse racial and sectional antagonism.

Detroit Race Riots

Judging from the number of articles it has inspired the one incident in the Nation's biracial society which stands pre-eminently as the most important in public interest in 1943 is the Detroit race riot. It is impossible to list all the articles and editorials and even a partial list is difficult to compile. The New Republic presented the views of Thomas Sancton, July 5, under the title "Race Riots." The Survey Graphic, August, carried an article, "The Detroit Riots--and After," by William J. Norton, chairman of the Mayor's Interracial Committee. In the September Atlantic Monthly, Robert C. Weaver, chief of the Negro Employment Branch of W.P.B. writing on "The Negro Comes of Age in Industry" saw in the economic struggle of the Negro for war jobs the barriers placed in his fight for recognition in industry a general cause for the Detroit riot and other smaller conflicts. Harper's, November, had an article by Earl Brown, Negro correspondent of Time and Life, giving "The Truth About the Detroit Riot." In October, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People issued a 40 page pamphlet which is an analysis of "What Caused the Detroit Riot."

One book "Race Riot," came off the press in November. Its authors--Alfred McClung Lee, chairman of the Department of Sociology, and Normand Daymond Humphrey, Assistant Professor of Sociology--are faculty members of Wayne University in Detroit. The book is divided into three sections: What Causes Riots; What Really Happened in Detroit; What America Must Do; a Program for Preventing Race Riots.

BOOKS OF 1943

No Day of Triumph
by J. Saunders Redding

By a small stretch of time "No Day of Triumph" by J. Saunders Redding may logically be included in the current year's output of impressive books on race and the Negro. Says Dorothy Canfield Fisher of this book:

> "...It is a personalized portrait of America, the America of a young Negro who believes that democracy and freedom are good things despite evidence which suggests that they operate exclusively for white men.
>
> "....It tells what his eyes saw and his ears heard from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi Delta regions, and it overflows with human stories which, all together, present a tremendously moving cross-section of Negro life in America. They were gathered from hitch-hikers and waitresses, from the proprietor of a Negro hotel, a lawyer in a mining town, the mayor of an all-Negro community, a Communist, a happy wanderer, an indigent philosopher, a watcher at a Negro wake. There are case histories of factory workers and social climbers, of people who live in constant terror under the shadow of the white man's law, of others who believe comfortably and implicitly that God rightfully made white folks superior to Negroes--grim stories, heartbreaking stories, amusing stories."

The book has four parts:

I	Troubled in Mind
II	Don't Be Weary, Traveler
III	Poor Wayfarin' Stranger
IV	There Is A Balm

"No Day of Triumph" won for its author the Mayflower Cup awarded each year for the past 13 years by the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association to the author of the best book of the year written by a resident of that State. Mr. Redding is the first Negro to receive the award.

New World A-Coming
by Roi Ottley

> "Harlem, is one of the most incredible communities in the world, and Roi Ottley, as a 'native son' gives us a penetrating and illuminating interpretation of life in the Capital of Black America. He knows it from penthouse to shanty, from Holy Roller Temple to hot spot.
>
> ....
>
> "Roi Ottley knows how it feels to be a Negro; how the Negro looks at his unhappy past, what he expects from the future, and why he is willing to die as an equal now."

Contents

I	Capital of Black America
II	Passage to Utopia
III	The Negro Pitches His Tent!
IV	How Colored Is Harlem?
V	Springtime in Harlem
VI	Up, You Mighty Race!
VII	I Talked With God
VIII	The Apostles of Race
IX	The Jobs-for-Negroes Campaign
X	Jews in Negro Life
XI	Found: The Lost Tribe of Black Jews
XII	The Slum-Shocked
XIII	The Cafe-Au-Lait Society
XIV	Joe Louis and His People
XV	The Negro's Ballot
XVI	Glamour Boy
XVII	Who Are the Negro's Leaders?
XVIII	The Black Cabineteers
XIX	Freedom of the Black Press
XX	Executive Order Number 8802
XXI	Negroes Are Saying...
XXII	Made in Japan
XXIII	New World A-Coming

This book was reviewed in Clip Sheet Number 5, Series III.

In April Carey McWilliam's book "Brothers Under the Skin" was published. Mr. McWilliams discusses the treatment accorded by the Government to all racial minorities in and belonging to the United States. His chapters deal with

I	The Non-Vanishing Indian
II	The Long-Suffering Chinese
III	The Forgotten Mexican
IV	Our Japanese Hostages
V	Hawaii: Island Outpost
VI	The Puerto Ricans and Other Islanders
VII	The Little Brown Brothers
VIII	The Negro Problem: A Case History
IX	Outline for Action

On the subject of the Negro the advertisement on the jacket says:

"This book is a guide to action that will answer the criticisms that Goebbels et al. are able to level at us in an attempt to discredit us in the eyes of the many peoples of the world with whom we are trying to ally ourselves against the Axis. Since a lynching in Mississippi is immediately seized upon by Axis propagandists to broadcast to all minorities, it is vitally important that we face the racial problem now--not set it aside for a postwar solution.

"As long as we withhold from 13,000,000 minority Americans the full rights and privileges and social equalities of American citizen-

ship, we cannot carry our full weight in the councils of democratic peoples of all countries after the war. Carey McWilliams indicates concretely a possible government procedure which could help eradicate the problem."

Race and Rumors of Race
by Howard W. Odum

Off the press this month is Howard W. Odum's "Race and Rumors of Race." The first paragraph on the book jacket flap explains the book.

> "This is the story of racial tension in the United States as it existed during the year of global war from mid-1942 to 1943. No story in the nation is more worth telling, for the Negro's struggle toward greater freedom and opportunity has been accepted the world over as a test case for Democracy."

Frank Daniel in the Atlanta Journal, December 3, says, in part, of Dr. Odum's book:

> "Dr. Odum's "Race and Rumors of Race" is a timely, serious though ocassionally hilarious, and revealing study of the intensifications of race feeling under the stress and excitement of war. While recognizing that such emotion is national and not regional, he observes that many of the manifestations are most evident in the South, where the larger Negro pepulation of the country lives, and where the section has undergone, during the war years, sudden and often disconcerting readjustments of both white and Negro living conditions.
>
> "Dr. Odum does not suggest that a subconscious sense of guilt might have helped the spread of such stories, but there is evidence to bear out such a theory. What he does is collect, study, evaluate wartime rumors, with a presentation of the intelligent work to nullify and scotch such tales. He defines with extraordinary discernment the white Southerner's attitude towards the Negro, comparing it with the attitude in other parts of America. He thus affords a highly pertinent, informing, valuable book."

The book divides into four parts:

I	Crisis in the Making
II	Race and Rumors of Race
III	The Way On
IV	Questions and Answers

Racial Digest - 446 East Warren Avenue, Detroit, Michigan
Price - 15¢ a copy - $1.75 a year

Negro Digest - 3507 South Parkway, Chicago, Illinois
Price - 25¢ a copy - $3.00 a year

What Caused the Detroit Riot? - 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Price 10¢

Race Riot - Alfred McClung Lee - Normand Daymond Humphrey
Dryden Press, New York, N. Y.
Price $1.50

New World A-Coming - Roi Ottley
Houghton-Mifflin Company, New York, N. Y.
Price $3.00

No Day of Triumph - J. Saunders Redding
Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y.
Price $3.00

Brothers Under the Skin - Carey McWilliams
Little, Brown and Company, Boston, Massachusetts
Price $3.00

Race and Rumors of Race - Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Price $2.00

What the Negro Wants. Rayford W. Logan, editor. A Symposium by fourteen Negroes, together with a publisher's introduction. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Pp. 352. $3.50

The title of this volume implies a degree of social unity and racial solidarity among American Negroes that is not a fully accomplished fact. The time may come, conceivably it may come soon, when the Negroes will be fused into a race-conscious minority, animated by a common wish, and presenting a united front in a struggle for clearly defined objectives. But in the present both the strength and the weakness of the Negroes' position lie in the fact that they are not a fully organized and self-conscious minority. They are held together by external factors restricting their participation in the communal life rather than by exclusive sentiments and internal bonds. What the Negro wants can only be stated in terms that would be largely or wholly unintelligible to the mass of the Negroes. To be realistic, and at the same time to do full justice to the contributors to this symposium, it is necessary to read the title "What Negroes Want."

The book has been several years in the making. It was no simple editorial task to find and secure the cooperation of fourteen men competent to speak for a widely dispersed and culturally diverse population of thirteen million persons. Some of the outstanding Negro social students refused to touch the project. The editorial problem was further complicated by the need to supplement cautiously conservative statements by the inclusion of some more "radical" statements that could appear in a volume bearing the imprint of a southern university press. As it is, the publisher felt it necessary to insert a somewhat nervously apologetic introduction in which he categorically rejects the findings of modern social science as "obviously untrue" and reaffirms his allegience to the traditional southern racial creed. Most of the contributors to the volume are not professional students of social or racial relations but each

is a person of note in some field of Negro endeavor. Mary McLeod Bethune is president of the National Council of Negro Women; Sterline A. Brown is in the English Department, and Rayford W. Logan is in the history department of Howard University; W. E. B. DuBois is director of special research and Roy Wilkins is assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Gordon B. Handcock is a teacher of economics; Leslie Pinckney Hill, Frederick D. Patterson, and Charles H. Wesley are college presidents; Langston Hughes is a poet and writer; A. Philip Randolph is president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; George S. Schuyler is a newspaper editor; Willard S. Townsend is president of the "Red Caps"; and Doxey A. Wilkerson is vice-president of the International Workers' League.

The Negroes want what all other men of comparable experience and status want. The masses want food, shelter, a cessation of gratuitous physical abuse, and other elementary necessaries to a tolerable animal existence. From this level, the desires increase in number and kind, and through varying stages and combinations, to those that characterize sensitive and civilized men. As stated by the contributors to this symposium, they want nothing new or startling, nothing that could be reasonably denied them. They ask for such things as freedom, the Four Freedoms, participation in American life, first-class citizenship, protection of civil rights, equal work opportunities, equal protection under the law, equal education, equal health and hospital services, abolition of public segregation, an end to mob violence, and the elimination of restrictions on voting. They have no ideology other than that of democracy and they want the rights, privileges, and responsibilities possessed by other Americans. But the contributors are little concerned with what Negroes want. Each states his conception of the desires briefly -- some do so in general terms, others with a variety of concrete detail; some state them bluntly and without quibbling, others are cautious and conciliatory -- and moves on to what interests him, to race problems and solutions, to means by which the Negroes can

get what they want, to racial activities and programs and movements.

The volume is in no sense a scholarly or profound analysis of race relations or the race problem; it is, nevertheless, a significant contribution if it is seen as a pamphlet in a racial controversy and as an index of the current stage of the race relations cycle. One stage in the cultural advance of an excluded group is characterized by vague discontent and restless behavior, by unorganized protests and rebellious outbursts and other random activity, which express a widespread dissatisfaction and misery but show no real appreciation of the causal factors or genuine understanding of effective means of control. It is at this point that leaders may arise; leaders who are able to articulate the unrest, inspire the confidence, and arouse the enthusiasm of the masses, define appealing objectives, formulate programs of action, and mobilize the group to various forms of collective behavior. When, and in the degree that this is done in America, the Negro-white relations will change in character; the race problem will move into a new phase of the racial cycle. The book does not do this but it does, in its expression of various objectives and descriptions of various tentative and preliminary efforts at organization, indicate that a new phase of the Negro-white problem may not be far away.

Certainly these movements when and as they come will do little or nothing to control the course of events or change the future of the Negro or of race relations. On the contrary, the nature of the movements will be defined and guided by the course of events. The efforts of the Negroes and the conflicting efforts of the white southerners are analogous to the competition of rival boatmen rowing upstream while the swift current is carrying both to their ultimate destination. The future of the Negro as of the white population of the South will be determined by impersonal factors or by fortuitous events -- soil depletion, machine agriculture, competing crop areas, federal policies, conservation movements, and the like -- rather than by the Negroes' wishful thinking

or the whites' indulgence in nostalgic fantasies.

But efforts such as those described in the volume and others yet to come should not be undervalued. Such efforts, in and of themselves, are seldom impressive; generally they are futile, obviously destined to fail. They have, however, a very real value apart from their avowed purpose; they are educative experiences. It is apparently in just such efforts that men become in a measure civilized; it is in their efforts, aside from anything achieved by the efforts, that men acquire initiative and self-confidence and develop new conceptions of themselves. The Negroes like other men will advance through their efforts and their failures.

The book has another value aside from its specific content. Every effort of the Negroes to improve their social status, as every vigorous verbal or other protest against sub-American conditions and treatment, does its bit to bring the racial situation out of the realm of sacred phenomena and into the arena of public discussion where it can be examined on its merits and modified by rational techniques. In a rational world, the statement of the Negroes' wants must be faced and it must be answered; and it can only be answered in terms of counter facts and logical argument. It is for this reason that one regrets that this is not a better book; the Negroes' position still lacks a definitive and masterly statement.

E. B. Reuter

Fisk University

From

The American Journal of Sociology

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What the Negro Wants. Raymond W. Logan, Editor. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Pp. 352. $3.50

What the Negroes want is an opportunity to be American citizens with all the duties and obligations and all the rights and opportunities that go with life in a democratic social order. They ask for nothing that others do not have; it is difficult to see that they ask for anything that can, in reason and justice, be denied them. They want equal work opportunity and equal pay, equal protection under the law with no discrimination in the administration of the law, equality of education, equality of expenditures for health and hospitalization, municipal services on the same basis as these are furnished to other citizens, the abolition of public segregation, an end of mob violence, the elimination of all inhibiting restrictions on voting, the right to serve in any branch of the armed services, and other major and minor items that give full and equal status in the American democracy.

The contributors to the volume were selected to represent about equally the so-called conservative, liberal, and radical points of view. They are not for the most part professional students of human and race relations: four are or have been presidents of Negro schools or colleges, four are college professors but only two of them are from the social science field, one is a poet, one is a newspaper editor, four are men actively engaged in racial propaganda or action programs -- the President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the President of the "Red Caps," the vice-President of the International Workers League, and the Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The emphasis of the book, in spite of its title, does not fall on what the Negroes want; that is assumed to be so simple, definite, and commonly understood as not to require elaboration. In the main, the authors are concerned with means for achieving the objective of equal status; with policies, practices, programs, organization, strategy, technique, and the related matters

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that seem to characterize all social movements in their early developmental stages. The presentation is neither abusive nor unduly craven; it is generally direct and often emphatic but it is pretty uniformally realistic and good natured. Most of the writers seem to understand that the achievement of the ends for which they strive -- the removal of segregation and other forms of racial discrimination -- would contribute as much to the welfare of the whites as to the welfare of the Negroes.

E. B. Reuter

Fisk University

From

The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science

11.

THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

Report of a Student Planning Committee

in a Survey Course on

THE NEGRO

(Sociology 185)

At The

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

CHAPEL HILL

December, 1944

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63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

REPORT OF STUDENT PLANNING COMMITTEE ON
THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

Preface

This paper is chiefly the findings of a special over-all planning committee appointed to summarize the reports of class committees, each of which undertook to study intensively one of nine special aspects of the Negro situation in the United States, selected especially for this class. The work was done in a six-weeks survey course on The Negro under the direction of Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina. While the Summary Committee drew largely on the committee reports, we used also the discussions and reading reports of the class as a whole, as well as the reading and thinking of the members of the Committee. After the formal work of the class was over this committee had several meetings of its own and met for three hours, once with Dean James T. Taylor of the North Carolina College for Negroes. The enrollment of the class was sixty. The special committee consisted of ten graduate members.

The reader should remember that we are not research workers, we are not specialists on the Negro, we are not sociologists, even in embryo. We are consumers of research, of the work of experts, of the writings and thinking of sociologists and other educators. We are a group of graduate and undergraduate students, chiefly Health Educators as prospective social workers in training. We began the course in a search for information and guidance for our work with Negroes and in communities where the status of the Negro presents a real problem and one vital to the progress of the community and the region. For the purposes of trying to be definite and concrete, special aspects selected for study and planning were early defined. These were: The Negro Problem: Education, Housing, Political and Civil Liberties, Economic Opportunities, Cultural Participation, and Suggestions for Southerners, for the Negro, and for the North.

The first general product of our study has been to lead us to look at our problem much more broadly, and to take a broader view of our work in relation to the whole picture... We have come to three conclusions: (1) the problem must be viewed broadly by anyone, in any position, who would help in its solution; (2) the solution depends on widespread, diverse leadership and participation among members of both races; (3) the first essential of leadership and participation that is effective must be a deep-seated, dynamic belief in the principles of Democracy and Christianity.

We have prepared the report to further develop and consolidate our own thinking and beliefs. We hope the results may be of use to others.

Chapel Hill, N. C.
December, 1944

Annie Laurie McDonald
Myrtle Ousley
Cassie Smith
Theodore Butterworth
M. E. Cossack

I. THE PROBLEM

In the United States, especially in the South, two races live together. The white race, because of its cultural heritage, its superior numbers, its initial advantages in America, its dominance in wealth, in education, in almost every phase of national, state, and community life, assumes the myth of "racial superiority" with all that this implies in any part of the world. The Negro race has for a long time apparently accepted the myth. It has, conscious of its handicaps, accepted its inferior status, though with the resentment and the complexes which result when feelings of inferiority defeat human urges. Recently, however, social scientists of both races have challenged the idea of racial superiority and, as their findings have found their way into the reading matter of the laymen, increasing numbers of both races have come to doubt that any race is, per se, superior to other races.

More and more of both races are coming to recognize in varying degrees and to accept in varying ways that the ideals of Democracy and those of Christianity demand the equalization of opportunity, of rights, of responsibilities for the two races. More and more leaders of both races have come to recognize that the progress of the nation, of the region, of the state, and of the community requires the conservation, development, and use of the resources of the Negro equally with those of the white man through education and through widened social and economic opportunity.

The Negro problem, then is: How can two races live and work together under such circumstances, so as to afford equal opportunities for both, to guarantee the rights of both, to conserve and develop the resources of both, indeed to do this and at the same time to enhance the opportunities, the rights, the resources of both ?

As a matter of fact, there is no "Negro" problem, though for the sake of simplicity we shall use the popular designation in this paper. In every sense it is a problem of human interrelations. No phase of the problem, no factor in it affects the Negro any more than it does others who live with him. No move in it is more the responsibility of the Negro than it is of the white man. No improvement in the conditions involved in the Negro's situation will benefit him more than it will the total community, state, region, nation, of which he is a part. It is the problem of all the members of a democracy. It is the problem of all those who subscribe to the principles of Christianity. It is with us. It is ours. We can do nothing but accept it, and try to solve it.

In the South this problem must be solved under the special handicaps of the traditions of slavery and of Reconstruction, of limited economic resources and of mediocre social and educational opportunity. In general one must realize that the Negro problem is not one single problem . It differs, because of these and other circumstances from North to South, from East to West, even from one locality to the next. It appears, and is, different to

the Negro and to the white; the urban dweller and the countryman. Almost, one might say: "The problem is, in a practical way, what confronts me with regard to the Negro ?" This is true whether "I" am a Negro or a white, a Southerner or a Northerner, a tenant farmer or an industrial employer.

In spite of the eternal variations in the Negro problem , however, there are certain common factors, some of them peculiar to the South or having peculiar aspects in the South. These must be recognized, understood, and attacked as integral parts of the whole if we would make progress. Some of them are themselves basic problems, as in the case of education. Some are factors which complicate these problems and/or hinder their solution;for example, segregation.

From among the problems which may be considered fundamental those selected for study were: education, housing, political and civil rights, and fair labor practices. Others, as health, recreation, farm tenancy, might well have been studied. From among many of the complicating factors, segregation and cultural participation were chosen. Each of these should be considered briefly to get a view of the scope and difficulty of the task ahead of the South, the North, the Negro, and the nation.

II. EDUCATION

Better educational opportunity is the key to the solution of many of the problems of the nation. Equalization of the educational opportunity offered Southern youth with that of other regions is the key to many of the social and economic problems of the South. Any consideration of the Negro problem must assume that the right to this equality extends to the Negro as well as to every other group in the nation or in the region .

In the South there is no question that Negro youth is denied even the semblance of equality of opportunity. In comparison with schools for the white children, his teacher is more poorly paid, more poorly trained, and teaches more pupils per day. His school term is shorter, his school is smaller, he is more retarded in the grades, and he attends high school less frequently. He is afforded less varied and less extensive vocational education. His buildings and equipment are far less adequate, his transportation is also less extensive. Only in school attendance, dependent on his own efforts, does his school measure up. There are, of course, local exceptions, and conditions vary greatly from state to state according to all the indexes.

In the so-called Border States, according to most indexes of educational opportunity, Negro schools measure up much more nearly to the standards of the white schools. In states where separate schools are provided for Negroes it is not possible to measure equality of opportunity. Fewer Negro teachers are employed in mixed schools. Because of the segregation of

population in most Northern cities, many schools are attended by Negro children altogether or in most part. These tend to be less adequately housed, equipped, and staffed.

In some of the states of the South, progress is being made slowly but surely. In North Carolina, for example, salaries have been equalized and the school term extended equally. As a result of court decisions and other factors, local and state planning is going on to raise the standards of the Negro schools. Consolidation and building programs are being planned. In rural schools, agriculture and home economics are being expanded.

In higher education the same picture of discrimination exists. Properly supported institutions are fewer, enrollments are lower in proportion to the Negro population. Faculties are more poorly trained and paid. Buildings are less adequate. Opportunities for professional and graduate training are few or, in most Southern states, non-existent. Some States have tried to ameliorate this condition by providing scholarships for Negro students to Northern institutions. Because they usually choose the best this has contributed to the calibre of racial leadership that has been provided by certain outstanding schools for Negroes in the South. These, together with court decisions, are developing public opinion and slowly changing the picture, in spite of segregation, meager regional resources, and the fetish of "White Supremacy."

III. HOUSING

Poor housing is one of the most uniformly acute factors in the Negro problem. Whether in the rural South, in the Southern cities and towns, in Northern urban centers, or in commercial towns or factory districts, a disproportionate part of the Negro population is housed in the most inadequate, yet the relatively most expensive, rented quarters. The low economic status of the Negro is a major factor, of course, but segregation, scarcity of low-cost housing, rapidly shifting population, and schemes of exploitation have increased the tendency to marginal housing. Sub-standard housing is one of the most important factors in the low general health status of the Negro, in the high death rate from tuberculosis and other diseases, in delinquency, and in low morale. It is also associated with limited employment opportunity, with low educational opportunity, and with social insecurity.

Experiments, notably in Cincinnati and in Atlanta, have shown that low-cost housing projects financed from private sources are practicable and profitable. Federal experiments in housing projects for Negroes in defense areas have been generally successful. Difficulties have arisen chiefly from poor planning of location and from failure to provide education and guidance in making adjustments to the new housing. Until we undertake widespread education of both races as to the need for and the practicality of better

housing for the Negro, until there is long-range, wise planning, until there is systematic effort to enlist private enterprise and government assistance, the housing problem of the Negro will not be solved, will probably not be ameliorated, may even become more acute. The same thing can be said about the "poor white." Until the housing problem is intelligently attacked, no attempt to solve the Negro problem can get very far.

The same things are true, of course, in developing housing projects for any underprivileged group.

IV. POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS

In a democracy, the equal protection of the political and civil rights of every group is of primary importance. Encouragement and guidance in the exercise of these rights is essential to: (1) the morale of any group, (2) the progressive improvement of their social and economic status, (3) the development of their resources, and (4) their maximum contribution to the common welfare.

In the South particularly, the Negro is largely deprived of his vote by intimidation, by the spectre of Reconstruction, by the poll-tax voting requirement, by the white primary, and by the biased interpretation of rules of eligibility. He is , in effect, debarred from the use of the white public press and his news is neglected and warped. On the public carriers, his travel is made uncomfortable and is otherwise restricted by "Jim Crow" laws and by pressure of prejudice. His participation in public discussion is discouraged. His right to hold elective or appointive office is largely denied. At times even his equal status before the law has been jeopardized in open court. Negro jurors, Negro lawyers, and Negro judges are conspicuous by their absence. In the North these conditions do not exist to the same degree, nor do they have the sanction of law or of openly expressed public opinion, but the segregation of population and the attitude toward the individual to a large extent neutralizes the effect of legal and general subscription to the principle of racial equality.

In spite of these handicaps the Negro has developed an impressive press of his own. He has built systems of churches which are growing in the leadership toward political and civil equality. He has a growing number of police and other officials even in the South. There is a rapidly spreading demand in the white press and in white institutions that the Negro's rights be protected, that he be protected from political and civil exploitation, and that he be offered encouragement, assistance, and guidance in the exercise of his rights in all political and civil fields .

V. ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Opportunity to make a living is fundamental in the welfare and the progress of any group. The guarantee of equality in this opportunity and of education and guidance in taking advantage of it is, therefore, essential in a developing democracy. Yet no right has been more widely and more largely denied the Negro than the right to enter employment, to gain promotion, to receive equal compensation, to engage in business and the professions.

We must recognize, of course, that individual differences, both in general capacity and in special limitations, exist in any group. Training cannot and should not be identical for all, nor can and should employment be identical . But color cannot be the basis for differentiation. It is opportunity which must be equal, in the sense of adequacy and appropriateness to the individual, regardless of his race, creed, or origin.

In agriculture, " sharecropping, " "furnishing," usurious rates of interest in the purchase of land, stock, and equipment, and discrimination in marketing have largely debarred the Negro from farm ownership and from a fair return on his labor and his investment. He has been denied training for better farming and homemaking in the schools and in the extension services, and especially in vocational and technical training comparable to that afforded the white race. We have pointed out the discrimination that exists in government officeholding and in training for the professions, especially in the South. Similar obstacles hinder his entry into business.

In industry and business, the Negro has a very limited chance for employment, for promotion, or for a fair wage for his labor. Before the beginning of the present war, the training that was available to him was far less varied and less extensive than that available to white youth in the public schools, the NYA, and other training programs. Relatively few took all the training that was available because their chance of employment on the level justified by the training was slim. Many industries were closed to Negro workers, in the rest many individual plants refused to employ him. The same situation existed in business. Where he was employed, it was usually in unskilled work, and the chances of his promotion were small. Most frequently, his pay was lower than that of white workers in the same positions. Many labor unions were closed to him, and he was badly handicapped in organizing his own, so his access to collective bargaining, as a means to improving his situation, was meager.

Since 1939, labor shortages, the efforts of volunteer organizations, labor unions, and Federal policy, especially as embodied in the Fair Employment Practices Committee, have borne fruit in opening new industries, additional plants and businesses to the Negro, in equalizing his pay, in making promotion available to him, and in admitting him to more labor unions. The same influences, plus an awakening public opinion, are improving his position in government employment and in public services. The discrimination

against the employment of Negroes in the Armed Services has been as great as in other employment, but here too the situation has improved. The Negro has been given a chance to prove his worthiness of wider employment, of more extensive training, and of promotion. And he has proven his worthiness. Agencies concerned with education and planning for the improvement of the Negro's status and agencies concerned with the guarantee of his rights have been afforded a much broader base for further operations.

VI. SEGREGATION

Not only do we find that each of the above problems reacts upon the others and contributes to their difficulty, but they are further complicated and made more difficult by factors such as segregation for which there is no set pattern but which runs like a thread through the picture of the Negro in America. In part, segregation is voluntary on the part of the Negro, a result of group consciousness. In part, it is the result of social and economic fears on the part of a segment of the white population. In part, it is the effort to protect the myth of racial superiority. In part, it is the result of other social and economic conditions. Whatever its cause, it is an integral part of the picture of education, of housing, of political participation, of employment, of every phase of life. In the South, it is openly and rigidly enforced as in the case of "Jim Crow" laws and laws requiring separate schools and separate facilities. Everywhere it is tacitly supported by public opinion, as in zoning rules, eating and hotel accommodations. It is strongly entrenched and deeply rooted, especially in the South. Yet the results of segregation are so important that no planning can fail to take it into account and to try to eliminate gradually its worst aspects.

Segregation has made for discrimination in all aspects of the school program; it has made difficult the provision of more expensive kinds of training, significantly trades and industrial education, graduate and professional schools. In political and civil life, it has facilitated discrimination and made exploitation easy to perpetrate and difficult to identify and combat. In housing it has deteriorated real estate values, handicapped housing projects, and, through crowding, has raised rentals beyond the normal investment value. This has, in turn, encouraged exploitation by unscrupulous owners and agents. The list might be extended indefinitely.

VII. CULTURAL PARTICIPATION

Culture has been defined as the sum of the ways in which man has learned to live and behave. A culture, then, is the sum of the behavior patterns which characterize the people of a locality, of a region, or of a nation. If we accept this definition, we think of culture as meaning far more than the

literature, the traditions, the art, the music, even the dress, the recreations of a people. We include also their typical ways of making a living, their political practices, their measures for improving health, housing conditions and practices, their organization and methods in education.

When culture is viewed in this way, we well might say that the ideal of a democracy is full and free opportunity for cultural participation to every group, to the Negro, as well as to other minorities. This means that the Negro must be given the opportunity, the guidance, and the assistance that is given to any other group in the employment and the enjoyment of the ways of living that are characteristic of all the people of the Southern Piedmont, of the Mississippi Delta, of the industrial Middle West, or of the United States. Perhaps most important for the future of America, it means that he must have full and free opportunity, guidance, and assistance in making the maximum contribution of his resources to the developing culture of the locality, the region, the nation of which he is an integral part.

Nowhere is the loss to the Negro and the loss to the culture of America, from the denial of cultural participation to the Negro, more evident than in the field of art. He is often refused and usually discouraged in attendance on the theater and art galleries. Even his movie houses are usually shabby affairs, showing third-rate films. In music especially has the Negro made a great contribution to American art through his truly great folk music. Yet one has only to examine the outstanding Negro singers, composers, actors, dancers, painters, writers to realize the great contributions which the race could make if they were given the opportunity, the guidance, and the assistance which are available to the white man.

VIII. THE SOLUTION.

It is only when we view the Negro problem as one of cultural participation in the broadest sense that the means to the solution of the problem become clearly evident. The only real solution lies in the gradual processes of social change, in evolution, the kind of change that is inherent in the life of a community, of a region, of a nation. Individuals of good will in both races must address themselves to the task of finding ways of accelerating needed social changes. Methods and procedures may differ from community to community, but the end result should be increasing opportunity for the individual to live, to work, and to be educated under conditions conducive to the maintenance of self-respect and in accordance with our democratic concepts.

By education, by planning, and by concerted effort which involves wide participation, this social change can be speeded up, its directions can be shifted, its points of lag can be accelerated. The dictates of Democracy and of Christianity demand, as do those of common sense, that these three processes be carried on cooperatively, members and groups of the two races working together. A close study of the progress which has been made, especially the rapid progress in some fields in recent years, shows clearly the effect of these principles.

The process of education implies research. A great deal has been done in such centers as the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, by the Department of Social Sciences at Fisk, and other institutions in both North and South, by such agencies as the Southern Regional Council, and by Federal agencies. But much more must be done on a national, a state, and a local level. We must know what conditions exist, what resources we have, what changes are desirable and practicable.

This is seen very clearly in the field of health. We do not now know, except through such data as vital statistics, just what the health status of the Negro is, under various conditions, nor do we know what the effect is of wider employment of Negro personnel in the Public Health Service. The results of this research, as it accumulates, must be made known to both races, not in research language and through regular research channels, but through every channel by which people are reached and influenced, the newspaper, the radio, the movie, the popular magazine. Health educators, teachers, public workers, ministers, and others occupy strategic positions.

There must be a far greater effort by groups of both races working together to study the problem, not only as a whole, but in its various aspects, not only as an abstract but as a personal, individual problem, not only as a national problem, but as a problem that exists in a peculiar form in the local community. The results of such studies and of the thinking of the leaders of both races must reach and influence people through the popular channels. When all this is added to a more intensified, more consistent, more concerted effort among public institutions, the school, the church, the press, then we can say that education of the American people for the solution of the Negro problem is really under way.

And there must be planning. Such planning as has been done in community councils, in local and county planning boards, in civic organizations, in church groups, in state planning boards, in regional and national organizations. This will, however, have to be done on a much wider scale. It will have to be concerned with the over-all picture, not merely, as so often happens, with some single project or problem. To a much greater extent it will have to bring together members of both races in a thoroughly representative way. It will have to be concerned with both the short-term and the long-time aspects of the problem and of measures for its solution. It will have to take account of the changing of attitudes and understandings as well as of direct action. It will have to include research and the spreading of accurate information about employment, education, political participation, and health as well as their improvement. And above all this pattern of planning on local, state, regional, and national levels must be coordinated and integrated so that the processes of social evolution are more nearly in the same direction, do not conflict, and are interacting along desirable lines.

Of concerted action the same things may be said. For unless education and planning are followed by action, they are worse than futile, they lead to retrogression. In the meantime there are certain things that must be understood by three segments of the population which will work together, but which

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because of differing circumstances, view the problem in different ways .

IX. SUGGESTIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING AND ACTION

A . For Northerners

While the Negro problem is truly a national one, and while it must be attacked on a national scale, certain things are peculiarly applicable to the situation in the North:

1. The task of the North in the solution of the Southern Negro problem is, first and most important, for individuals and organizations to get accurate information and to develop real understanding of conditions and attitudes among Southern Negroes and whites alike.

2. Legislation is no more effective on a national level than it is on a state or local level, unless it is backed by public opinion.

3. Individuals, study groups, and planning groups should turn their attention to race relations in Northern communities. The improvement of these relations must be accomplished on a regional and local basis.

4. The development of a Negro leadership which is constructive, tolerant, and far-sighted is just as important in the North as in the South.

5. Recognizing progress and effort is more effective than destructive criticism. Understanding assistance is more effective than attempted pressure. This is as true in dealing with a people as in dealing with an individual, with an adult as with a child, in dealing with race relations as in speeding up production.

6. Discrimination and suppression are no less potent in their results because they are not legally sanctioned and are not openly practiced. They prevent the full development of a people's resources. They arouse the hatred and fear of those against whom they are practiced. They weaken the moral fibre, destroy the morale of those who practice them.

7. The North can show by example what the abolition of segregation and discrimination can mean to a people.

8. Better housing for the Negro has become more important as larger numbers have migrated to centers of war industry.

9. Migration to the North, planned by the Negro himself, can prevent or relieve many problems of employment and of congested areas.

10. The employment of the Negro in war work has given the North the opportunity to demonstrate, after the war, that Negroes can be built into a common working force, which can produce the highest standard of living even this country has ever known. This will require the combined efforts of the individual employer and the individual worker, of organizations of management and labor unions, of government agencies and community planning groups.

11. Publicizing the efforts of the North in interracial matters is constructive. Inflammatory literature merely arouses sectional antagonisms and intensifies racial prejudices.

B. For Southerners

1. Opportunity for the Negro must be opened and extended, not as a charity, but as a right inherent in Democracy and in Christianity.

2. The Negro and the White must work together in the solution of the Negro problem on a basis of free and equal cooperation. Considerations of democracy aside, the inertia is too great for the white man to accomplish it alone.

3. If the Southerner would avoid initiative, interference, even coercion from other regions, he must demonstrate willingness and ability to proceed more rapidly and more democratically in the solution of the Negro problem in terms of the South. The improvement of the Negro's situation and the development of his resources are too important to national progress and too essential to national security to be allowed to lag further.

4. Since the solution of the Negro problem is a matter of such national concern, suspicion and fear of outside interference must not stand in the way of progress. This has been the case in the movement toward Federal aid in general education.

5. The social and economic opportunities of the South, limited as they are, must be shared by the two races equally. Only by the development of the total resources of the Southern people can the opportunities of any segment be raised as high as possible.

6. "White Supremacy" is a political shibboleth. It represents that by means of suppression or otherwise the Negro must be "kept in his place" of inferiority. It is sometimes applied to other races. Wherever it is invoked, it is a direct appeal to racial hate.

7. "Race superiority" is the myth that an individual of the white race, because of that fact, is superior in intelligence or in other characteristics to another race. So far as scientific evidence goes, no support for this theory has been found. Such superiority as has been demonstrated in the average measurement of large numbers of individuals in the white race can as readily be attributed to advantages in environment or opportunity. If any real "racial superiority" exists, it need not depend on undemocratic and unrighteous denial of opportunity or suppression for its maintenance.

8. Discrimination and suppression of any segment of the population not only retards the full development of the resources of a region or a nation, it also reacts upon the groups or upon the individuals who practice them. It gradually destroys their morale, at the same time it arouses resentment and dangerous fears in those who are suppressed and discriminated against.

9. Segregation in travel works to the inconvenience of both races . Where segregation is maintained, special study, planning, and effort will have to be carried on to eliminate the discrimination for which it is the basis.

10. Equal access to the public press should be one of the immediate objectives in race relations.

11. The development and maintenance of equal standards for Negro and for white schools is an immediate and all-important objective in Southern education. To do this without lowering the standards of white schools is a challenge that faces Southern educators, government, and lay leaders of both races.

12. Complacency and passive acceptance of accustomed conditions can be overcome only through individual study of actual conditions, group study of their significance, and concerted action to their improvement. This is the first job of the individual Southerner and of the individual Southern community.

13. Real understanding of the Negro, of his situation, of his potentialities can come only to those who study him from the point of view of a personality, of a human being. This is the only point of departure for individuals or groups who would make contributions to the solution of the Negro problem.

14. The development of widespread, competent leadership among Negroes through building Negro institutions and opportunities for advanced study is the responsibility of the White and the Negro races working together.

C. For Negroes

Certain things must be said to the Negro, both by the leaders of his own race and by those who are working with him to improve the conditions of his people and the relations of his race with the white race. They must never be said or understood as applying to the Negro alone. They must never be said or understood as assuming that nothing has been accomplished by the Negro along these lines, nor that they apply to all individuals of the race, nor to individuals equally . They are simply things that are important to a minority group whose progress depends in large part on its own initiative and effort.

1. Race relations are two-way affairs, as are all human relations. The Negro must take major responsibility for the improvement of the relations of his race to the white race, just as the white race must assume responsibility for the improvement of its relations to the Negro.

2. The major responsibility for the improvement of conditions within the race must rest largely on the Negro.

3. The equalization and the extension of opportunity to any group in a democracy are the joint responsibility of all. The provision of guidance and assistance in equal measure to all groups is the common responsibility of the whole. What is done with the opportunity, what advantage is taken of the guidance and assistance are the responsibility of the individual and of the group.

4. It is the Negro's privilege and obligation to attend school regularly throughout the school term, to utilize the total resources of his race to improve the quality and scope of his school program, and to press insistently through the democratic processes for the equalization of his educational opportunity.

5. The Negro has the responsibility of proving his ability and of demonstrating his readiness to improve his ability wherever opportunity is afforded him in employment.

6. The Negro must constantly conduct himself in such ways as to entitle him to self-respect and to the respect and esteem of other races.

7. The Negro should work assiduously to improve his personal hygiene and his sanitary environment regardless of his economic level. This is one of the greatest responsibilities of the Negro educator and other Negro leaders.

8. Negro educators and other leaders should encourage and emphasize the desirability, the sheer necessity, of Negroes living more harmoniously and according to higher standards in domestic relationships and in intraracial social and economic relationships.

9. The Negro should be proud of his race, of its characteristics, of its accomplishments. He must strive to raise all its cultural standards. He must recognize and try to get others to recognize its achievements.

10. The Negro must develop a sense of greater responsibility for property and for income. He must develop the skills of conservation, the traits of thrift. He must learn to spend wisely and consistently.

11. The Negro must learn that the development of ones own assets and resources is the basic principle in cultural progress.

12. The Negro must accept fully the responsibilities, as well as press for the rights and privileges of full American citizenship on a national, a state, and a local level.

13. Realism should be the constant yardstick in evaluating plans and progress. Realism implies (a) a sober long term view, not only of what is desired, but of what is practicable; and (b) understanding that in the solving of sociological problems some things are not to be controlled by legislation.

14. Retaliation can only retard progress. This is true in spite of the fact that in the record of wrongs and abuses, the scale is overbalanced.

15. Education can change attitudes and concepts, but it works slowly. If incorrect, stereotyped notions about the Negro are to be removed from people's minds, education must be employed. The concepts regarding the Negro which are demonstrably untrue are nevertheless quite sincerely believed by many white people. Learned attitudes can be unlearned but not overnight. The same principles apply to corrections of stereotyped notions about the Southern white man.

16. The undecided whites should be won. A large element finds itself confused, its loyalties divided, as a question never really studied, but believed settled, comes up again.

17. The economic problem of the South must always be remembered. Many aspects of the race question could not and would not be so aggravated were it not for widespread poverty and lack of funds for social reform of every kind. Tied to this are the bitter memories of Reconstruction, economic exploitation from without, and the whole sad story of King Cotton.

18. Present public services, as schools, social agencies and philanthropies even though inadequate, should be taken advantage of both for the benefits to be secured and as a proof of genuine desire for advancement and the acceptance of responsibility.

19. Labor unions are important as means for progress. Negro workers should employ this means by joining existing unions or by forming their own.

20. Health. Due to low economic status, poor housing, etc., there are some health problems more prevalent and therefore more serious within the Negro race than within white elements in the population (venereal diseases, tuberculosis, nutrition, etc.). In almost all localities in the South there is some agency giving treatment, education, or instruction for prevention. These facilities should be used to the fullest extent. The importance of the problem should be emphasized continuously by Negro leaders and by Negro organizations.

21. Individual Negro advancement should always be recognized. Negro doctors, lawyers, artists, business men, and insurance concerns if encouraged by their own people, will grow in numbers and prove their worth.

22. Distinctively Negro traits and gifts should be emphasized. Negro contributions to culture are significant and should be utilized.

23. Planned migration out of the South will tend to equalize pressures and also to make the South conscious of its partial dependence upon the Negro population.

X. CONCLUSION

Even this brief, fragmentary survey of the so-called Negro problem reveals its complexity, the tremendous seriousness of it in the nation, and especially in the South, the difficulties facing us in its solution. It reveals hope, too. Real and great progress has been made. The foundations for greater and more rapid progress have been and are being laid. The great seriousness with which America is beginning to face its postwar problems is itself a hopeful sign.

Throughout any examination of the problem we are continually brought back to the basic considerations involved:

The Negro problem is a problem in race relations.

It must be faced realistically.

We recognize it as a problem in so far as we really subscribe to the principles of Democracy and of Christianity.

Its solution is equally important to the Negro and to the white man.

Improvement of conditions is equally the responsibility of the white man and of the Negro.

It must be solved by the equalization of opportunity and the affording of assistance and guidance to the individual in taking advantage of opportunity.

It can be solved only as attitudes and concepts are changed.

The solution must be reached on a cooperative basis and through democratic social processes.

It is peculiarly a local and a personal problem.

It is your problem and mine.

For additional copies of this memorandum write:

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

5¢ a copy

Quantity rates on request

Police action
Fla

May 15, 1945

Miss Mary A. Willcox
63 Oakwood Road
Newtonville 60, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Willcox:

Thanks for your letter about the Fort Lauderdale situation. We have been making some observations in Florida, and our representative in Florida recently talked to a committee which came down there to investigate. I believe the committee was from the Federal Council of Churches.

There seems to be little doubt that there is a widespread abuse of police power in the administration of the vagrancy laws in Florida. It isn't just a racial matter either, as we know of cases in which white people have been treated the same way as Negroes. After we have gathered sufficient information, we may be in a position to take some action. One or two damage suits, together with criminal action, might help to clean up the situation.

It would do no harm to write to Senator Pepper, and it might do some good. Certainly he is an honest political leader, and will be inclined to do whatever he can to clean up the abuses of police power.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

63 Oakwood Road, Newtonville 60, Mass.
May 11, 1945.

Dr Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council:

Dear Dr Johnson,

From the Workers Defense League I have received an account of arrest and fining, without trial of Negroes charged with vagrancy at and near Fort Lauderdale, Florida. It is stated by the League that some, at least were regularly employed and were on their way home or were on their way off from their jobs.

You are doubtless familiar with the situation and I am writing not to inform you but to ask whether any action by a Northerner is likely to be helpful.

I contribute to the League and to the American Civil Liberties Union and I have written to both of them. Senator Pepper comes up for election in the fall and may therefore be unwilling to act; otherwise I should write him.

I know how busy you are but just a word on a post card - "No action advised" or "Write P." would help me very much.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Willcox

Orfs - Negroes

June 1, 1945

Dr. Kelley Barnett
The Baptist Church
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Barnett:

Thank you for your letter of May 31. I am glad that you like the article by Dr. Alexander. Under separate cover we are sending you 50 copies of the reprint.

I am about to get off on a trip to Texas and can not give you as much help as I would like to with regard to the sources of information on Negroes in North Carolina. Here are a few brief suggestions:

(1) Consult Charles S. Johnson's Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties.

(2) Get in touch with Mr. John R. Larkins of the State Department of Public Welfare, Raleigh. He has published a factual survey of Negroes in North Carolina.

(3) Dr. N. C. Newbold, Director of Negro Education, has a good deal of material on educational problems.

I hope that these suggestions will be of some little help. Of course, people at the University such as Rupert Vance, Gordon Blackwell, and Anna Green Smith will have a good deal of information on hand, and I am sure they would be glad to help put you in touch with sources that you have not already consulted.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover
50 reprints - Alexander
✓ m

The Baptist Church
At
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

DAS KELLEY BARNETT
MINISTER

May 31, 1945.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

This morning I received a copy of Dr. Alexander's article, "Our Conflicting Racial Policies." Permit me to commend you for securing re-prints of this article, and request that you send me fifty copies of this re-print.

I have been asked by Dick Howerton of the Baptist Student Union of North Carolina to give a series of four lectures on "The Negro in North Carolina," to a selected group of fifty student leaders. These addresses are to be delivered the last week in August. These students wish to know: first, the facts about the Negro in North Carolina; second, the relationship of these facts to the Christian interpretation of race and to the Christian conscience; third, what can be done now by them.

These lectures are to be published in pamphlet form by the student organization.

I would appreciate very much if you would indicate to me certain sources of information you consider pertinent to these lectures.

Sincerely,

Kelley Barnett

Kelley Barnett.

B/d

Stat. Atlas So. Counties
John R. Larkins
N.C. Newspaper

(Reviewed by Guy B. Johnson for Atlanta Journal)
June 22, 1945

26 - Negro in Amer.

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY, by W. E. Burghardt DuBois (Harcourt, Brace, and Company), $2.00.

This little book by Dr. DuBois, who was until recently head of the Department of Sociology at Atlanta University and who is now Director of Special Research for the N.A.A.C.P., is a ringing challenge to the architects of the postwar world.

"Henceforth," says the author, "the majority of the inhabitants of earth, who happen for the most part to be colored, must be regarded as having the right and the capacity to share in human progress and to become copartners in that democracy which alone can ensure peace among men, by the abolition of poverty, the education of the masses, protection from disease, and the scientific treatment of crime."

In clear and dynamic style the author discusses Dumbarton Oaks, the various colonies of colored people and their exploitation by the dominant powers, the role of Russia in the postwar world, and the need for a new morality in the relations of the major powers to the colonial peoples.

The problem of color may well be the greatest test of democracy and the key to lasting peace. "Democracy has failed, " says DuBois, "because so many fear it. They believe that wealth and happiness are so limited that a world full of intelligent, healthy, and free people is impossible, if not undesirable."

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

In studying this problem our thinking has led us to question whether it is THE NEGRO PROBLEM or THE WHITE PROBLEM. We do not propose to solve this problem in this report, but we are presenting facts for your consideration in the hope that you may be enlightened and more keenly realize what your part is in working toward the ultimate solution.

COMMITTEE: George Faison, Chairman
Margaret Vedder, Secretary
Helen Troutman
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Margie Payne
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Sociology 1
Annie Laurie McDonald, Teacher
January 1946

Summarized in April New South

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

In studying this problem our thinking has led us to question whether it is the Negro problem or the White problem. We do not propose to solve this problem in this report but we are presenting facts for your consideration in the hope that you may be enlightened and more keenly realize what your part is in working toward the ultimate solution.

Allow us to use the suggestion of Dr. Weatherford in his book Negro Life in the South as to why we should study the Negro question. He tells us that it is important that we study this question, because only a thorough knowledge of the situation will enable us to take such steps as will insure our own safety--physical, mental and moral. Whatever affects one race affects the other, whether we want it so or not. Furthermore, there is a need to study this question because of the growing spirit of race antagonism and unrest. There is also need for study of this problem in order that the future advancement of the Negro may be in the right direction. Finally, it is our obligation to study this problem to enable us to help a backward race in its hour of need. Its needs are physical, intellectual, and spiritual.

Recognizing our limitations, we broke down this big problem into different phases in our effort to study various aspects and lead to a clearer and more sympathetic understanding.

First let us briefly review the history of the Negro from the time of his introduction to America. Most people knew practically nothing about the Negroes prior to their enslavement. Europeans and Americans regarded the African people as the lowest of racial groups. The African did not differ much from a Greek or an early Roman, but because he was physically unlike the white man, he was said to be unworthy and his achievements were not recognized.

In the West Indies, because of the sugar cane demand, African slaves were welcomed. Later, these same slaves were brought to America. Slaves of Africa were bought by different corporations and transported to America and other countries. In 1726, Bristol, Liverpool, and London had 171 ships engaged in slave traffic. The slaves had to go for thousands of miles with practically no facilities for transportation. Since it was necessary to walk most of the way, many captives dropped dead from thirst and famine. Those who succeeded in reaching the coast were presented for sale. They were herded together like sheep and cattle in ships. Ventilation was usually inadequate, clothing was limited, water was insufficient, and food was spoiled. Many died before they reached America. When the slave trade was in full swing 30,000 to 100,000 Negroes were brought over every year.

Most of the slaves on the planatations were treated horribly. When they were sick, they were not cared for. Women in pregnancy were more neglected than anyone, and often they were worked too hard to bear healthy children. The Negroes were not sufficiently fed and clothed. This caused them to steal, hunt, and trap at night. If the slaves ran away, they were hunted with dogs, and when found, they were subjected to such torture as pulling out the toe-nails. These conditions, however, differed according to the liberality of the masters.

During the first quarter of the 19th century, the mountaineers of North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee organized antislavery societies. They believed that the institution of slavery was an evil which the country should abolish. The Underground Railway, the lines which led through Kentucky into Ohio, Indiana, ana Illinois, and connected the Great Lakes helped fugitives escape into Canada.

From 1820 to 1860 the country was faced with the long and bitter controversy concerning slavery and its extention. Solutions to the

controversy were sought in the Missouri Compromise, the Annexation of Texas, Kansas Nebraska Bill, and the Dred Scott Decision. As a final result, there was a Civil War in which 600,000 men were killed, a great national debt was piled up, and there was great property loss.

The Emancipation Proclamation, a war measure setting free all slaves within territories loyal to the Confederacy, was issued on January 1,1863. This was exceedingly dangerous, for now four million slaves, mostly illiterate, were on their own seeking security. Yet there were no outbreaks nor attempts for revenge. Since the emancipation of the Negro, many authorities have said that no other race in history ever made such great progress. Before the Emancipation Proclamation, the Negroes weren't allowed to be educated. When their freedom came, the old and young were eager to learn and within five years 200,000 former slaves were enrolled in schools.

In the North, Negroes temporarily enjoyed privileges denied them in the South. In Ohio, in 1917, white laborers started riots trying to get rid of Negro laborers. Although the white people were the cause of the riot the Negroes received more severe punishment than the whites.

These outbreaks indicated a definite trend toward a growing tension and antagonism between the White and Negro laboring classes which has continued with growing intensity to the present day.

Through the years of struggle and slow progress, a definite culture has grown up around the Negro race and certain trends are evident. Let us look particularly at the educational status and religious achievements of the Negro.

About seventy-five percent of the 13,000,000 American Negroes live in the South. From the slums of this section come most of the students

who attend Negro colleges of the South--the raw material of Negro leadership. However, because of economic reasons only a few are able to go. Forty-one percent of the Negroes of the country have had less than fifth grade education; the median school years completed by Negroes is 5.7. The percentage of Negroes completing four years of high school is 4.1; the percentage completing four years of college is 1.2.

Note the wide differences between expenditures for White and Negro pupils in the South. In 1935-36, ten Southern states spent $17.04 per Negro pupil against $49.30 per White pupil. The average salary of a Negro school teacher in Georgia is under $300 a year, in Mississippi less; but in North Carolina both Negro and White teachers receive equal pay.

In 1940 there were eighty-five institutions for Negroes offering four years of college work, thirty-three publicly owned and fifty-two privately owned. Amoung the well known private Negro colleges are Spelman, Hampton, Tuskegee, Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta.

In Atlanta, seven institutions of higher learning have formed a co-operative plan of education. The campuses are close together and this affords the common use of physical assets and equipment, exchange of professors, attendance of students from one college at courses given in another, and use of the Atlanta University Library. Several of these colleges were founded by church groups, but Spelman College was started by two New England women. Later, funds for it were dramatically provided by John D. Rockefeller the night before foreclosure was due, as a result of a talk by one of the women. The college was named in honor of Mrs. Rockefeller's mother.

All the Atlanta colleges are today Class A. However, when they were established, Negroes were wholly uneducated and, whether founded as "universities" or "seminaries," they taught the A. B. C's reading,

writing, and arithmetic, It was not until they had taught primary and secondary school subjects over a perior of years that there was even a field in which a Negro college could function. The determination and eagerness of Negroes to become scholars was not wanting, but preparation was necessary. Today these colleges are regular colleges and they produce graduates who become leaders in many fields.

There is a far greater seriousness and intensity of purpose on the Negro campuses than you find on White ones. Most of the Negro students have got to college by hard and beset paths and nearly all of them are there as a result of sacrificial efforts of their own and of their families in a craving for knowledge. They are still the pioneers, pledged to storm the frontiers of knowledge for those who come after them. They have an almost religious conviction that they must not fail, because of the tremendous stakes involved. A president of one of the colleges states, "However learned a man becomes, his destiny is tied up with the great mass of Negroes who must do the ordinary work of the world. There must be no wide gulf between the educated and uneducated. The college is not training men for special privilege, but for honest, sincere work." Another says, "By Negro leadership we mean devoted, helpful, paintaking service to the Negro race. We mean the passing on to our people through educated Negroes of practical knowledge, and of the ideals and ideas which were brought to us through men who long ago came to head our Negro colleges-- men who were the altruistic pick of the white race. There never before was such a deliberately planned conscious effort on a big scale to prepare men and women to help others as was this Negro educational movement that began at the end of the Civil War. We see today the fruit it bore in every bit of progress which the Negro has made. I think of it in terms of Negroes I know--schoolteachers, lawyers, etc."

Every white American who believes in the politically equalitarian

democracy which he preaches and which his Constitution proclaims is deeply troubled in his social conscience over our failure to resolve democratically the so-called Negro problem. Because it is an emotional problem, there is an inclination to "leave it to the future". But the future needs tools to work with, and one tool of great importance to it is an educated citizenry, Negro and White.

Before the emancipation, the education of the Negroes was prohibited in many states and little attention was paid to it anywhere. So, when set free in 1865, 90% of the Negroes were illiterate. Schools were begun immediately and Negroes showed great eagerness to learn. Within five years 200,000 former slaves were enrolled in schools. Then public schools were established and illiteracy amoung Negroes has steadily declined.

The first college for Negroes was established by Presbyterians in Pennsylvania in 1854. Many other religious groups followed in their footsteps. There are now 109 Negro colleges with 45,000 students. Also 2,500 Negroes students are enrolled in other colleges. About 5,000 are awarded degrees each year. Two hundred Negroes have won Ph D. degrees and about the same number have been elected to Phi Beta Kappa. The number of Negro college graduates increases each year.

What do the laws of the Southern states say with regards to public school facilities for Negroes? "They shall be separate but equal." To what extent are these laws carried out? How do the Negro schools of your state and community compare with the White schools: In buildings and grounds? Equipment? Length of school term? Salaries of teachers? Consolidation? Transportation of pupils? Expenditures per child? Statistics vividly show us that there is no comparison.

In 1936 Negro churches reported a membership of 5,660,619 in 38,303 churches. The Sunday Schools enrolled 2,424,800 and the churches have been active in mission work.

George S. Merriam, author of The Negro and the Nation tells us of the Negro's religion, "Perhaps its most eloquent expression to our imagination is those wonderful oldtime melodies, the Negro'spirituals' as they have been made familiar by the singers of the Negro colleges. Their words are mystic, scriptual, grotesque, the melodies have a pathos, a charm and moving power born out of the heart's depths through centuries of sorrow dimly lighted by glimmerings of a divine love and hope. The typical African temperament, the tragedy of bondage, the tenderness and triumph of religion, find voice in those psalms."

European travelers have long marvelled at the imaginative singing and distinctive dances of the slave. Burnt-cork Negro Ministrels can hardly be credited with singing authentic Negro folk songs. Many collections have been made of these real folk songs.

The spirituals are considered the best loved of Negro music and folk literature and as a cultural gift to American. In origin they represent both Africa and Europe. Critics consider Negro spirituals far superior to the best white compositions. Carl Engles calls Negro spirituals amazingly profound and beautiful. In addition to the spirituals, the Negro has contributed the Blues and Negro work songs. These are so familiar it is not necessary to give examples.

There are many outstanding names in connection with cultural contributions of Negroes to America.

Negro folklore such as "Brer Rabbit" and Uncle Remus stories have become popularised and beloved by all.

In the line of music besides the religious songs the Negro has given us ragtime, jazz, blues, and swing. Many popular songs were composed by Negroes--W. C. Handy, "St. Louis Blues", Bennie Benjeman, "When the Lights Go On Again", and J. C. Johnson, "A Yankee Doodle Dan". Some of the more popular Negro bands are conducted by Count Basie, Duke Ellington, and Cab Calloway. Negro song groups that have become well known are the Mills Brothers, Hall Johnson Choir, Golden Gate Quartet, and the Four Ink Spots.

The Negro has proved his creative ability in literature with the contribution of such people as Phillis Wheatley, first important American Negro poet, George Moses Horton, janitor at University of North Carolina, Paul Laurence Dunbar, W. C. B. DuBios, Joseph Cotter- all poets. Outstanding writers of fiction have been Charles W. Chestnutt, whose stories appeared in such magazines as "Atlantic Monthly", Richard Wricht, Walter White, Claude McKay, and Langston Hughes, and Booker T. Washington.

In the movies we have seen excellent contributions by Paul Robeson, Hattie McDaniel, the Mammy in "Gone With the Wind", and Eddie Anderson, known as "Rochester".

Names such as Henry O. Tanner, Jacob Lawrence, and Hale Woodruff strike an appreciative note among painters.

Other outstanding Negroes who might be mentioned in connection with cultural achievements and contributions are Matthew Henson, who accompanied Peary to the North Pole, Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, the first American surgeon to operate successfully on the human heart, and George Washington Carver, the great agricultural chemist.

Among these many outstanding Negro leaders just mentioned we present for your special consideration three who have attained special recognition in the eyes of the American public.

From the Dictionary of American Biography let us view first the life of Booker T. Washington, who was a Negro educational leader, born in Franklin County, Va. His family lived in a one-room cabin with a fire place and "potato-hole", but without a wooden floor or glass windows. He never remembered having slept in a bed until after the Emancipation Proclamation. He tells us that their food was "a peice of bread here and a scrap of meat there". Yet, despite the hard conditions, there was on the plantation considerable mutual affection on the part of slaves and master.

Soon after emancipation they moved to Malden, near Charleston, W. Va. Here his mother secured Webster's Blueblack Spelling Book, and Booker soon mastered the alphabet, though, he said, "at that time there was not a single member of my race anywhere near us who could read".

An important incident of these early days was his overhearing two miners talking about a school for colored people, Hampton Institute. In 1872, at the age of seventeen, he set out for Hampton, about 500 miles distant, with a few dollars and a cheap satchel containing all his belongings. He spent three years at Hampton, his tuition being paid by a Northern friend of Gen. Samuel C. Armstrong, the principal; his board and other expenses he earned as janitor. "Life at Hampton was a constant revelation.... the matter of having meals at regular hours, of eating on a tablecloth, using a napkin, the use of the bathtub and of the toothbrush, as well as the use of sheets upon the bed" were new things in his life and above all, his "greatest benefit" was contact with General Armstrong. He learned the trade of brick-mason and graduated in 1875.

In May, 1881 General Armstrong received a letter from George W. Campbell, a banker, merchant, and former slave-holder, and Lewis Adams, a mechanic and ex-slave, both of Tuskegee, Ala, asking for some one to start there a Negro normal school. Booker Washington was chosen to fill

this position. It opened with forty students "in a dilapidated shanty near the coloured Methodist Church, with the church itself as a sort of assembly-room". He taught the students the dignity of efficient labor, and to live on the farm off the farm. Teaching, speaking, and traveling in the interest of Tuskegee, he made possible the continued success and growth of this institution.

His views were opposed by the Negro "intellectuals" who felt he did not sufficiently emphasize political rights, and that his stress on industrial education might result in keeping the Negro in virtual bondage. He was more interested in making his race worthy of the francise, which he himself always exercised without difficulty, than in agitating for it in ways which might inflame public opinion. His own custom was consistent. In the North and in Europe he accepted dinner invitations from white people when he thought they would advance the interests of Tuskegee of of the Negro race, but he was extremely modest regarding all the honors shown him by royalty abroad and by leading Americans. Two tributes from North and South are sufficent. Theodore Roosevelt said: "As nearly as any man I have ever met, Booker T. Washington lived up to Micah's verse, 'What more doth the Lord require of thee than to do Justice, and love Mercy and walk humbly with thy God'". And Henry Watterson wrote: "No man, since the war of sections, has exercised such beneficent influence and done such real good for the country especially to the South".

From the same publication we find the life of Richard Wright. He is an American novelist, born on a plantation near Natchez, Miss., the son of a Negro farm and mill worker and a country school teacher. When he was five, the father deserted the family. The child was shipped around to various relatives, all poor and hard-working Negroes, who could do nothing with him because of his unruliness. At fifteen he left home and went to Memphis, where he made his way by various unskilled jobs. Finally he be-

came a clerk in the postoffice.

Through the reading of H. L. Menckens' Book of Prefaced, which became his litetary Bible for several years, he determined to become a writer. For several years he attained a place on the Federal Writer's Project. In 1937 he went to New York and wrote the Guide to Harlem. In 1938 he won the $500 prize offered by Story for the best story written by a worker on the Writer's Project, with the novelette Uncle Tom's Children.

In eight months, in Brooklyn, Wright wrote Native Son, which was a Book-of-the-Month Club choice and a best seller. Wright was chosen by the Schomburg Collection poll as one of the "twelve distinguished Negroes" of 1939, and in 1940 he received the Spingarn Medal, highest award for achievement in the field of Negro interests, for his "powerful description... of the effect of proscription, segregation, and denial of opportunity to the American Negro." In accepting the Spingarn Medal, Wright issued the following statement from his home in Brooklyn: "It is with a deep sense of responsibility that I accept the Spingarn Medal. I accept it in the name of the stalwart, enduring millions of Negroes whose fate and destiny I have sought to depict in terms of scene and narrative in imaginative fiction. It cannot be otherwise, for they are my people and my writing-which is my life and which carries my convictions-attempts to mirror their struggles for freedon during these troubled days."

From Current Biography 1940 we get a glimpse of the life of George Washington Carver, who was an agricultural chemist, director of the Research and Experiment Station, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Carver's contributions to the field of agricultural chemistry have gained for him such names as the "Wizard of Tuskegee", the "Negro Burbank", "Goober Wizard", "Cloumbus of the Soil", and have heartely expanded the agricultural economy of the entire South. Salad oil, an oil remedy for

infantile paralysis; dyes of 19 different shades from peanuts; stains and face powder from clays; flour and shoe blacking from sweet potatoes; paving blocks from cotton; dyes from dandelions, tomato vines and trees -- these are among his contributions known and used throughout the world.

Through the Carvers were interested in George's getting an education, they could not afford to help him. So at the age of ten he left their home and found a school eight miles away which he attended two years, supporting himself by doing odd jobs. When he learned all that his school had to teach him, he moved on to Minneapolis, Kansas, where he completed high school. He then began to earn money for college, doing fine laundry work, knitting, talking, embroidery and odd jobs. For three years he attended Simpson College, earning his tuition by working in the college laundry. After he was graduated, he entered Iowa State College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts. At the end of five years he held two degrees from Iowa State College -- a Bachelor of Science degree and a Master of Science degree. It was at Iowa State that Booker T. Washington discovered him and asked him to join the staff of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Whatever service Dr. Carver gave, he gave freely. He sought no patent on the peanut oil that has proved so effective in many paralysis cases. His peanut oil therapy he has turned over to the medical profession. When peanut growers sent him a check for eradicating a disease of the plant he returned it.

The George Washington Carver Foundation, to perpetuate research in agricultural chemistry, was established at Tuskegee in February 1940 through the donation by Dr, Carver of $30,000, his life savings, much depleted by a bank failure.

Dr. Carver explained the amount of work he was able to do by saying; "I have made it a rule to get up every morning at four. I go into the

woods and there I gather specimens and study the great lessons that Nature is eager to teach us. Alone in the woods each morning I best hear and understand God's plan for me."

Not only have individuals proved themselves, but groups have exhibited their ambitions and efforts at improving their race by establishing various business enterprises.

Since the passing of the 14th Admendment to the Constitution in 1868 there has been an increasing number of business enterprises engaged in and directed by Negroes. Among the first of the large scale enterprises started and operated by the Negroes were banks and insurance companies. The first Negro bank was organized in Washington in 1888. This was the Capitol Savings Bank. A few years later there came into being the True Reformer Bank of Richmond and the Mutual Bank and Trust Co. of Chattanooga. In 1912 there was established the first Negro life insurance company which met the legal requirements of having sufficient reserves. This company was the Standard Life Insureance Company of Atlanta which had a capital stock of $100,000.

In Durham, N. C. is located the largest business enterprise which is completely owned and operated by Negroes. This business concern is the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. A modern six-story building houses the sixty million dollar business. This insurance company was organized by M. Merrick, a colored barber, Dr. A. M. Moore, a colored doctor and C. Spaulding, who was a "ten-dollar a month" dishwasher. This business enterprise stands out as an example of the capabilities of the Negro race to successfully manage and conduct a growing and progressive business.

The company employs around seven hundred agents. There are some three hundred seventy five thousand policies in force and securities on hand to the total of one million dollars in government bonds alone. The total assets

of the company has been estimated to be in excess of sixty million dollars. The home office building includes a bank, a modern medical clinic, a complete research library, a model cafeteria and a complete printing establishment.

Mr. C. Spaulding attributes the success of this business venture to the policy of this company which attempts to serve in the capacity of advisors to the people of his race in the matter of personal savings and investments. He says that one of the primary needs for the economic security of the Negro is the need of someone to trust in matters pertaining to advice in financial deals and investments.

There are many other fields in which the Negroes have proved themselves to be capable business managers. There are the Negro merchants, beauty parlors, morticians, educators, actors, musicians and professional groups. These all tend to prove that it is not a lack of talent or capabilities which has retarded the economic growth of the Negro race but that there has been a conspicious absence of any opportunity given to them.

As a climax to the study of this problem the committe arranged an interview with some Negores so that we might become aware of the reality of our problem, and in hopes that a first hand experience with the contemporary Negro might vividly furnish us with further insight into our problem.

Throughout our report up to this time we have presented the various facts and factors of the Negro Problem as gleaned from articles and reports made by representatives of the white race. They have tried by statistics and research to determine this problem and supply a remedy. Now let us view the situation from the other standpoint--that of the Negroes themselves. What are the first hand facts and opinions as revealed by

conferring with a group representative of the contemporary American Negro? A group of Negroes, made up of a public schoolprincipal, who represents the deliberative and thinking group, a home economics teacher, representattive of the group destined to guidance, and two Negro pupils who stand forth as future hopes, give to us what we might term a true cross section of the Negro race.

From the outset of the conference it was evident that we would not obtain from the discussion any boldly new or strikingly simply solution to the racial problem, but there was made possible a better understanding of the problem thru the meeting together and exchange of views on the man-to-man basis. This exchange of ideas was made not on the basis of patronage, in which the white students asked the Negro "What do you desire us to give you" nor on the basis of the Negro group saying "We demand," but on the simple ground of "Come let us reason together."

The approach to the problem was outlined as may be any problem dealing with human nature and interest, under the two headings, "What do people (any minority group) want? and what do they need?" Through the ensuing discussion we learned many of the wants or desires of the Negroes as a race of people. Among these were; an equal opportunity to earn a livelyhood, which of course redounds to an apalling need for better educational facilities, with a great stress being placed on nutrition, hygiene, home-making and vocational training; secondly; equality before the law which would eleminate the legal discriminations against a Negro; thirdly, equality of opportunity for employment which would mean the discriminations against the negro; and fourthly equality of purchasing power which would enable the Negro dollar to purchase an amount equal to that which the whites might obtain for the same sum. Finally, the desire of the Negro race which summarizes all the above mentioned desires is that of economic security. This desire for economic security is not novice to one's think ng: it is a product of human nature: it is a strong moti-

vating force in the pursuit of any life. Are we then so surprised to find a human being with only a difference of skin texture having a motivating desire which approximates our own?

In this discussion of the wants of the Negro race, the Negro participants in the conference strongly emphasised that in their desire for a various equalities, the desire for social equality was not included. As a race the Negroes do not desire intermaritial practices nor social access to the homes of the white race. In the exact words of one Negro participant, "We hold our race sacred," we find a forceful contradition to the present day "scare" that the ultimate outcome of any concessions to the Negro will be intermingling and absorption through racial intermarriage. It is egotistical assumption and lack of understanding for us to assume that the aetherial Utopia for the Negro race might be botained by permitting them to lose their sacred racial charactistics and culture by the process of being absorbed into another race. The Negro race seeks not social equality but an economic equality which would give to them an ample opportunity to better themselves through their own efforts and talents, and equality that will give to them the opportunity to develop their own racial culture and characteristics.

The second phase of the panel discussion with the Negro group revolved around the question as to what the Negro needs. The primary needs pointed out were; a need for tolerance, development of good sportmanship, and additional educational facilities. The matter of tolerance provoked considerable discussion and thought. To a thinking person the dire need of this tolerance is evident. We realize that the Negro race cannot be changed by the push of a button or the issuing of a proclamation but that it will be by a slow and tedious process. Each time a progressive step is made, unless there is a spirit of

tolerance and good will exhibted by members of both races, there is the danger of losing this progress or even more drastically resulting in the tearing down of much of the previous structure through reaction, doubt, and ungrounded fears. Along with this tolerance which is so necessary in making a step toward a solution to the Negro Problem is a need for good sportsmanship. By this we inculcate that neither group carry the proverbial "chip" on their shoulders by exhibiting an over-sensitiveness. Let the Negro be conscious of the inward reaction of the whites to this change from that which they have been so accustomed, and let the whites be ever mindful of the tedious toil and struggle within the Negro to avail himself and prepare himself for the brightening horizons. The third and greatest need of the Negro Race is for better educational facilities.

It is true that in North Carolina and some few other southern states considerable progress has been made in the past decade. In this state we pride ourselves on the fact that in North Carolina there are more institutions for the higher learning of Negroes than in any other state in the United States but at the same time we must be cognizant of the fact that in the field of lower education there are apalling conditions which demand a remedy if adequate educational facilities are to be provided for the Negroes. The full importance of this matter of educational opportunities for the Negro race is vividly set forth for us in a statement contained in a bulletin published by the N. C. State Board of Charities and Public Welfare which says in part "the training and education of the individual may well determine the employment opportunities that are available to him, and the type of job that he is able to secure will determine his income, the income then in turn profoundly affects the standard of living and the health status he is able to maintain." Even though this may appear to us as a vicious circle it clearly illustrates to us how intricately interwoven is the pursuit of education and the general welfare of the Negro. It might then appear easy for us to say that formal education is the solution to the

problem. Educate all the Negroes and the problem is solved--but the solution is not just that simple. True, education is destined to play the major role in bringing about a solution to the problem, but unless there comes along with this educationg process an economic society which is conducive to the exercising of equal human rights and opportunities for all races, there will only loom more conflict for us upon the horizon even though it might be on a higher intellectual level.

There are many organized boards and committees that are working on this vital problem, searching diligently for means or methods or modes of improving the situation. We ought at least be familiar with the names of some of these organizations and their types of work. This information may be secured upon request.

Dr. Weatherford says the real point of the race question is not, shall we have social intermingling-but shall we recognize that the other man has a soul, is a real human personality.

It seems pertinent that we realize that this is our problem and that we, as individuals do all we can to treat the Negro decently, to further improvements for him, and to bring about harmony between the races instead of unfair discrimination.

Will you not agree that each one of us has a definite personal part to play in the work toward the solution of this acute and vital problem?

THE COMMITTEE:
George Faison-Chairman
Margaret Vedder-Secretary
Helen Troutman
Nell Barkley
Margie Payne
Faye Johnson
Louise Martin

The bibliography attached is a list which offers suggestions for further study of the question.

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Saturday Evening Post, April 14,1945

Southern Reginnal Council, Inc. - Understanding Our Neighbors

Weatherford, W.D. Negro Life in the South N.Y. Associated Press 1915

Woodson, C.G. The Negro In Our History Wash. D.C. Assoc. Pub., Inc. 1922

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Stay in the South, Negro Editor Advises

Alonzo B. Willis, Jr., replying to Harlem Congressman, declares that the South can get along without the negro far easier than the negro can get along without the South.

EDITOR'S NOTE—Recently the negro Congressman from Harlem, A. Clayton Powell, proposed that Southern negroes start a wholesale migration to Northern States. The article below is a reply to Congressman Powell, written by Alonzo B. Willis, negro editor of *The Negro South,* published at New Orleans, La. It was inserted in *The Congressional Record* last week by Senator John N. Overton of Louisiana, under the title: "Negro Editor Answers Solon's Go North Plea—Solve Your Problems Where You Are, Is Challenge".

THE South can get along without the negro far easier than the negro can get along without the South, Alonzo B. Willis, Jr., editor of the New Orleans-published magazine, *The Negro South,* said in the publication's April issue. Attacking Harlem Congressman A. Clayton Powell's advocacy of an immediate migration to the North, he said, "Don't you know that the South is presently by far the richer in opportunity for the negro? And that sage Booker Washington advised right when he said 'Let down your buckets where you are.'

"It is true that the South has many needs; the negro South has many, many more. That, precisely, is where the opportunity begins: acceptance of the challenge to meet these needs. Don't you know, Congressman Powell, that the negro must solve his own problems with his own initiative? That he can't escape his problems by running away? The South is not so poor, or wouldn't be if one-third of its population, the negro, wasn't a liability in many ways. Southerners are the same people as the Northerners, coming over here from the same oppressed European countries. Transport negroes *en masse* to the North and you'll see pretty quick their common stripe."

SPEAKING editorially, the negro editor questioned the Congressman's seriousness in "trying to coddle the negro into thinking that blissful security awaits him beyond the Mason and Dixon line, where he can pose . . . dapper and superiorly indifferent to the industry, the pioneering, the blood, the sweat, the sleepless nights, the brain, the skill, the initiative and toil that make the wheels of Southern industry and agriculture turn—that make America the richest and most productive country in the world."

Editor Willis condoned good negro musicians, potential Joe Louises, or writing Richard Wrights going to the North to make money.

"But if the negro presently in the South (with his average third-grade intelligence) has got those special talents, then he'd do well to stick around . . . where he can laze away in a solacing Southern sun if he doesn't want to work", says the editor. "Where he can ever merely exist (but never progress) if he's unwilling to think, to plan, to work and sacrifice in order to achieve his ambitions, for himself—on his own merit and by his own skill; where he can still feed on good Southern hospitality, even though he continues his shiftlessness and irresponsibility.

"The Southern white man will put up with the negro because after all these years he knows him, is patient with him, likes him. (In queer ways that run the gamut from tenderness to violence.) But he'll feed him some crumbs, call him 'boy', and occasionally lynch him, as any negro employer of negroes is himself tempted to do. Incidentally, more negroes killed negroes in New Orleans since Christmas than were lynched in the entire South in the past decade. Why not work on that a little?"

The Constitution has guaranteed most freedoms to the negro for nearly a hundred years, he pointed out, and current passing of anti-poll tax, anti-lynch and similar bills "is no panacea for all the ills that the negro is heir to. Legislation won't solve the race problem".

MOST negroes who have gone North recently "are those who lack initiative, ability, and willingness to work and save and own, which disparity has made them the cast-offs of the South", he said.

He pointed out that "many of the 10,000,000 negroes down here own part of this economy, are in truth a substantial part of it and consequently are so respected. In New Orleans alone there are more than ten negro-owned insurance companies, domiciled for the most part in negro-owned brick buildings, some with a million dollars worth of assets. Here also are 500 negro-owned cabs, operating 100,000 passenger-paying miles per day."

Many Southern negroes "who are working and progressing and accomplishing, slowly perhaps, but surely" prefer to "take their chances" in the South rather than seek Congressman Powell's Harlem "with all of its dandies and petty pickpockets, its vote-baiting politicians, and Communist propagandists."

Editor Willis said: "And finally, we don't want to be white. We think the negro generally should quit trying to force himself on white man's society. The very act of throwing yourself on another is a confession of inferiority." He quoted Booker Washington's statement, "Merit, no matter under what skin found, will in the long run be recognized and rewarded."

He urged negro women to work, and questioned: Where have industry and ambition and plain womenly decency gone? Disinterested in school, unable to marry, they seem to have resolved on prostitution before they'll

hit a lick. All during the busy war years, by the thousands, one could see both young and old sitting heavily and cheerily on their rickety, dirty front porches at ten o'clock in the morning fanning their faces.

"In conclusion," said Editor Willis, "we know that there are deep and sinister reasons for many of these shortcomings. Originally a great race with a wonderful heritage and many virtues, we have been sold a little short somewhere down the line, many times by our own leaders. Our greatest present needs, other than economic, are health and educational ones. The South realizes this and, in fairness, is presently essaying to do something about both. Our educational systems must be directed away from the formal, the classic, and the fictitious, toward the productive, the creative, and the actual. Agriculture and industry, buying and selling, manufacturing and marketing the great resources of the South and the nation—the backbone and substance of any economy—must slant and dominate the educational curricula and pattern of our high schools, colleges, and universities. We must, in fact, be part and parcel of a nation's production to be indispensable."

And in closing, Editor Willis advised: "Stay in the South, young man, and work. Because at any time, as you've done many times before, you may have to send your Northern brother a one-way ticket home."

The Myth of the "Southern Liberal"

An Editorial from the Savannah (Ga.) Morning News

WHO and what is a "Southern liberal"? This newspaper for many months has endeavored to fathom the mystery, and we have about come to the conclusion that a "Southern liberal" is a Southerner hiding behind Yankee whiskers!

We hate to use the word "Yankee" in such a connection because we do not happen to be the type of Southern journal that holds the term "Yankee" in anathema coupled with the belief that it should be applied in compound fashion!

Today Southerners are as much American as citizens in any other section of the country, and most of them sincerely subscribe to the philosophy, expressed by Patrick Henry, when he said "I am an American before I am a Virginian." Those who know the ways and habits of Virginians will agree that the fiery little orator made a tremendous concession!

What we mean when we say a "Southern liberal" is a Southerner who hides behind Yankee whiskers, is that most Southerners, who pose as such are no more liberal than the average Southerner in regard to the South's economic and social problems, but who nevertheless would have their friends and admirers in the North believe that they are veritable St. Georges out to slay the dreadful dragon of Injustice.

Consider such alleged "liberals" as Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; Dr. Clarence Nixon of Vanderbilt University; Dr. William G. Carleton of the University of Florida; Ralph McGill, editor of *The Atlanta Constitution;* Wright Bryan, editor of *The Atlanta Journal;* Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia; Virginius Dabney, editor of *The Richmond Times-Dispatch;* Dr. Charles Feidelson, of the editorial staff of *The Birmingham News,* and Bryan Collier, editor of *The Columbus (Ga.) Ledger*—to name a few.

Generally speaking these gentlemen in some mysterious way have created the impression among the inhabitants north of the Mason and Dixon Line that they are "courageously liberal" in their attitudes toward political and economic conditions in the South, with particular reference to the race question.

And yet each one of them, as far as this newspaper has been able to discover, has advanced no intrinsically novel idea regarding the improvement of "conditions" in the Southland.

A large majority of thoughtful Southern citizens desire to see justice done in behalf of the negro. They want the colored citizens of this region to have better schools, better health and better opportunities to win their livelihoods. They also want these things for the white people of the South, recognizing that the Southern States unquestionably have a long way to go before conditions relating to health, education and job opportunities are what they should be in behalf of both races.

On the other hand the above-mentioned "liberals" are on record as maintaining the principle of segregation. They have publicly opposed in their writings and on the hustings the nefarious FEPC. And, some of them, notably Governor Arnall of Georgia, have, in their time, come out openly and with considerable vigor for a movement designed to lend legality in the South to the "white primary"!

A striking aspect of the business of applying the term "liberal" to these Southerners—and to some others within the borders of our Southland—is that their Northern admirers who use the term, appear to be entirely oblivious of the fact that "economic and social conditions" in their own part of the country are in dire need of "improvement," and they seem to be blind to the truth that in all Northern urban centers the principle of segregation is practiced with the utmost vigor.

The conspicuous difference between the segregation methods practiced in the North and the South is that in the North it is done under cover and by subterfuge while below the Potomac is carried out openly, and is given the color of legality!

Under the circumstances, all things considered, we believe that if our bright "Southern liberals" were roped and tied and their Yankee whiskers shaved off, they would be merely Southerners like the rest of us!

July 12, 1946

Mrs. H. T. Eaves
912 N. Second St.
DeSota, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Eaves:

Under separate cover we are sending you the literature you requested. We are sorry that we do not have any large pictures of Negroes suitable for display. There are a few small ones in the pamphlet America's Tenth Man.

However, the following associations and agencies might be able to supply you with pictures:
The Armstrong Association, 1434 Lombard St. Phila. Pa.
The Associated Negro Press, 3507 South Parkway,
Chicago, Illinois
The Secretary of Howard University, Washington, D. C.
The Harmon Foundation 140 Nassau St., New York City
The Council Against Intolerance, 17 E. 42nd St.
New York City. Photographic exhibit may be borrowed or purchased.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Charles D. Saxon)

W. J. A. Schubel, Clerk
Hillsboro, Mo.

Frank Dietrich, Treasurer
De Soto, Mo.

Dr. S. W. Driggers, Missionary

MISSION BOARD
Pastor John L. Sullivan, Chairman
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Pastor J. E. Williams, Secretary
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Lewis Lucas, Treasurer
Festus, Mo.

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JUL 10 1946
Southern Regional Council

Jefferson County Baptist Association

H. T. Eaves, Moderator
De Soto, Mo.

July 5 1946

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:— Please send to my address your Free factual and story leaflets:
"I Never Knowed" by Margaret Fisher
"Let's Not Forget that We're All Foreigners" - Frank Sinatra
"Unhealthy Roots" - by Mrs. Roberts of Amarillo
"It Seems Queer" " Sgt. Gilmer
"Brothers in Black" - by - Dr. McDowell of Columbia Theological Seminary (Presbyterian)
"Information Please" " R.B. Eleazar.

Also send the following priced pamphlets on life
1. Tenth Man (Rev. 1944) facts about the Negro .10¢
2. Songs of the South - small collection of Spirituals .10¢
3. Understanding Our Neighbors (facts you need) — .10¢
.30¢

Will appreciate an at once reply as I am preparing to teach - March On at "Bates Creek Baptist Camp" last of July, to Inter. G.A's 15-16, the Inter. book "New Day Begun" is not available - Will need a lot of outside material.

Please send pictures of Negros - prominent in South land - colored children - homes if you have any - we want to make a picture show for the Juniors if we can get pictures - They are hard to find. Thanks.

Yours truly - Mrs. H. T. Eaves
912 N. Second St.,
De Soto
Missouri

Jefferson Co.,

WHO IS A NEGRO?

BY HERBERT ASBURY

More than 2,000,000 U.S. Negroes have crossed the color line, contributing, among other things, an ever-widening stream of black blood to the native white stock

AN INVESTIGATOR accosted twenty Negroes, about equally divided among darkskins, brownskins and lightskins, at 126th Street and Seventh Avenue, in New York's Harlem. To each he put two questions:

1. Would you pass as a white man if you could?
2. Do you know of any Negroes who are passing or have passed as white?

Two of the twenty suggested that the investigator mind his own business. They were immediately dismissed as unco-operative. Of the remaining eighteen, all but two knew of Negroes who were living, or had lived, as whites. Eleven said that they would pass if they could. Significantly, however, each emphasized that it would not be because he considered the white man a superior being, but because of the obvious social and economic advantages to be gained. One, a very light-skinned man who resembled a South European more than a Negro, said:

"I pass, myself. Every day from nine to five I'm a white man. I've got a good job downtown; I do the work well, and I've had two raises. But I'd never have been hired if I had said I had Negro blood. When I applied, I gave my race as white and my nationality as Spanish, and neither statement has ever been questioned. I keep a little room in a white part of town, to bolster my story if necessary, but I seldom go there.

"Nearly every night I come home to Harlem because my folks and all of my friends are colored. I am engaged to a girl who has the same amount of Negro blood that I've got, one eighth. Our children will have no more, but if they tell the truth about their ancestry they'll be classed as Negroes. Maybe after I'm married I'll stay over on the white side, so my kids will have a better chance to get somewhere in the world."

Another said:

"What's the matter with white people, anyway? They seem to have no pride of race. One dash of black blood makes a man a Negro, but a dash of white blood won't make a man white. If a person has, say, sixteen times as much white blood as black and wants to live white, his whole life must be one of lies and concealment."

The sociological phenomenon of black becoming white, which is more or less peculiar to the United States, has existed in this country for more than two hundred years, and probably will plague racial purists for another two hundred. The Negro calls it passing, crossing over, crossing the line or going over to the other side; he speaks of a colored person who has passed as a "white Negro." What the white man calls it depends largely upon where he lives; the viewpoint of the Georgian is seldom that of the Vermonter.

The exact number of persons with Negro blood who cross the line each year is unknown, and the surreptitious nature of the process of passing makes it unlikely that accurate statistics can ever be obtained. But the subject has been exhaustively studied, and during the past fifty years a considerable body of information has been amassed from which reliable estimates can be made.

Authorities now generally agree that between 15,000 and 30,000 persons classed as Negroes go over to the white side every year, although a few investigators have placed the annual migration as high as 200,000. And as Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, once said, "Large as is the number who cross the line, it is but a small percentage of those who might follow such an example but who do not."

These estimates are far from being mere guesswork. They are based on careful studies by experts of census reports, immigration records, vital statistics and information from other sources. These studies show very conclusively that approximately 20,000 Negroes disappear every year, and that their absence from the black population cannot be accounted otherwise than by passing.

Two of America's foremost social scientists, Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University and the late Dr. Edward B. Reuter of the University of Iowa and Fisk University, have made extensive examinations of the census records and other data relating to mulattoes. They found an abnormally low ratio of mulatto men to mulatto women especially in the age groups 15-19 and 20-44. For example, the census of 1910 showed an excess of more than 85,000 mulatto females in the age group 20-44, a ratio of 79.9 males to each 100 females. No such careful studies have been made of later censuses, but most sociologists believe that they will show a corresponding excess of females.

Fewer Women Cross the Line

Since there are no biological or other reasons, both Dr. Johnson and Dr. Reuter have attributed the excess of mulatto females to the fact that large numbers of mulatto men, particularly in the age group 20-44, cross the line, or at least have reported themselves to the census takers as white. Their theory is strengthened by the fact that the low ratio of mulatto men to mulatto women is particularly noticeable in the large cities of the North, where passing is easiest.

Another Middle Western investigator, after an extensive survey of census and other records, concluded that in the two decades from 1890 to 1910 the Negro race in this country lost approximately 600,000 persons, an average of about 30,000 a year. Since there has been scarcely any Negro emigration from the United States, he concluded that these 600,000 persons had gone over to the white side. In all investigations in which census reports are used, allowances have been made for the obvious fact that the authenticity of the information depends largely upon the judgment and care exercised by the census enumerator, especially in cases involving the definition of mulatto. For census purposes, a mulatto is a person having one half or less of Negro blood.

In addition to studies of this nature, there has been a great deal of personal investigation of passing, and several extensive surveys have been made by research projects. The results of these indicate that the estimates made by sociologists and anthropologists are correct.

Nearly every survey has reported that few Negro families have been found which didn't know of at least one instance of passing. Some families knew of dozens. And contrary to general belief, Negroes who attempt to pass are seldom exposed by other Negroes. When they are, it is usually because of personal enmity that has followed them across the line; or because having turned white, they try to prove their orthodoxy by turning violently anti-Negro. Walter White says he "could name some men in American public life of this type." The attitude of most Negroes toward passing was thus expressed by Mr. White:

"Negroes naturally resent the loss of some of the brilliant minds which would be an asset to them in their grim struggle for survival. But if any Negro believes he will be happier living as white and thereby escape the barbs and handicaps of prejudices, or if he believes he can use his ability and training to greater advantage on the other side of the racial line, most Negroes wish him well.

"There are, of course, individuals who resent passing, particularly if they themselves are unable to do so. But these individuals are relatively few in number. Most colored Americans do not attempt to interfere with the lives of those who are successfully passing. Fundamentally, most Negroes get a sort of grim pleasure out of white Negroes passing and thus fooling the allegedly superior race."

There are many degrees of passing, of which the most important are permanent passing and what the sociologists call segmental passing. In both, the cause is generally economic, the desire to hold jobs or have careers which are not open to Negroes. Sometimes, however, a person with colored blood will cross the line because of a white marriage or love affair.

But as a rule the opposite is true. Most Negro-white marriages are between Negro men and white women, and usually the wife follows the husband into the colored community. In many instances she claims to be a light-skinned Negro, hoping thereby to overcome the aversion with which the majority of Negroes appear to regard interracial marriage. This is by far the easiest of all forms of passing, even if the woman happens to be a golden blonde. Few whites, or Negroes either, for that matter, can imagine her saying she is a Negro if she isn't.

The light-skinned Negro who passes permanently cuts himself off completely from the colored world; he usually moves to another part of the country where he is unknown and begins an entirely new life. Sometimes he prepares for the adventure by learning Spanish, French, Italian or Portuguese, or by cultivating an accent. He thus becomes a foreigner, and as everyone knows, a foreigner is apt to be any shade of color.

Biographies with Pages Missing

Some Negro authorities say that many Negroes who have passed return to the colored race after varying periods of months or years. In support of this statement they point to the fact that in the lives of a number of prominent Negroes there are gaps which biographers have been unable to fill. Some, of course, do return because they were not as successful as they had hoped to be, because the strain of living white was too great, because they simply didn't like white people en masse, or for other reasons. But no estimate can be made of the number who "come home," as the Negroes say. Probably it is very small.

In segmental passing, the white Negro leads two distinct lives; occupationally he is white, but in his social and family life he is a Negro. It is believed that a great majority of those who cross the line permanently are men; as a rule the economic drive is stronger in men than in women, and it is easier for a man to break with his family and friends. But about as many men as women appear to practice segmental passing.

Many light-skinned Negro girls have obtained good positions as telephone operators, stenographers, typists, clerks, and receptionists by passing as white, and others are to be found behind the counters and desks of the big white department stores of New York, Chicago and other cities. Most of them represented themselves as members of various dark-skinned white groups. "It is amazing," said a Negro leader, "how many girls of Spanish and Portuguese descent you'll find in New York and Chicago." One girl who works in a large New York store said she knew of at least half a dozen others who had similar jobs.

"Two of them are in this store," she said. "We all come down from Harlem together every morning. I've never had any trouble. I've been here a year now, and I've seen no one I knew except one white woman for whom I worked as a maid before I got this job. She came to my counter one day and I waited on her, and she recognized me. She was just as nice as she could be, and later on she wrote a letter to the store saying I had been very courteous and helpful. But of course she didn't give me away.

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PHOTOGRAPH FOR COLLIER'S BY ANTON BRUEHL

The Truth About Henry Kaiser

Continued from page 26

hauling dirt and making cement. Harry Morton is Kaiser's labor adviser and taught Kaiser labor statesmanship so well that he has never had a strike. When the nation's steelworkers took their strike poll, Kaiser's Fontana local didn't even bother to vote. Son Edgar, Clay Bedford, George Havas, chief engineer, Tom Price, engineer, and George Reis, auditor, round out the inner circle.

These are the men who keep the promises Kaiser makes.

An ebullient promise made in 1939 turned out to be Kaiser's first contribution to the war. He promised to produce and supply all of the 6,000,000 barrels of cement for the $42,500,000 Shasta Dam at the head of the Sacramento River. From the fulfillment of this promise rose the legend of the invincible Kaiser men. For when the promise was made there was no mill to make the cement in, and Kaiser had bid to make the cement at $1.19 a barrel, or a half dollar less than the established producers—none of whom dared bid on the entire project alone.

Kaiser also promised to deliver all the aggregates (sand and gravel) which made up 90 per cent of the Shasta Dam's bulk. When he tried to keep this promise Kaiser found he faced bankruptcy because of the railroad freight rate. Kaiser men invented a new method of freight hauling. Over the top of a mountain, across the Sacramento River and across three highways they strung an outdoor conveyor belt, 10 miles long, turned on electric power and started sand and gravel flowing from pits to dam at the rate of 20,000 tons a day.

Then, to keep Kaiser's cement promise, they presented Mr. Kaiser on Christmas Day, 1939, with the world's biggest cement mill. Six months in the building, Permanente's first sack of cement started competitors ripping out obsolescent equipment to meet the lower Kaiser price. The Permanente *tour de force* was one of Kaiser's happiest strokes of business. Operating on an old Kaiser principle of making the contract pay for the equipment, Kaiser had, when he was finished with the Shasta Dam contract, a brand-new cement mill that was largely free and clear of debt. Competitors had urged Kaiser to stay out because the industry was overbuilt and Kaiser's mill would double the capacity in the area. But when Shasta Dam was completed, competitors as well as Kaiser found there was more business than they could handle. America was building bases in the Pacific; there was a shortage of cement.

Kaiser's Permanente cement works became his first defense plant, providing all of the bulk cement for the Pacific. Over the anguished cries of the Navy, prophesying lumped, sticky and unusable cement and ruined ships, Kaiser poured 7,000,000 barrels of cement directly into ship holds sans bags, declaring:

"I guarantee this cement from Permanente to the wheelbarrow in Hawaii." At Pearl Harbor, Kaiser built storage silos. A week after he had filled them brim full of cement the Japanese struck. The Navy had on hand enough cement to start immediate rebuilding.

The cement job, while satisfying, was not a full-sized Kaiser challenge. Fed on the heady stuff of the Grand Coulee and Bonneville Dam conquests, other projects seemed pedestrian. And after Shasta there would be no more dams to build. What could equal in size these epic projects?

War, threatening, posed mammoth tasks.

Kaiser was the first industrialist to declare war. With the Todd Shipyards as partners he undertook in 1940 to build 30 merchant ships for the British, the forerunners of the Liberty ships.

Kaiser then stormed Washington, spouting plans for creating an arsenal of democracy in the West to produce magnesium, airplanes, steel for war. To the men around Roosevelt he was the industrial expression of fighting democracy. They nabbed him.

The last of this series of articles will appear next week.

Who Is a Negro?

Continued from page 12

"One day when she came in I told her I thought one of the floorwalkers was suspicious. So she waited at the counter until he came along, and then she asked me, so he could hear, if I'd had any news of my uncle in Palestine. We had a nice little chat about my Jewish relatives. After she'd gone the floorwalker tried to make a date with me. If everybody were as nice as she is I wouldn't mind being white all the time."

Segmental passing is beset with difficulties, for any person who tries to lead such a double life is necessarily under a considerable strain. In the first place, there is constant danger of recognition and possible exposure, for Negroes, especially light-skinned Negroes, do shop in the white stores and visit white offices. Too, friendships are formed with white fellow workers, and it becomes difficult to avoid social contacts after working hours.

It is probable that a large majority of the Negroes who pass segmentally eventually return and identify themselves completely with the colored race. A great many, however, become emotionally involved with whites and cross the line permanently, while still others continue to pass and to live half their lives as white and half as Negroes.

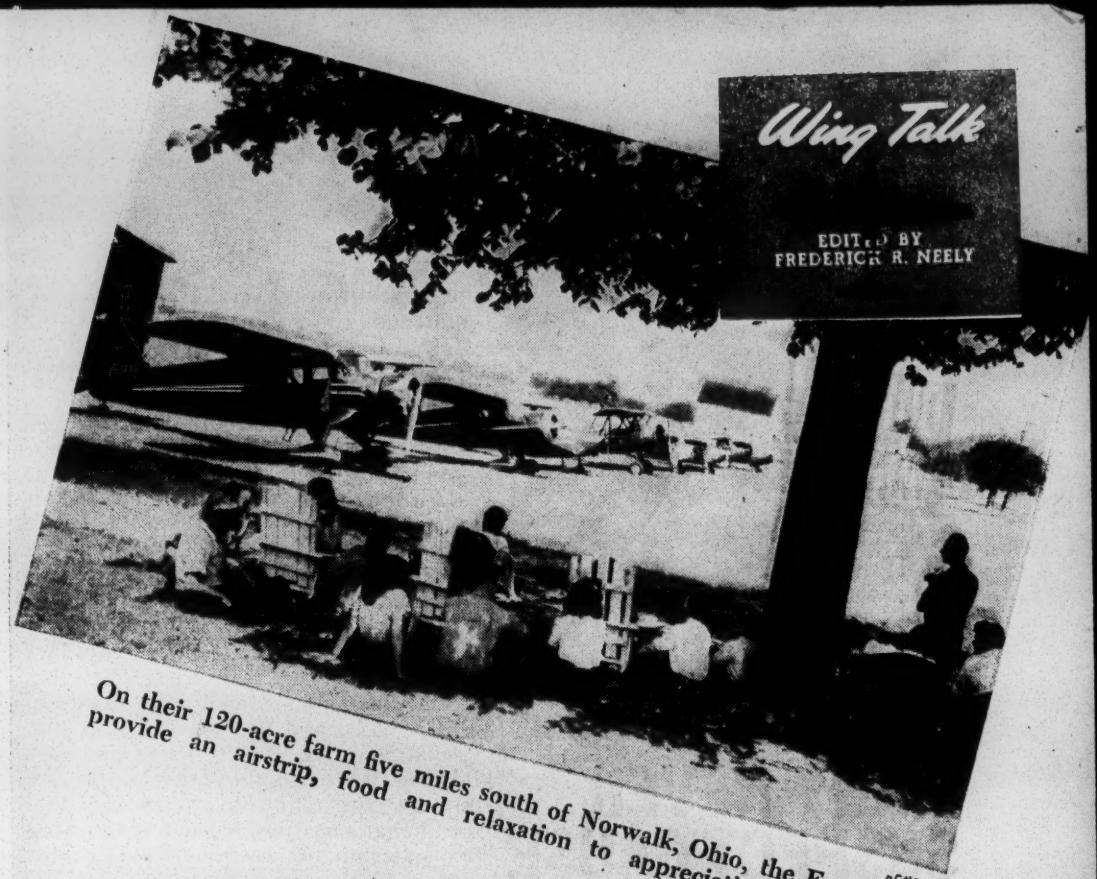
Thousands of light-skinned Negroes pass occasionally for various reasons. In the larger cities they visit the white restaurants, night clubs, beauty parlors and theaters, partly for the thrill of putting something over on the white folks, but mostly because they get better food, better service and better entertainment. In Chicago there is a group of half a dozen white Negroes, men and women, who dine regularly at the city's snootiest eating place. They spend freely and tip liberally, and always get the best tables.

"It's really a lot of fun," one of the group said. "One night the manager came over and shook hands with us and said he was glad we liked his restaurant. If he knew we were Negroes he'd either tell us everything was reserved or put us in a dark corner and give us bad service. But he thinks we're some kind of foreigners and we get the best of everything."

The same thing happens every night in some of New York's painfully swank places.

Many of the Negro leaders in the North are light-skinned, and on trips to the South they frequently pass as white in order to get Pullman tickets and good hotel accommodations. One prominent Negro says that on every Southern train

(Continued on page 72)



On their 120-acre farm five miles south of Norwalk, Ohio, the Ernsbergers provide an airstrip, food and relaxation to appreciative private fliers

ACME

Aviators' Oasis

PERSONAL aviation's most pressing need today isn't radar, jet propulsion or atomic power plants. It's a chain of first-class hash houses.

That long, lean, hungry look in the eye of the old-time pilot or mechanic is a direct result of years of skipping regular meals at the restaurantless old airfields, or nibbling on candy bars, cookies and apples as a substitute.

Personal aviation's main danger, many airmen insist, isn't accident, weather or fire. It's malnutrition and starvation.

Flying on an empty stomach is indeed a hollow pleasure, but personal fliers often have to fly on empty stomachs. To be sure, there are some mighty fine eating places at the airline terminals; but these terminals are not for the personal flier. His natural habitat is the small sod airfield, and good eating places at the sod airfields are rare.

That is the reason for the national popularity of Park's Air Park, near Norwalk, Ohio. Park's Air Park has become an aviation institution. Cross-country fliers often fly hundreds of miles out of the way to visit it; Ohio fliers congregate by the score there each flyable Sunday; and Middle West flying clubs even work out pilgrimages involving round-trip flights up to 400 or 500 miles to visit it on holidays and week ends.

The big attraction is an old-fashioned, home-cooked, down-on-the-farm country dinner, with the country atmosphere. Thick, sizzling beefsteaks. Juicy country hams. Steaming browned roast turkeys and chickens. Huge bowls of creamy mashed potatoes. Heaping platters of fresh vegetables. Slathers of rich country butter. Liberal slabs of homemade pie.

It started a few years back when Park and Iva Ernsberger, a middle-aged farm couple, drove over to Sandusky, Ohio, one bright Sunday afternoon and took a sightseeing flight. Ernsberger was pleased with his ride.

"That settles that," said Ernsberger as they landed. "I've always wanted to fly; now I'm going to learn." So Ernsberger enrolled for flying lessons and even before he had his private pilot's certificate, he decided to buy a plane.

He had a prosperous 120-acre farm just five miles south of Norwalk. If he had his own plane, he decided, he could easily run his farm errands to near-by Cleveland, Toledo or Columbus. His first step was his private air strip. In one of his crop fields, he laid out a simple runway, 125 feet wide and 1,600 feet long, and hung up a wind sock.

One Sunday, Ernsberger invited over a few friends. They came by plane, landing on his air strip. Ernsberger caught a brace of pullets in his barnyard; and Iva Ernsberger set up a fine chicken dinner on the spacious veranda.

Dinner over, the visitors lolled in the shade under some big trees on the Ernsberger lawn.

"This," said a well-stuffed pilot, "is what aviation really needs—some real eating places and a place where personal fliers can visit."

Park and Iva carved out two more runways, one 2,900 feet long and the other 1,800 feet. They dubbed the place Park's Air Park, explaining that no one can say "Ernsberger" without stuttering.

They put out the word that here, at last, was personal aviation's eating place and meeting place. Airmen from Cleveland, Akron, Toledo, Columbus and other big Ohio cities flocked in. Of a Sunday, they kept Park Ernsberger busy rounding up turkeys, chickens and steaks, and vegetables from the farm garden. Iva Ernsberger prepared the meals and served them on the big veranda. Park Ernsberger raised 800 turkeys, chiefly for the dining room.

The visiting planes range from little secondhand put-puts to the sumptuous 200-mile-an-hour twin-engined executive types, owned by the wealthy. But there are no class or social distinctions down on the farm.

Cleveland is just 45 miles away, Toledo is 55 miles out and Columbus, 95—a pleasant short hop on a summery day from any of these. Some businessmen hop over with a business associate for lunch, then discuss business affairs in the quiet, unhurried atmosphere of the farm shade trees. One of the most regular visitors is Clair Grove, president of the Second Federal Savings and Loan Company, of Cleveland. He often flies over specially favored visitors in his twin-engined Cessna.

Park Ernsberger is really happy about the success of his scheme. "All I wish," he said, "is that there were hundreds of other places like it scattered all over the country. It would give personal fliers places to go, chances to get away from the same old airports where all you can buy is hamburgers and pop—and it would give personal aviation the shot in the arm it needs." . . . GEORGE R. REISS

MEN! MEET THE RAZOR with the HE-MAN BLADE!

DURHAM DORSET

No matter if your chin sprouts baling wire, here's the blade that will conquer it. It's the original Durham-Duplex hollow-ground double-thick blade that holds an edge against all odds. Try it. You'll like the Dorset's excellent balance, too, and its generously wide shaving edge. Get one today. The Dorset with 6 blades, 75¢, or the Durham barber-type 6 blades, $1.00. Durham blades to fit either razor, 5 for 50¢.

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Many sufferers relieve nagging backache quickly, once they discover that the real cause of their trouble may be tired kidneys.

The kidneys are Nature's chief way of taking the excess acids and waste out of the blood. They help most people pass about 3 pints a day.

When disorder of kidney function permits poisonous matter to remain in your blood, it may cause nagging backache, rheumatic pains, leg pains, loss of pep and energy, getting up nights, swelling, puffiness under the eyes, headaches and dizziness.

Don't wait! Ask your druggist for Doan's Pills, a stimulant diuretic, used successfully by millions for over 40 years. Doan's give happy relief and will help the 15 miles of kidney tubes flush out poisonous waste from your blood. Get Doan's Pills.

PULVEX FLEA POWDER DDT

now also contains

Kills the fleas QUICKLY!

Keeps others off for days!

Still 25¢ and 50¢

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Ease 'em Up With Allen's Foot-Ease

Sprinkle this newly-improved foot-powder on feet—in shoes, and step out with new pep. 25¢-35¢-50¢. At all druggists or send for FREE sample. Write Allen's Foot-Ease, Suite 68, P. O. Box 156, Buffalo, N. Y.

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Ask for this fine quality dentifrice . . . Sold from handy counter cards in drug and other stores

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Hilo DIP KILLS ALL FLEAS in Ten Minutes!

25c, 50c, 85c

At Pet, Seed, Dep't, Drug Stores. If dealer cannot supply you, send remittance to Dept. 362.

THE HILO COMPANY • NORWALK, CONN.

STAMMER?

This new 128-page book, "Stammering, Its Cause and Correction," describes the Bogue Unit Method for scientific correction of stammering and stuttering—successful for 45 years. Benj. N. Bogue, Dept. 4314, Circle Tower, Indianapolis 4, Ind.

GET THIS FREE BOOK!

Who Is a Negro?

Continued from page 71

there are always several Negroes riding comfortably in Pullmans and passing as white. In one Southern city recently, the ten best rooms in the town's leading hotel were occupied by white Negroes. Light-skinned Negroes often buy theater tickets for their darker friends who would find that the best seats had been sold if they went to the box office themselves.

In St. Louis and other cities some of the theaters employ spotters who are supposed to prevent this practice, for there is a widespread belief that one Negro can always identify another. Actually this is not true. Moreover, the legends of the blue shadow at the base of the nails, and the difference in the formation of legs and feet, are nonsense. It is true, of course, that some people are more expert than others in detecting racial characteristics, but if a person has one sixteenth or less Negro blood it is almost impossible, even with the most exact methods of anthropometry, to determine his ancestry.

Jim Crow Law in Reverse

Many white Negroes are compelled to pass in the South, at least temporarily, through the operations of the Jim Crow laws. It is not at all uncommon for a light-skinned Negro to be ordered out of the Jim Crow section of a railroad coach, bus or trolley car, and compelled to sit with the whites. A few years ago two friends, both from the North, met in a Southern city. One was a white man, the other a very light-skinned Negro. It was impossible for them to lunch or dine together without danger of embarrassment, so they went to the baseball game. The white man assumed that he would be permitted to sit with his friend in the Jim Crow stands, but he was not. So he went into the white section, and a few minutes later his Negro friend joined him.

"I was thrown out," said the Negro. "After you'd gone, a cop came over and asked if I was a Negro, and when I said I was he said he didn't believe it. Then he called me a damned nigger-lover and told me to get over here where I belonged. You know that's happened to me before down here. Only a few days ago I was ordered out of the Negro section of a bus. Maybe I'd better take advantage of my light skin and pass."

Two years later the white man had a letter from the Negro, who said he had finally gone over to the other side, and had started a business in a Middle Western city where he was unknown. He had married a white girl, and they were expecting a baby. He was greatly worried that the child might be black.

Actually, he had no cause whatever for anxiety, for modern genetics has effectually dispelled the black-baby bugaboo. Everyone has heard the story of the supposedly white couple which suddenly produced a coal-black infant; much heart-rendering fiction has been written around such a situation. This subject has been thoroughly investigated by many eminent American geneticists and anthropologists, among them Amram Scheinfeld, a well-known authority on heredity; Dr. Ernest A. Hooton, professor of Anthropology at Harvard University; and Dr. Edward M. East, also of Harvard, who, until his death in 1938, was one of the world's leading geneticists.

These scientists, and many others, agree that the tale of the white couple and the black baby has a fatal flaw: It could not possibly happen. If such a child should appear, there are three explanations: (1) a miracle; (2) as Dr. East has suggested, "a fracture of the Seventh Commandment"; (3) both parents were really Negroes. Here is what, barring divine revocation of genetic laws, will result from unions of whites, Negroes and mixed-bloods:

1. If one of the partners to such a union is *pure white*, it is impossible for the child to be darker than the darker of its parents. The chances are very great that it will be lighter.

2. If both parents have Negro blood, whether they know it or not, there may be some accentuation of Negro characteristics in the child. But this is not likely, and in any case will be slight. If the parents have been able to pass for white, the child can probably do so too.

3. If both parents are mulattoes, quadroons or octoroons—the child may be darker than either. But in all likelihood it will not be black. Dr. Hooton has stated his opinion that "Negroid features seem to be attenuated, rather than intensified, by successive generations of inbreeding of mixed types . . . White features seem to gain upon Negroid features."

The problem of predicting the exact color shade or racial characteristics of any given child, whether born to whites or blacks, is greatly complicated by the fact that, as Dr. Hooton has pointed out, "no one can know his exact racial composition, no matter how he may search his pedigree." Every anthropologist knows, and most have often said, that virtually all human beings are mongrels; for thousands of years man has wandered over the earth, mating where he chose. Continual intermixture has been the rule, rather than the exception, and in modern times it has been accelerated by world wars and improvement in means of communication.

These processes of intermixture can clearly be seen at work in the United States. If the estimates of the number of Negroes who pass annually are even approximately correct, they mean that more than 2,000,000 persons with colored blood have crossed the line since the end of the Civil War. But these figures tell only a part of the story. A large majority of the Negroes who pass, marry white and raise white families, the members of which in turn seek white mates. Thus a constantly widening stream of colored blood is introduced into the white population. A great deal has also come into the white stream through Negro-white intermarriage, which is now legal in eighteen states, and even more through illicit Negro-white matings which have resulted in children.

Too Strict a Definition

It is now estimated that there are at least between 5,000,000 and 8,000,000 persons in the United States, supposed to be white, who actually possess Negro blood. In reality, this is a very conservative estimate. In an article in The American Mercury some years ago Walter White told of a Southern legislator who spoke against a bill severely restricting racial intermarriage and defining a Negro as a person who had even the slightest trace of colored blood, no matter how far removed. The legislator was reported by Mr. White as saying that if this definition were accepted, there would not be enough white legislators in the state to pass the bill.

Hundreds of prominent American men and women who live as whites are actually white Negroes. Many believe themselves to be pure white, since the original passing in their families was done several generations ago. Walter White has said that "a very considerable number of persons high in American life possess Negro blood." St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, authors of the important new book, Black Metropolis, say that many white Negroes hold eminent positions in the white world as physicians, scientists and public administrators. In the same category fall a large number of sporting and theatrical figures, musicians, novelists, businessmen and politicians.

Virtually every scholar who has studied the problem of racial relations has speculated upon what the mingling of races in the United States will mean in the future. Many believe that the Negro eventually will be absorbed, assuming that there is no further Negro immigration, and thus assist in the creation of a new American race which will be somewhat darker than the present white population. Dr. Edward M. East has predicted that the pure Negro will gradually die out.

"The grim joke of the whole matter," wrote Dr. Caroline Bond Day, of Atlanta University, in the famous Harvard African Studies, "is that for 150 years and more he (the Negro) has been absorbed, and his descendants are constantly rubbing elbows with some of the very ones who are discussing them." And James Bryce said in The American Commonwealth that "whoever examines the records of the past will find that the continued juxtaposition of two races has always been followed by the disappearance of the weaker or by the intermixture of the two."

Absorption in Latin America

Supporters of the theory of ultimate absorption point out that from an anthropological point of view, and in the social sense as well, the Negro has already been absorbed in Mexico, and that the process is well under way in Brazil and other countries. And it is a historical fact that during the 17th century large numbers of Negroes were absorbed by the white population of England, and that no trace of them remains. There seems to be ample evidence that some two thirds of the Negroes in the United States have been modified by white blood. Some anthropologists contend that less than ten per cent of American Negroes have no white blood.

Another school of anthropological thought believes that absorption may be delayed, or perhaps even prevented, by the operation of a caste system that has arisen among the Negroes of the United States.

Socially, and to some extent economically, the colored race in this country is divided into three classes—the darkskins, the brownskins, and the lightskins, with the lightskins at the top of the ladder. The tendency is to marry from the bottom up; that is, the darkskin seeks a brownskin mate, the brownskin tries to marry into the lightskin caste, and the ideal marriage partner of the lightskin is a person lighter than himself. The darkskin is thus compelled to marry within his own caste oftener than any of the other groups. This may perpetuate a small core of more or less pure Negroes, which will remain to fulfill the curse of Noah. The curse may be found in Genesis 9:25: "And he said, Cursed be Canaan, A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren."

Canaan was the son of Ham, the son of Noah. The Negroes were considered by early Biblical scholars, and are considered by Fundamentalists today, to be the descendants of Ham and Canaan, and Noah's curse has been quoted for centuries as divine justification for slavery.

THE END

Negro in Art

NAACP
Press Release, Sep 13 - 3 -

NEGRO REFUSED SCHOLARSHIP
IN MISSOURI ART COMPETITION September 13, 1946

New York, N. Y., Sep 12th--When young James W. Anderson, of Cleveland, Ohio, was informed that he had won second prize in the 11th Annual National High School Competition of drawings and paintings conducted by the Kansas City Art Institute and School of Design, he had to pinch himself. It seemed almost too good to be true.

The prize he had won was a half-year scholarship to the Art Institute. Jim's dreams of truly becoming an artist seemed about to be realized. Subsequent letters from the Institute's Registrar indicated that all arrangements were being made for his admission, and Jim was congratulated and feted by his friends and family.

That his rejoicing was premature was painfully obvious when, a month later, Jim received a letter from the Manager of the Institute telling him that the school had just learned he was a Negro and would therefore be unable to accept him as a student in view of the fact that Missouri was a border state "with strong southern tendencies".

Jim was disconsolate. He had been so set on going on with his art studies. He decided to write the school and ask them for the cash equivalent of the half-year scholarship so that he could try to get the training he so desired at some less prejudiced school. He was somewhat taken aback when he was informed that this was impossible, as scholarships were never given in cash in view of the fact that all scholarship awards made through the Competition were donated by Kansas City business firms, which carefully watched the progress of the students assigned to their scholarship and took a personal interest in the progress of their work at the Institute. Obviously, stated the Institute's Executive Manager, if the student is not actually in school, nothing under the school's regulations and procedure authorized them to award money for the payment of tuition at another school.

At that point, Anderson wrote to the NAACP, requesting that it intervene in his behalf. On August 27th, Assistant Special Counsel, Robert L. Carter, wrote to the Art Institute's Director, reviewing the sequence of events which had taken place between Anderson and the school and concluding, "It is our impression...that by June 21st it was too late a date for you to refuse Mr. Anderson his scholarship which you had already awarded contingent upon his acceptance." Mr. Carter requested that the NAACP be informed of the school's plans with reference to James Anderson so that he could be advised as to how to proceed.

Anderson forthwith received a letter from the school, informing him that the authorities had agreed to make a special dispensation in his case and awarding him the money equivalent of the half-year scholarship on the condition that it be used to enter some other school of art. A check for $112.50 was enclosed.

James Anderson wrote the NAACP a warm letter of thanks for its assistance in obtaining for him the prize which he had won through his own merit. He plans to use this money to enter another art school where consideration of race and color will not prevent his matriculation.

National Institute of Social Relations, Inc.
1029 Seveenth Street N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Att: Miss Hannah McLay, Research and Review

October 31, 1946

1 copy	July 1946 New South	$.05
1 copy	"Machines in the Cotton Fields"	.20
1 copy	"Wanted: the South's Future for the Nation"	.20
1 copy	"Wanted: a Healthy South"	.20
1 copy	"America's Tenth Man"	.05
1 copy	"Understanding Our Neighbors"	.05
1 copy	"Economic Value of the Negro to the South"	.02½
1 copy	"Opportunities for the Negro Veteran in Atlanta, Georgia,"	.02½
		$.80

Sent: Supreme Court Decisions Affecting Southern Customs, Postwar Employment and the Negro Worker, Opportunities for the Negro Veteran in Atlanta, Georgia, The Changing Character of Lynching, A Survey of Veterans Services in Arkansas, Economic Value of the Negro to the South, Understanding Our Neighbors, America's Tenth Man, New South for March, June, September, and July.

October 31, 1946

Miss Hannah McLay
National Institute of Social Relations
1029 Seventeenth Street NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss McLay:

Thank you for your letter of October 28 requesting publications dealing with the Negro in the United States.

Under separate cover we are sending you what materials we have on this subject. You will find the bill for these publications enclosed with this letter.

The pamphlet "Supreme Court Decisions Affecting Southern Customs" is now out of print. However, we still have a few copies in our files, and we are glad to send you one of these. The pamphlet is not up-to-date, of course. Court decisions in one or two White Primary cases are not included, nor is the decison in the Irene Morgan case involving segregated bus travel.

You might be interested in a summary of racial separation laws in the United States. The Council summarized the laws from the book by Charles S. Mangum, Jr., The Legal Status of the Negro, and the summary appeared in Information and Action Bulletin, September 25, 1946. This paper is published by the Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities, Woman's Division of Christian Service, the Methodist Church, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N.Y. I am sorry that we no longer have a copy of the resume of the laws, but if you are interested, you may obtain a copy of the Bulletin from the address given above.

If we can be of further service to you, please let us know. We should like to see a copy of your discussion guide when it is completed.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

National Institute of Social Relations INC

PUBLISHERS OF
Talk it over

1029 Seventeenth Street N W . Washington 6 D C . National 5825

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Mr. Walter F. Wanger
Motion Picture Producer Walter Wanger Productions

Mr. Frank L. Weil
President, National Jewish Welfare Board

99

October 28, 1946

RECEIVED
OCT 30 1946
Southern Regional Council

Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Our organization is now preparing a discussion guide dealing with the Negro in the United States.

We would appreciate receiving from you any publications you have on this subject. Our guide will include the questions of health, housing, education, employment and the general welfare of the Negro in this country.

We would also like to have a copy of the Supreme Court Decisions Affecting Southern Customs, issued in May 1942.

Please bill us for the material you send.

Sincerely yours,

Hannah McLay

Hannah McLay
Research and Review

" . . . to promote a better understanding of human behavior and of man's relationship to his fellow-men."

Telephone: Ashland 8578.
Cables: Stokesfund Newyork.

NOV 16 1946
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Southern Regional Council

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK

Lenox, Massachusetts
November 13, 1946

Miss Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

I am very greatly obliged to you for your letter of November 1st to Miss Huntington of the Phelps-Stokes Fund regarding the capitalization of the word "Negro" in southern papers. I find a reference to the 1923 Conference in the chronological list in Mr. Monroe Work's Summary of Events in Interracial Cooperation 1922-30 ~~and~~ in the Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, p. 61. It does not, however, refer specifically to the capitalization matter.

Again thanking you, I am,

Very truly yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

Copy, with letter
for Phelps-Stokes Fund

APS:m

November 1, 1946

Miss Rachel L. Huntington
Secretary to Dr. Stokes
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Huntington:

We have had a suggestion from Mr. Eleazer, copy of which he sent to you, of a possible means of finding the date of the meeting of Southern editors who decided to capitalize the word Negro.

Looking back pretty thoroughly into our historical records, we do find mention made in several places of a conference of newspaper editors which was called by the Interracial Commission in the fall of 1925. While we do not find an actual written record of the discussions taking place at this editors' conference, we do find a "statement" as carried in a newspaper in November of 1925, with a brief foreword to the effect that such a conference was held and that the editors affixed their signatures to the statement 'which follows'. The statement following this deals, of course, with the need for improved racial relations in the South and outlines some suggestions for action.

The spelling of the word Negro is not mentioned in the "statement", but, as Dr. Stokes doubtless will recall, much of the Commission's work during the early 1920's was carried on by-word-of-mouth, and this sometimes makes it rather difficult to locate a factual record of some action or date. On the basis of what Mr. Eleazer says in his letter of October 29, together with the information we have been able to find in our files, I believe it is fairly safe to assume that the spelling of the word Negro was one of the matters discussed and agreed on - no doubt verbally - at the conference of Southern newspaper editors in the fall of 1925.

I hope this will be of some help to Dr. Stokes, and am sorry that we could not furnish him with a more definite date.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer.

EH:rr

GENERAL BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH
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CHARLES C. TURNER, JR.
METHODIST BUILDING, 810 BROADWAY,
P. O. BOX 871, NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

October 29, 1946

RECEIVED
OCT 30 1946
Southern Regional Council

Miss Emily H. Clay
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Miss Clay:

The statement about which Miss Huntington inquires was formulated by a group of editors mobilized by our staff man, Mr. R. W. Miles, early in the 1920's. I do not know whether he got a group together, or only went across the South and got signatures to the statement, which had a number of points. Probably he began by calling some of the Virginia and Carolina editors together, but of this I am not sure. A file of his correspondence should clear the point, and also afford a copy of the statement.

1922

Cordially,

R B Eleazer

R. B. Eleazer

RBE:PP
C to Miss Huntington

Negro

October 25, 1946

Miss Rachel L. Huntington
Secretary to Dr. Stokes
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Miss Huntington:

As I was formerly connected with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Dr. Johnson asked me to reply to your letter of October 17 concerning the date of a meeting which Mr. Eleazer called some years ago to consider capitalizing the word Negro.

I regret that I cannot give you the exact date, but perhaps Mr. Eleazer will remember. I am, therefore, forwarding the request to him at 810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tennessee, in the hope that he will be able to supply the information for Dr. Stokes.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

October 25, 1946

Mr. R. B. Eleazer
810 Broadway
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Eleazer:

Miss Rachel L. Huntington, Secretary to Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes, has written Dr. Johnson to ask whether we can tell her the date of the meeting which you called twenty years or so ago "when a large number of Southern publishers decided to capitalize the word Negro."

We have written her that we cannot tell her the exact date, but that you may remember. If you do, please send her a note.

Best wishes to you and Mrs. Eleazer, as well as to the "children."

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

P.S. So that your secretary will not to have to look up the address I'll give it here: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

November 27, 1946

Mr. Albert M. Lewis
Harry Hayden Company
545 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Thank you for your letter of November 18. I am glad to know that advertisers are becoming increasingly aware of the Negro market and are showing an increasing interest in the Negro press.

My first choice of Negro newspapers, from the standpoint of constructive journalism and good typography, is the Journal and Guide of Norfolk, Virginia, edited by Mr. P. B. Young. It has a rather wide circulation throughout the country. Other papers of large circulation are:

The Atlanta Daily World
The Pittsburgh Courier
The Baltimore Afro-American
The Chicago Defender
The Houston Informer
The Amsterdam News (New York City)
The Philadelphia Tribune
The Los Angeles Tribune
The Black Dispatch (Oklahoma City)

There are numerous small papers but most of them have restricted circulations and are rather poorly edited. However, I would like to mention The Carolinian, which is published by Paul R. Jervay, 118 E. Hargett St., Raleigh, N.C. Jervay owns three papers and does a pretty nice job.

Of course, you are aware of the fact that many of the Negro newspapers are inclined to be somewhat sensational and do not observe all of the standards of accurate journalism. However, they reach a wide audience and advertisers would do well to study the papers and make sensible use of them.

You might also be interested in some of the best Negro magazines: Ebony, which is published by the Negro Digest Publishing Company, 5125 S. Calumet Avenue, Chicago 15, Ill.; The Crisis, monthly organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City; Opportunity, quarterly organ of the National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York City; and Pulling Together, Box 188, Tuskegee, Alabama, which is a Southern publication, doing a constructive job and reaching a fair-sized audience.

Having followed the Negro press for more than twenty years and having a fair familiarity with the attitudes and reactions of Negroes, I am convinced that advertisers who exploit the Negro market in an intelligent way will be well repaid. Advertisements should be dignified, should avoid dialect, caricatures, humor that misfires, or anything else that tends to give the impression that Negroes are all menials or Uncle Toms, or are a special type of human being.

If you have never read a book entitled, "The Southern Urban Negro as a Consumer," by Paul Edwards, let me urge you to do so. It was published by Prentice-Hall in 1952, but it is still good reading. Edwards studied the reading habits of Negroes and their reactions to advertisements in selected Southern cities. Their reaction to various types of advertising will be of particular interest to you.

I hope that these comments will be of some help. If we can serve you further, please call on us.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

HARRY HAYDEN COMPANY
PROMOTION - ADVERTISING - PRESENTATIONS
545 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 7-6517-8-9

November 18, 1946

RECEIVED
NOV 21 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Because of the current interest in the rights and aspirations of Negroes, and also because they are becoming recognized as a large active market for standard merchandise, advertisers are showing increasing interest in the Negro press. Our business has as its chief purpose that of informing manufacturers and their advertising agencies about publications that deserve their consideration.

Statistics about colored markets and papers are available but cold figures by themselves, without background, and often contrary to fixed opinions, lack conviction. Among Negro newspapers there are a number that rank high, when compared with generally distributed papers, but which are quite unfamiliar to most business men. In fact, the colored press as a whole is too apt to be judged by its less reputable papers.

We would be pleased if you cared to take the trouble to jot down for us the names (including city of publication) of those Negro papers which you consider outstanding as examples of good journalism and as information services for their readers. We feel sure that evidences of respect on the part of those competent to judge can make a great difference in the attitude of business executives toward the Negro press and toward colored people as an average inherent part of the American market for advertised products.

Your response will be greatly appreciated and very helpful. A return stamped envelop is enclosed for your convenience.

Very truly yours,

Albert M. Lewis

HARRY HAYDEN COMPANY

AML:jg
Enc.

Amst. News
Phila Tribune
Los Ang.

Caroliniana (3 papers)
Paul R. Janney
Cor. Pub. Co
118 E. Hampton
Rochester

Jour. & Guide
Atl. Daily World
Pl. Defender
P. Courier
Afro-Am.
Chi. Def.
Los Angeles —?
Dunjee's paper Black Dispatch

Pulling Together
Ebony
Flash
Opp.
Crisis
Church Papers?

Suggestions:

- Negro market is important
- Adv. should avoid common errors which offend Negroes
  - dialect
  - humor that misfires
  - caricatures
- Refer to book: Southern Urban Negro as a Consumer
  by Paul Edwards
  Prentice-Hall, 1932

Crop - Negro

December 2, 1946

Mrs. A. E. Turner
Rt. 3, Box 47
Wrightsville, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Turner:

We received your letter sometime ago and sent you some literature. I have been wanting to write you but I had such a busy schedule during the month of November that I could not keep up with my correspondence.

I am sure that the question which you raised is on the minds of a great many people. However, I think that we should try to see the general principles involved and as one of my friends puts it, try to see what is right rather than who is right. For example, take the question of Negro fram workers leaving the farm and going into other types of work. This is exactly what happens in the competition between farming and other lines of work, particularly business and industry, regardless of the race of the people involved. In those areas where farm tenants and laborers are white, the farm owners simply say, "It is getting harder than ever to keep a good farm hand." Here in the South where so much of our farm labor is colored, we are apt to say that it is something peculiar in the colored man that leads him to want to leave the farm for something more attractive. We do face some very serious problems of readjustment in Southern farm life, but I think that we should not place the blame on Negroes, because in moving away from the farms they are behaving exactly like any other human beings.

I am convinced that in the long run the best thing for the South and for the nation is to give the Negro as quickly as possible all the rights and privileges of citizens. By this I mean that they should be allowed to vote when qualified and that they should have equal opportunities for education, jobs, and public services.

As long as they are discriminated against with respect to the ballot and other matters, they will be over-aggressive toward white people and will be inclined to place all the blame for their shortcomings on the shoulders of white people. The sooner the white man can honestly say to the Negro, "Now you have equality of opportunity and its up to you from here on," the sooner will we have peace and harmony, and, I might add, a more prosperous condition all around.

I wish you could come to see us and get a first hand view of our work. I hope that the literature which we sent has been helpful.

With highest regards,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:ms

Send here
1-7
Unh. Roots
Information Please
Oct. New South

Return letter to GBJ

Wrightsville, Georgia
Rte 3, Box 47
Nov. November 4, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
NOV 5 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Johnson,

As a native North Carolinian, I am interested in your views and literature on the Negro situation in the South and United States in general. I would appreciate your idea in "How is the best way to meet the racial situation"?

It seems the colored race is working less on the farms than ever, and their strong organizations are making them even more dangerous toward the whites. I had planned to visit you during my stay in Georgia, but since it is impossible, will you please mail me your literature.

Sincerely,
(Mr.) A. E. Turner

#3

Jay 7
12/18/46

December 18, 1946

Mr. Maxwell Lehman
3968 - 48th Street
Sunnyside 4, L.I., N.Y.

Dear Mr. Lehman:

Thank you for your letter of December 5. I am sorry for the unavoidable delay in replying to it.

Having worked in the field of race relations for over twenty years and having done some research on the matter of stereotypes, I am very much interested in the project which you have undertaken. My first suggestion is that you consult the two-volume work by Dr. Gunnar Myrdal entitled An American Dilemma. As a member of Dr. Myrdal's staff I contributed several research memoranda, one of which dealt with the problem of stereotypes and characteristics of the Negro. Myrdal made some use of this memorandum in his book. The complete typewritten memorandum is filed, along with the other materials prepared for the Myrdal study, at the Harlem Branch of the New York Public Library. I am sure that you will be able to consult my memorandum there. However, if there is any difficulty in locating it, please let me know and I shall try to dig out my copy of it which is stored at the Univ rsity of North Carolina.

You will also want to consult the volume entitled Characteristics of the Negro, which was edited by Dr. Klineberg and which is one of the special volumes in the Myrdal series. The first chapter in Klineberg's book is based on my memorandum. Incidentally, I should say that a good many people have misunderstood what I was trying to do in that chapter. They have thought that I was making a defense of certain stereotypes concerning the Negro. I certainly do not want to be interpreted in that way. I do believe that there are very differences in habit, interests, etc., which are due not to racial traits but to history and cultural conditioning. In other words, there is sometimes a certain amount of validity to the popular notions which one group has concerning another group. The tragic thing is that these notions become greatly exaggerated and stereotyped in unfavorable or derogatory ways.

There is a great deal of anthropological and sociological literature on race which can be used to refute the popular stereotypes concerning Negroes. I am sure that you will have no difficulty in finding suitable sources of this nature either at the New York Public Library or at the Columbia University Library. The writings of such people as Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Franz Boas, Ralph Linton, Melville J. Herskovits, and numerous others will be very helpful for your purposes. You might also find it worthwhile to visit the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose headquarters are located at 69 Fifth Avenue; the National Urban League located at 1133 Broadway, and Dr. Donald Young, Secretary of the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue.

Under separate cover we are sending several pamphlets which the Southern Regional Council publishes and which may be of some use to you. If we can serve you further, please call on us.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

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Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE EDITOR

December 5, 1946

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

There has never, to my knowledge, been a complete compilation of specific stereotypes and fabrications directed against the Negro. The need of such information became strongly apparent to me this past summer, during a 10,000-mile trip over the United States. As a newspaperman and writer, I've undertaken to do a book on American anti-Negro prejudices, their psychological, social and economic origins, and their detailed refutations.

My present approach calls for a survey of existing prejudices in social relations, in cultural activities, in employment, and other areas of human contact. I propose to include everything from the shockingly crude stereotypes on the physical level to the subtle innuendos which are so prevalent in other spheres. I don't, of course, anticipate that my book is going to kill prejudice in the United States. I intend it simply as an additional weapon in the arsenal of those who seek better race relations.

My plan of procedure is to cite the stereotype or fabrication, to comment upon it, and then to provide its refutation. I am writing for your help. You can -- if you would -- aid me in various ways. I am interested in as many listings of specific stereotypes, legends, fabrications, pseudo-scientific rationalizations, and erroneous beliefs about the Negroes as you might be able to detail for me. (Illustrations from recent events, statements, or writings that you may know about are valuable here.) If you can also cite sources of rebuttal, based on the simple facts, law, scientific knowledge, the application of logic, or quotation from suitable authorities, that would of course be immensely helpful.

Secondly, I need the names of individuals, organizations, newspapers which might assist me with information pertinent to this task.

Third, may I ask your suggestions for a file of books, pamphlets, papers and clippings bearing on the subject.

Won't you please address me at my home: 3968 - 48th Street, Sunnyside (4) L.I., New York City.

I shall be deeply grateful for your aid and advice in this project.

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell Lehman

Maxwell Lehman

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Negro Juvenile Homes

N.P. HOME JOURNAL

VOL. 1 NO. 1 1946

Negro Parental Home
Jacksonville, Fla.

A VICTIM OF HIS IMAGINATION

There was once an elephant trainer who kept a large and dangerous elephant chained with a strong iron chain. One day the trainer substituted a small rope for the heavy iron chain to see what would happen. The elephant merely stood there just the same. He thought he was still held by the strength of the great chain. That is how great the power of "imagination" is.

Let's not be a victim of our IMAGINATION. Let's not be bound by -"I CAN'T DO I WE CAN DO IT; Others ARE doint it every day. SO LET'S GO.

N. P. HOME JOURNAL

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:	ISIAH SMITH	Charles Weston
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BUSINESS MANAGER:	ARCHIE LAURENCE	
ASSISTANTS:	SETH SWAN	
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CIRCULATING MGR.	FREDDIE LEE ROLLINS	
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(MR.) EDWARD J. BLACKMAN, SUPERVISOR
(MRS.) ZELMA HODGE, MATRON
ALDONIA C. JOYNER, ACTING SECRETARY

E D I T O R I A L

BY ISIAH SMITH

This little paper is published for the purpose of acquainting the general public with some of the aims of our fine HOME; a challenge for greater cooperation and inspiration and motivation of parents, citizens and the HOME in general in order to create a desire for better work and an interest in our Home, school, and the community.

There are many ideas that come to ones mind concerning the thing that he is most interested in. Should you visit our Home you would see through close observation that among the fine group of boys represented, there are aspirants for every phase of life, and for every occupation. Our fine Superintendent is concentrating upon things that will meet the needs and interests of the boys. We have already gained worthwhile inspiration through his efforts. We are hoping that not one of the boys will let him down.

We, the boys of the Negro Parental Home, graciously dedicate this, our first edition of the Parental Home Journal to our kindehearted and benevolent helpers: Mr. J. C. Lanier, our Chief Probation Officer; Mr. W. L. Joyner our Superintendent and the Members of the Board and also our friends who have toiled willingly and untiringly in an effort to make possible the type of training that will make us desire to have the world made better because of our having lived in it.

We have endeavored to blend within these pages some of the things we are doing at the Negro Parental Home. We sincerely hope that this publication will accomplish the purpose for which it is sent forth.

Clean and well-kept surroundings safeguard the health of all. A clean home contributes its share toward the protection of the members of the whole community. Prompt removal of dirt and rubbish, and the sanitary care and disposal of garbage and other wastes prevent the breeding of flies, mosquitoes, rats, mice. Such pests roam about in a community and can spread destruction and annoyance over a large area.

Let each of us cooperate with the county in making every week a"CLEAN-UP WEEK". All must help in keeping the grounds clean. The yards, toilets, living quarters and what not, all present their separate problems. Plans for CARING for them must be made and carried out in order that healthful conditions will result. Form the habit of disposing of garbage and putting waste paper, litter, and rubbish in the receptacles provided for the purpose.

Let "CLEANLINESS" be our motto. We are helping our community when we acqure personal health habits.

o o o

THE SUPERINTENDENT SPEAKS

By this time the entire City of Jacksonville is familiar with the type of program that is in the making at the Negro Boys Parental Home for boys at 1245 Jessie Street.

The boys and members of the Staff are ever grateful to the Members of the Board, parents and friends for their untiring efforts and profound cooperation in helping to fortify this most worthy program.

The Program has been so arranged that it tries to satisfy the demand for cultural training, and for fitting the CHILD with the ever changing AMERICAN IDEALS. In the records of the recent development of the Boys Parental Home there are many factors, events and incidents with which the Staff of the Home would like to familiarize the general public, hoping thereby that the worth, value and appreciation of the HOME will be enhanced. We are confident that this little paper, edited by the boys, will give you a clearer understanding of our continual interest and growth through its pages on the various phases of the HOME and community activities.

It is indeed astonishing to know the small number of my group who actually know that there is a "Boys Home on Jessie Street. Yet, thrilling to note the number of White citizens who are constant contributers. In view of the fact that this is a County responsibility, officially, it is very definitely the responsibility of every citizen of Jacksonville also. This fact must not be forgotten. I feel that many causes may be cited on the part of our entire citizenery for their lack of knowledge. Perhaps, weakening civic loyalties and loss enthusiam for what such an organization stands for, is one.

There are certain convictions, fundamental ones that must underlie any such organization or program. We need a DOUBLE sense of URGENCY about the ACTUAL NEED AND GOOD OF SUCH A PROJECT in the life of every citizen today. These convictions should event uate in a new EMPHASIS upon the dire importance of the BOYS HOME as the TRAINING GROUND where young life is fashioned into INDUSTRIAL AND CHRISTIAN PATTERNS and guided in its understanding of the implications of LIFE in a changing DEMOCRACY. Doesn't it seem plausible now, with the many delinquent parents, and torn homes, that it is from this same TRAINING GROUND that the world must more and more recruit it future CITIZENS?

It is the HELP that we give to others that deepens our sense of the worth of life. Visit our Home, learn more about its needs. These are your children and mine. Should they be the total responsibility of the County? Do we not as taxpayers find too many excuses to hide behind? Do our taxes really amount to such an enormous amount?

It goes without saying that you who have shown such an unselfish spirit in your thoughtfulness of us and have helped to place the EMPHASIS where it belongs - on the YOUTH themselves, as they live their everyday life in the home, school , on the playground, and community; on their real life where they all meet the temptations, irritations, and troubles, the successes and joys to which all flesh is heir.

Again we thank you for your cooperation and are looking forward to your visits with much anxiety.

W. L. Joyner

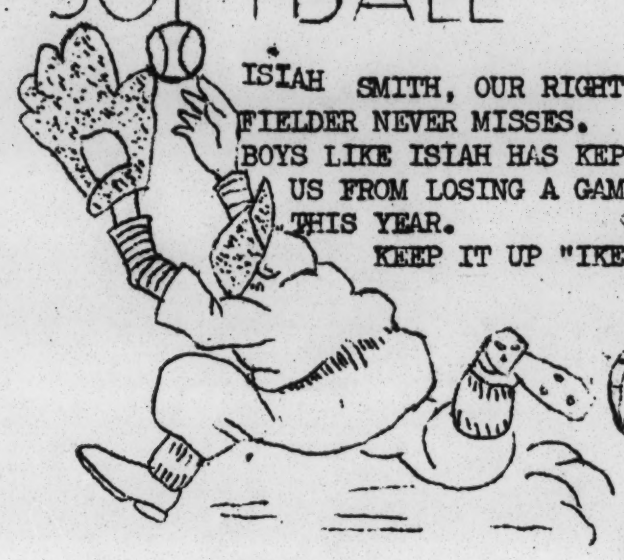
0 0 0

SPORTS

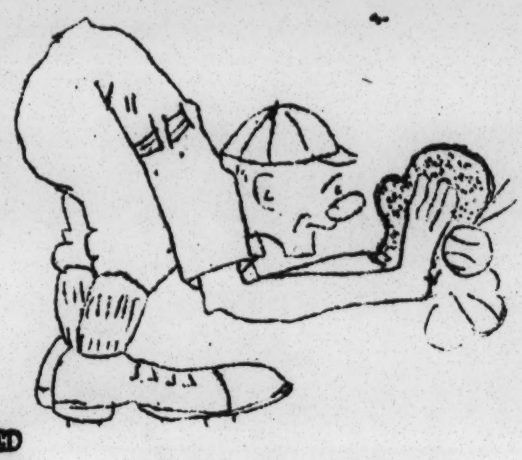
BY Freddie Lee Rollins -

SOFTBALL

ISIAH SMITH, OUR RIGHT FIELDER NEVER MISSES. BOYS LIKE ISIAH HAS KEPT US FROM LOSING A GAME THIS YEAR.
KEEP IT UP "IKE"



When it comes to "cathching" Charles Columbus is considered the best in the Midget League.



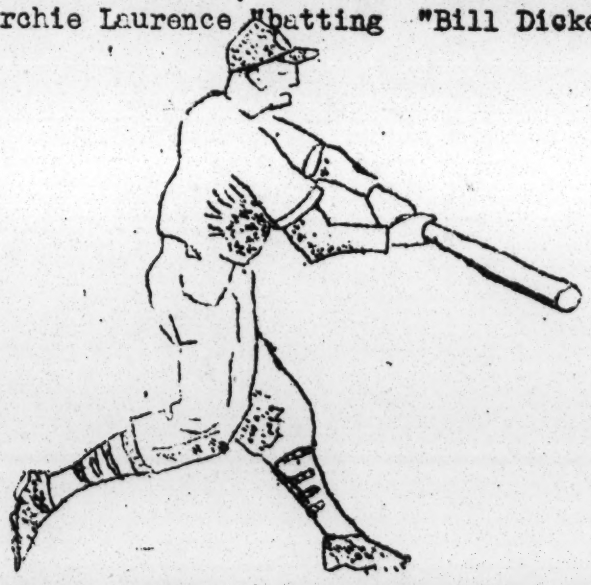
SO FAR WE HAVE"SKUNKED" EVERY TEAM THAT HAD THE NERVE TO TRY US.

WHEN MR. "CHIP REED SAYS"PLAY BALL", HE HE MEANS JUST THAT.

"I got you covered!"

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12th was a high day for the Midget Baseball Team. THEY WON!

Freddie Rollins, Charles Columbus and Archie Laurence batting "Bill Dickeys'



FREDDIE LEE ROLLINS, THE HOME RUN KING. With just two more fellows like Freddie and we will "lick"every baseball team that has gumption enough to tackle us.

In the Midget Baseball League we are out classed. Our boys are too small as compared with the GIANTS that took us clear.

CHARLES COLUMBUS SAYS, " WE CAN NOT AFFOR. TO LET A TEAM WIN! WE CAN'T!

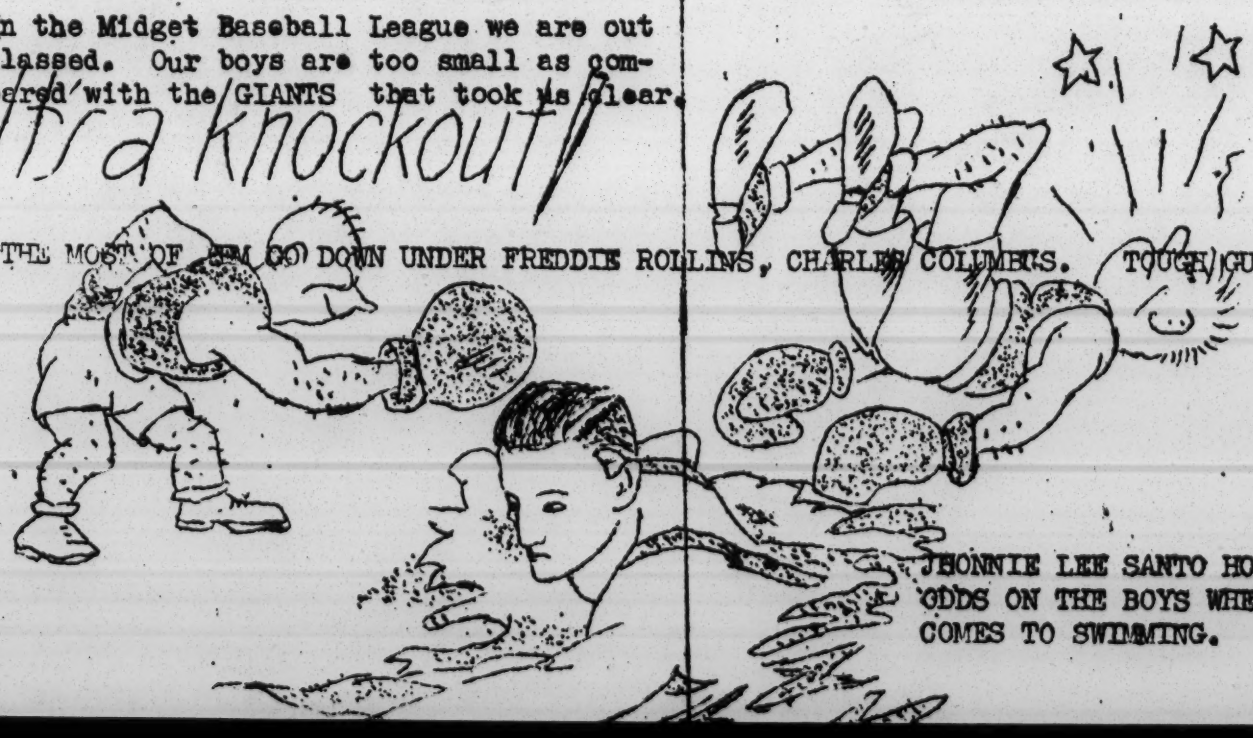
"A TOUGH GANG, I'M UP AGAINST, BUT I'LL GET EVEN, WITH 'EM IF I HAVE TO WAIT UN- MY BOYS GROW SOME MORE.

" WE'RE LICKED, THOSE BOYS LOOK LIKE SENIOR LEAGUE PLAYERS. "THEY HAVE FORGOTTEN THEIR AGES TOO!

FREDDIE LEE PONDER AND ARCHIE LAURENCE PITCHES A "MEAN BALL". GREAT PLAYERS THEY ARE GOING TO BE SOMEDAY.

Its a Knockout!

THE MOST OF EM GO DOWN UNDER FREDDIE ROLLINS, CHARLES COLUMBUS. TOUGH GUYS.



JHONNIE LEE SANTO HOLDS THE ODDS ON THE BOYS WHEN IT COMES TO SWIMMING.

HERE AND THERE

ARE YOU A GOOD CITIZEN?

BY FREDDIE LEE ROLLINS

A GOOD CITIZEN IS COURTEOUS. HE OBSERVES THE GOLDEN RULE.

He is attentive when others are talking, and does not interrupt. He is always polite; He laughs and talks quietly in the study hall and other places. DO YOU?

A GOOD CITIZEN IS COURAGEOUS.

He doesn't give up easily, but keeps on trying in spite of failure. DO YOU?

A GOOD CITIZEN IS LOYAL

H e takes pride in his home and tries to make his teacher and classmates happy; his guardians and parents. H e is loyal to his FLAG and to his country. H e takes off his hat when the flag is presented, or when the national anthem is sung. DO YOU?

A GOOD CITIZEN IS HONEST

He does not take the property of others without their permission. He can always be trusted. He is always TRUTHFUL. ARE YOU?

A GOOD CITIZEN IS REVERENT

He has reverence for GOD. He doesn't critisize the religion of others. DO YOU?

DID YOU KNOW

BY THEADORE BROWN

That the Boys Octet is the talk of the town.

Our new cook is a "Go Getter"- Um-m never tasted bean like her's. Is it garlic or onions. They are good.

That James Black has shown rapid improvement. Keep it up.

You can't run some of the boys away from the Home.

Mr. Blackman is clicking in.

Mr. Joyner is the best "pop" in the world.

Miss Roberts is assisting with the singing. She's a song bird alright.

Mother Joyner knows how to mother us. We would be lost without her.

Charles Columbus, Freddie Ponder, Freddie Rollins, and Archie Laurence, can play up some ball.

That "Balck Beauty", the Ford gives Mr. Joyner a headache seven days a week.

Mr. Chatman has shown the boys what being -LOYAL means. H e is truly OUR "Big Brother.

IMPOLITENESS DENOTES INFERIORITY

Many people over look this point in their contact with people. This point is best illustrated in an Abe Lincoln Story:

President Lincoln, driving along a country road with a friend, met an aged Negro who lifted his hat. Lincoln promptly returned the salute, whereupon his companion asked in surprised: "Surely, Mr. President, it isn't your custom to tip your hat to a Negro". "Why yes, indeed", replied the President; "You couldn't expect me to permit a Negro to out do me in politeness".

By Charles Columbus (Selected)

DID YOU KNOW ABOUT THE MORAN THAT:

Was feeling low and got his face slapped.

Sat in the middle of a street with two pieces of bread in his hands waiting for a traffic jam, and along came a street car and gave him a jar.

Cut a hole in the rug to see a FLOOR SH OW.

Killed his father and mother so he could come to the Orphans' Picnic.

Cut off his arms so he could wear sleveless sweaters.

Got off the street car backwards because he heard two women saying they were going to grab his seat.

WE WONDER WHY

Y[illegible] won't comb his her.
Charles Weston talks so much.
Earnest Murchinson tells so many lies.
Charles Columbus changes expressions.
Beth Swann visits the hog pen so often.
Mrs. Lanier stop visiting us.
Some of the boys like to go slouchy.

Why Theadore is so hard headed
James Black doesn't like to bathe.
Will Ponder ever be anything but a "nit wit".

Our chickens stopped laying

OLD GLORY

April 1, was indeed a festive occasion at the Boys Parental Home because of the raising of the nation al colors on the new flag pole that was recently placed in the frong of the dormotories. There has never been a flag pole on our beautiful campus. To all who had a part in helping us to get it, we wish to express our sincere appreciation for your hearty cooperation.

Our flag had its origin ih 1773 with our first president, General George Washington raised a flag at Cambridge that consisted of thirteen alternate white and red stripes with the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew in a blue field in the upper left hand corner.

Some historians doubt the accuracy of "Bestsy Ross and flag" even thhogh it has become a classic. Francis Hopkins, a singer of the Declaration of Independence, was probably the designer of the Stars and Stripes. H opkins was born in Philadelphia, September 21, 1737, and was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania.

The Red, White and Blue of the flag are the national American colors. However, they have been used in combination many times throughout the ages. Charles W. Stewart superintendent of the N aval records and library of the United States Navy Departments, traces their use back to the Ark of the covenant within the tabernacle, the curtains of which employed the colors blue, purple, and scarlet. Red is for courage zeal, fervency; White is for purity, cleanness of life, and rectitude of conduct; Blue is for loyalty, devotion, friendship, justice, and truth.

Each morning when we have our devotion around "OLD GLORY" - we pause, and become inspired by its gleaming colors; we repeat the pledge and are determined from the bottom of our hearts to give "OUR LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION" to OUR GREAT AMERICA".

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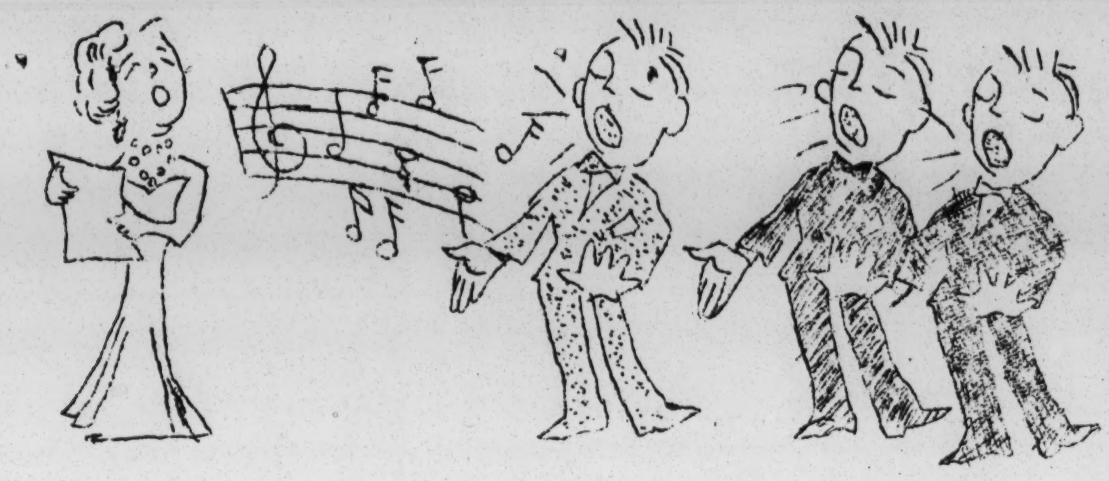

By Seth Joe Willie Swzann

OCTET IS ORGANIZED

The recently organized Octed filled it first engagement, Sunday April 13th at 5:00 P. M. at the Episcopal Church. The program of spirituals was well recieved by the audience. The boys made a wonderful impression for themselves and the Home by the fine way they conducted themselves. Since that time they have sung in many of the leading churches and schools.

The members of the Octet are: Freddie Rollins, Charles Columbus, James Black, Harold Jackson, Theadore Brown, Isaiah Smith, Earnest Murchinson, and Eziekel Epps.

They are showing rapid improvement in their singing and are anxious to absorb more and more. Miss Mary Robert, a former school teacher of St. Petersburg, Florida has been assisting with their singing. The mean to go places and do things.

WHAT THE HOME HAS MEANT TO ME

As much as I want to tell everyone how much the home has meant I find I can't. I don't have to go about talking it for everyone who knows me can see the change. At first I didn't like the place because everyone seem so honest, and clean. Therefore, I resented even my buddy who was a tough guy. We attempted to make trouble, but in a very short while, realized that we had to steer straight. Just one time through the "belt line" with our future comrades administering the treatment, was enough to convince us that the right way is the best way.

I shall never forget my first conference with my superintendent, Mr. Joyner; and a friendly, worthwhile conference it was. He was so fatherly until I learned to love him then as my own father; He has continued to guide me and teach me many things I never would have known. His pet word was, "don't tell me a"lie" if you are truthful I'll always be able to help you" I have learned that lying doesn't pay and always leads to stealing and other things.

The Home has also meant that I should always keep myself and my surroundings clean, then I will have a clean mind. I have learned how to carry myself at school, in the church and home. I have learned many things that I cannot mention right now.

I want to thank Daddy Joyner for recommending me for a release and I shall not let him down. I will be visiting the Home often and will continue to sing with the boys.

HARD TO SAY GOODBYE

BY HAROLD JACKSON

I find it very hard to say goodbye to this grand old Home. I shall never forget the kindly teachings of Mr. and Mrs. Joyner, and the other members of the Staff. The friendly conferences, the singing tours, the Bible Classes and many more things.

My stay at the Home for the past year has been the finest and most enjoyable of my life. I shall not let Mr. Joyner down and I am going to be a great man some day. My visits to the Home will be many as I expect to continue to sing.

THANKS TO OUR DONORS

We cannot find words to express our appreciation to our recent helpers at the Home. Amid the HUSTLE and BUSTLE of life, some cooperative, interested and energetic people have sacrificed time to come out and help us. The following person come to our mind at present:

The American Legion, Post 37, Colored, Doctor Bush, Commander-in-Chief, Gave a grand donation toward the flag pole, now upon which "Old Glory" waves.

Mr. James Craddock
Miss Eartha White
Carter's Funeral H ome
Attorney D. W. Perkins
Mr. Dan Joyner
Mr. J. E. Whittington
Mr. Manuel Reviera
Mr. Alonza Davis
Mr. J. M. Baker, Mortician
Attorney Leonard Lewis
Doctor Bush, (White)
Mrs. Downing Knight
Mr. Joe E. Higdon
Mr. James Lewis
Brad's Cafeteria, J. B. Bradley, Mgr.
Lawton L. Pratt's Funeral Home
Mr. Frank Chatman
Mr. Carl Bubber Ford
City Market Operators
Chepenik & Sons, Produce

Miss Eartha White, Clara White Mission

There a number of other doners we wish to mention. We will get these from our Superintendent for the next issue.

It may be truly said that Mr. Frank Chapman has played a conspicuous role in the upbuilding of our H ome. H is untiring efforts will never be forgotten.

o o o

Negro in America

FUTURE RELEASE **PLEASE NOTE DATE**

WAR DEPARTMENT
PUBLIC RELATIONS DIVISION
PRESS SECTION
TEL. RE 6700
BRS. 2528 AND 4860

RECEIVED
JAN 6 1947
Southern Regional Council

FOR RELEASE MONDAY, JANUARY 6, 1947

* *
* NOTE TO EDITORS: The following material, covering the activities of Negro soldiers and civilian personnel employed by the War Department, originated with Army Public Relations Officers in the Continental United States and overseas. Please note release date. *
* *

SEVEN NEGRO COLLEGES
IN U.S. HAVE ROTC UNITS

WASHINGTON, D. C.--Seven Negro colleges in the United States have Senior Reserve Officer Training Corps units, it has been announced by the War Department. In addition, at colleges in the country where Negro students are admitted and those colleges have ROTC units Negroes are members.

The War Department postwar policy concerning the ROTC also makes provision for military training in a Junior ROTC at approximately the secondary school educational level.

Also in effect at two of the Negro colleges is an Army Air Forces ROTC program, designed as in the case of the Army Ground Forces program to provide the AAF with a steady flow of college-trained officers.

The Air Forces ROTC program got under way this fall at Howard University, Washington, D. C., and at Tuskegee Normal & Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama. At both of these institutions Negro Air Corps officers, many of them with brilliant records made in combat overseas in World War II are in charge of training.

There are also Infantry ROTC units at Howard and Tuskegee. At Howard military instruction in both Air Corps and Infantry subjects is under the overall direction of Colonel T. W. Swett, while at Tuskegee Lieutenant Colonel H. A. Barrow is in charge. Both of these officers were appointed by the War Department and hold the office of Professor of Military Science and Tactics at the schools.

MORE

Following are the other Negro institutions having Army Ground Forces ROTC units and the officers who are assigned as Professors of Military Science and Tactics:

Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, Lieutenant Colonel J. A. Nichols; West Virginia State College, Institute, West Virginia, Major P. M. Barnett; Agricultural & Technical College of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina, Major E. C. Johnson; Hampton Institute Hampton, Virginia, Colonel R. H. Grinder; Prairie View University, Prairie View, Texas, Colonel West A. Hamilton.

The Senior ROTC program, mostly conducted at the college level consists of two parts, the elementary course and the advanced course, the latter including a summer camp.

Whereas the Junior ROTC and the elementary course of the Senior ROTC provide only general military training, the advanced Senior ROTC is of a specialized branch type, designed to qualify selected students for reserve commissions in the several branches of the service, such as Infantry, Field Artillery, and others. For example, Hampton Institute is the only Negro school that teaches Antiaircraft subjects, while West Virginia State College specializes in Field Artillery training. Summer camps will also be of a specialized branch type.

The advanced course consists of a minimum of five hours of formal instruction per week for two academic years of 32 weeks each. The summer camp period will be of eight weeks duration.

Land Grant colleges which have required military training may continue this requirement with the War Department encouraging and assisting. However, all students will not necessarily be formally enrolled in the ROTC and eligible for its proposed emoluments unless they meet prescribed requirements.

The War Department is seeking passage of enabling legislation to increase the emoluments to students in the advanced course from 66 cents to $1.25 per day. The advanced students would be required to buy their own uniforms. Institutions desiring to provide a distinctive type of uniform or individually tailored uniforms for the Junior ROTC of the elementary Senior course may draw commutation in lieu of issuance of Government uniforms in an amount set by the Quartermaster. Students at ROTC summer camps will be furnished the necessary field-type uniforms.

Minimum requirements for a reserve commission includes the successful completion of four years education at the college level and the successful completion of the Senior ROTC course. The student also must have reached the age of 21 before he is granted a commission. For a commission as a First Lieutenant in a professional branch, such as the Medical Corps, the candidate must have received his professional degree.

MORE

In case a student is specializing in a technical or scientific field, such as engineering or chemistry, at an institution which does not have that ROTC branch, he may be sent to a summer camp of the appropriate branch, such as the Corps of Engineers or Chemical Warfare Service camp, and obtain his commission in that branch within quota limitations.

The War Department also plans to negotiate with schools maintaining ROTC units to obtain academic credit for such training on the same basis as for non-military subjects where such an agreement does not now exist.

Quotas for the Senior ROTC are allotted annually by the War Department, and separate contracts are executed by students admitted to the elementary and advanced Senior ROTC courses. No contracts are executed for the Junior ROTC.

* * * * * * * * * *

NEGRO SOLDIERS AID
IN RESCUE OF FLOOD VICTIMS

FORT LAWTON, Washington--Five Negro enlisted men stationed at this installation were among the many persons who volunteered to aid in the rescue of more than 100 farmers and townspeople who were stranded by flood waters during storms in Western Washington in the middle of December.

These combat amphibious drivers assigned to the 3362nd Truck Company stationed here drove Army "ducks," a 2½ ton amphibious vehicle, from 10 P.M. one night until 2 o'clock the following afternoon without relief.

Working with the American Red Cross, Army units fought the swift currents and driving rains which continued to swell already flooding rivers which were inundating several hundred acres of fertile farm lands.

Following are the soldiers who aided in the rescue work:

First Sergeant James D. Ziegler, San Antonio, Texas; Technical Sergeant Henry C. Jackson, Savannah, Georgia; Technician Fifth Grade Verley Gross, New York City; Technician Fifth Grade Glen Burton, Kansas City, Missouri, and Corporal Elvin Leigh, Houston, Texas.

* * * * * * * *

NEW YEAR BRINGS REUNIONS IN HAWAII
AS DEPENDENTS JOIN SERVICEMEN

SCHOFIELD BARRACKS, Territory of Hawaii--The New Year saw three more families reunited with their servicemen husbands and fathers stationed here as family reunions continue to increase in the Territory.

MORE

The wives and children arrived in December and so were in time to spend the Christmas holidays in Hawaii. The new arrivals will remain at Schofield Barracks where some of the most ideal housing facilities in the Pacific are available for dependent families.

Mrs. Lena Inyeard and her two children, Cecil, aged 4 and Bennette, 2, arrived to join Master Sergeant Floyd Inyeard. The Inyeards maintain permanent residence at 1522 Indiana Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri. Sergeant Inyeard is stationed at Sand Island with the 392nd TC Truck Company.

Mrs. Ruth Jackson, wife of Technical Sergeant Eugene Jackson, Jr., also arrived in December. Before Sergeant Jackson entered the service the couple resided at 305 W. Main Street, Mexie, Texas. He is at present assigned to the 3098th QM Laundry Company at Schofield.

Another arrival was Mrs. Blanche Harris, wife of Technician Fifth Grade William Harris. Their permanent residence is 1527 W. Jeff Street, Louisville, Kentucky. Technician Harris has been in the Army for four years and recently he reenlisted for another three years hitch. He serves at Schofield Barracks as orderly for the commanding general, Brigadier General Wayne C. Smith.

* * * * * * * *

WIVES JOIN SERVICEMEN
STATIONED IN ITALY

LEGHORN, Italy--Five wives, dependents of Negro officers stationed here arrived on the transport, SS Thomas H. Barry, late in November to swell the growing colony of Army wives who have come here to join their soldier husbands.

The new arrivals were Mrs. Catherine J. Knox, 4315 Page Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri, wife of Captain Woodrow W. Knox, assistant supply officer of the 49th Quartermaster Group; Mrs. Earnestine E. Bivens, 1627 West 22nd Street, Jacksonville, Florida, wife of Captain Woodrow B. Bivens, commanding officer of the 4069th Quartermaster Service Company; Mrs. Margaret L. Ervin, 2021 Brooklyn Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri, wife of Captain Darby D. Ervin, commanding officer of the 480th Port Company.

Also Mrs. Hattie L. Browne, 711 South Perry Street, Dayton, Ohio, wife of First Lieutenant John A. Browne, Jr., commanding officer of the Viareggio detachment of the 90th Military Police Company, and Mrs. Dorothy Van Zandt, 3642 Prairie Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, wife of First Lieutenant Elliot C. Van Zandt who is on temporary duty with The Special Service Section of Peninsular Base Section as coach of the "Buckeyes," Base Section football team. Lieutenant Van Zandt is assigned to the 3372nd Engineer Petroleum Distributing Company.

All the units mentioned above are component parts of the Peninsular Base Section, U.S. Army Forces in the Mediterranean Theater.

MORE

129 TROOPS FROM PACIFIC ARRIVE IN U.S. FOR SEPARATION FROM SERVICE

SAN FRANCISCO, California--The USS Cape Mendicino arrived here on December 30 with 129 Negro soldiers among the enlisted men returning to the United States for separation from the service.

The men whose homes are in ten States, were sent to Separation Centers at Fort Dix, New Jersey, Fort Sheridan, Illinois, and Camp Beale, California.

The soldiers home for separation and the States from which they come follow:

ALABAMA: Mobile--Private Nias Washington, 354 Marmotte St.; Selma--Private Norman Brantley; Carrollton--Private Joe L. Turnipseed; Birmingham--Private First Class Joe Thomas; Technical Sergeant Daniel W. Maxwell, 1822 19th St.; Wadley--Private Willis Smith; Huntville--Private Noble L. Jones; Northport--Corporal Walter L. Burton; Plateau--Technician Fifth Grade Johnnie Brewer; Tuscaloosa--Private First Class Leo Draper.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Washington--Private First Class Allen J. Smith, 1130 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.; Technician Fifth Grade Norman Duncan, 1115th Pl., N.E.; Private Alexander Campbell, 1108 Fifth St., N.W.; Private First Class Melvin I. Miller, 642 Florence St., N.E.; Sergeant Otey G. Smith, 706 Fourth St., S.E.; Private Billy C. Cosby, 313 13th St.

MARYLAND: Baltimore--Private Cornelius White, 1542 Carey St.; Technician Fifth Grade Clarence Smith; Private First Class Jacob Hambersham, 153 W. Cross St.; Technician Fifth Grade Daniel R. Clairborne, 2014 Develyn Ave.; Hagerstown--Private First Class Charles Washington, 410 Rubbie Ave.; Madison--Private Robert L. Matthews; Ellicott City--Staff Sergeant Louis H. Johnson; Beallsville--Private First Class Vincent E. Thomas; Easton--Private First Class William Jones; Leonardtown--Private First Class Joseph P. Swailem; Annapolis--Private First Class Joseph Johnson.

NEW JERSEY: Long Branch--Private First Class George E. Day, 17 Ellis Ave.; Camden--Private Edward Turner, 303 Stevens St.; Freehold--Private First Class Wilbert L. Hinton; Hackensack--Private First Class Wilford Fenton, 30 Fair St.; Newark--Private First Class James F. Russel, 303 Norfolk.

NEW YORK: New York City--Private Joseph Jacques, 1491 Amsterdam Ave.; Private James L. Hamilton, 14 West 119th St.; Private First Class Walter D. Jackson, 860 Dawson St.; Private First Class Edward Knowles, 357 West 118th St.; Brooklyn--Private Eustance S. Reily, 497 Madison St.; Private James Lingard, Jr., 313 Powell St.; Private James E. Duck, 10 Carlton Ave.; Technician Fifth Grade William H. Lee, 534 Green Ave.

OHIO: Youngstown--Private Nathaniel Alexander, 1215 St. Claire Ave.; Private William D. Williams, 1070 Marble St.; Akron--Private Emory J. Cobb; Private First Class James T. Hill, 118 East Norris St.; Cleveland--Sergeant Hardin Slaughter, 5699 Woodland Ave.; Private First Class James J. Oliver, 39 East 63rd St.; Canton--Private Alfred Hines; St. Clairsville--Private First Class Arlie Henry; Clarksburg--Private First Class James R. Brewer; Steubenville--Technician Fifth Grade Roland L. Hendericks, 329 North 7th St.

MORE

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia--Private First Class Jammie S. Dunston; Private Horace B. Jackson, 2143 North Van Pelt St.; Private James B. Pettigrew, 1246 North 57th St.; Sergeant Grady Martin, Jr., Harshaw St.; Private Edward J. Wade; Private Ezekiel Brown, 3846 Melan St.; Private James C. Leach, 2545 West Dakota; Private First Class John D. Smith, 872 North 8th St.; Chester--Technician Fifth Grade Harry O. Coxen, 910 Central Ave.; Peach Bottom--Private Harry R. Keefer.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville--Private Fred G. Howard, 105 Ct. Auston Homes; Private Henry Wilkerson, 1600 Vernon St.; Chattanooga--Private Thomas E. Smith, 2801 Benton Ave.; Clarksville--Private First Class Thomas Smith, 714 Drane St.; Murfreesboro--Private James K. Sims; Memphis--Sergeant Willie L. Lay, 37 Alma St.; Nashville--Private Charles A. Eddin, 1407 13th Ave.; Private Claude H. Smith, 2307 23rd Ave.; Capleville--Sergeant James Williams; Huntingdon--Private First Class Roy R. Wright.

TEXAS: Henderson--Technical Sergeant Vernon Jackson, Box 1174; Lancaster--Private L. D. Duggett; Liberty--Corporal Robert L. Carlisle; Beaumont--Technician Fifth Grade Autholia Westbrooks; Jackson--Private James Evans; Lexington--Private Ernest T. Moore, Box 92; Smithville--Private First Class Clinton Powell; Mt. Enterprise--Private First Class Alphonso Sanders; Fort Worth--Private Sylvester L. Haley, 702 White St.; Carrollton--Private Clarence Richardson.

Linden--Private First Class Otis Whitman; Dallas--Private Cleo Mangram, Jr., 2530 Bethruam; Victoria--Private Raleigh Prince; Tyler--Private Matthew Williams, Box 137; Private Willie Dotson, 1421 East Oakwood St.; Houston--Private C. O. Willis; Private First Class Xavier P. Samuel, 3008 Calhoun Ct.; Private First Class Tenola Edwards; Private First Class Joseph Jenkins, 3412 Avie St.; Private Carl D. Williams, 3010 Hare St.; Corporal Howard A. Brown, 2518 Rosalie; Private Charlie W. Barlow, 1007 Edward St.; Private Thomas Oliver, Jr.; Camilla--Private Cleo C. Ridley; Brownfield--Technician Fourth Grade Craft White; Cason--Private Archie Woods, Jr.

Hoover--Corporal Alvin Grahm; Midland--Private Benjamin Harris,Jr.; Marlin--Private First Class Dan M. Brooks; Temple--Private Sam J. Hurst; Rosebud--Private Willie Judih; Wichita Falls--Private First Class George Donnell, 105 Cleveland; Marshall--Private Dalous C. Grover; Yoakum--Private Walter L. Kuykendall; Texarkana--Private Earl C. Stuckey, 1316 Ash St.; Wharton--Private First Class Clarence Holmes, Jr.; Haskell--Private John H. Hammond; Trinity--Private Tommie Z. Simmonds; Lyons--Private Clarence C. Thompson; Mexia--Private Kamac C. Ross.

VIRGINIA: Lynchburg--Private Paul Spinner, 1008 4th St.; Private Cleveland Rucker, 9th St.; Norfolk--Private Fred N. Wiggins, 1129 Chicazola St.; Private Matthew Staton, 730 Charlotte St.; Private John I. Fuller, 734 Chafer St.; Charlotteville--Private John H. Brown, 1103 Park; Amissville--Technician Fifth Grade William M. Carter; Dewitt--Private First Class William H. Gilliam, Box 190; Alexandria--Corporal Lawrence J. Randall, 1018 Queen St.; Harrisonburg--Technician Fifth Grade Marshall Tams; Newport News--Sergeant George Medlin; Franklin--Private Harvester P. Johnson, 415 Franklin St.

MORE

Richmond--Private Charlie McKever, 618 North 7th St.; Private Henry Atkins, 219 East Clay St.; Private Marshall L. Mayo, 1220 Noeton St.; Portsmouth--Private William H. Sumler, 321 First Ave.; Stanardsville--Private Cecil Herndon; Fairview--Private Miles A. Jordan, 625 Adams St.

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January 8, 1947

Baltimore Afro-American
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Gentlemen:

We should like to receive a copy of the study,

BALTIMORE, AMERICA'S FIFTH LARGEST NEGRO MARKET.

We understand that copies are free. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

January 8, 1947

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* *
* NOTE TO EDITORS: The following material, covering the *
* activities of Negro soldiers and civilian personnel employed *
* by the War Department, originated with Army Public Relations *
* Officers in the Continental United States and overseas. Please *
* note release date. *
* *

43 of 1,569 NEGRO OFFICERS ARE MEMBERS OF REGULAR ARMY

WASHINGTON, D. C.--Out of a total of 1,569 Negro officers in the Army on November 1, 1946, 43 were members of the Regular Army, it has been announced by the War Department.

Thirty-one of this number were appointed in the Regular Army on July 3, 1946. They were among 9,800 chosen from more than 100,000 applicants.

Seven of the remaining 12 Regular Army officers are graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. The remaining five were members of the Regular Army prior to the beginning of World War II.

The names, grades, and branches of the Negro officers now in the Regular Army follow:

Prior to World War II

NAME	GRADE	BRANCH
Davis, Benjamin O.	Brigadier General	Inspector General's Department
Beasley, Walter D. S.	Lt. Colonel	Chaplain's Corps
De Veaux, John A.	Major	Chaplain's Corps
Griffin, James A.	Major	Chaplain's Corps
Long, Norman G.	Captain	Chaplain's Corps

MORE

Graduates of USMA

NAME	GRADE	BRANCH
*Davis, Benjamin O., Jr.	Colonel	Air Corps
Davenport, Clarence M.	Major	Infantry
Fowler, James D.	Major	Infantry
Francis, Henry M.	1st Lieutenant	Infantry
Davis, Ernest J., Jr.	1st Lieutenant	Air Corps
Rivers, Mark E., Jr.	1st Lieutenant	Signal Corps
McCoy, Andrew A.	1st Lieutenant	Air Corps

Appointed July 3, 1946

Brooks, Nelson S.	Lt. Colonel	Air Corps
Reubel, Harry B.	Lt. Colonel	Infantry
Robinson, James H.	Lt. Colonel	Infantry
Campbell, William A.	Major	Air Corps
Hopson, Brannon J.	Major	Chaplain's Corps
Johnson, Edward C.	Major	Infantry
Knox, George L.	Major	Air Corps
McDaniel, Armour C.	Major	Air Corps
Parsons, Norman W.	Major	Cavalry
Biggs, Bradley	Captain	Infantry
Bryant, Robert A.	Captain	Chaplain's Corps
Driver, Elwood T.	Captain	Air Corps
Durden, Lewis M.	Captain	Chaplain's Corps
Friend, Robert J.	Captain	Air Corps
Gott, William E.	Captain	Pharmacy Corps
Gray, George E.	Captain	Air Corps
Holsclaw, Jack D.	Captain	Air Corps
Johnson, Andrew L.	Captain	Chaplain's Corps
McWilliams, Alfred E.	Captain	Chaplain's Corps
Ormes, Melvin W.	Captain	Quartermaster Corps
Scott, Osborne E.	Captain	Chaplain's Corps
Smith, Robert L.	Captain	Air Corps
Sorrell, Roy W.	Captain	Infantry
Stanton, Charles R.	Captain	Air Corps
Archer, Lee A.	1st Lieutenant	Air Corps
Branch, Matthew D.	1st Lieutenant	Infantry
Iles, George J.	1st Lieutenant	Air Corps
Moore, Spurgeon A.	1st Lieutenant	Infantry
Morgan, Leonard S.	1st Lieutenant	Field Artillery
Parker, Albert J.	1st Lieutenant	Infantry
White, Cecil W.	1st Lieutenant	Infantry

MORE

* Also member of Regular Army prior to World War II.

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January 14, 1947

Dear Friends:

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The nationwide observance of Negro History Week this year will take place from February 9 to 15. This event has great significance in terms of the fight for Negro rights and equality.

Today Negro and white unity is more essential than ever. It is vital in building the broadest people's coalition which as CIO President Philip Murray has declared, is necessary to defeat the offensive of the coalition of GOP reactionaries and Tory Democrats in the 80th Congress and to restore the FDR policies. It is these reactionaries who seek to destroy the labor unions, who perpetuate poll taxes, lynching and jimcoow.

Negro History Week is an appropriate occasion to cement Negro and white unity, to develop the widest appreciation of the significant achievements of the Negro people. It is a timely event to express these things in terms of today's basic struggles for democracy, equality, security and lasting peace.

To help to accomplish this worthwhile purpose, our fraternal Order is publishing its annual Negro History Week Bulletin which this year is titled "Democracy and the Negro People." Its eight tabloid illustrated pages will contain such features as: The Struggle for Negro Rights in 1946 and Prospects for 1947, The Negro People and Labor, Culture, Politics, Veterans, the South, the Fraternal Movement, the National Groups, the Colonial Question, etc.

For your convenience we enclose an order blank which can be used in sending for copies of the bulletin at the low price of 2¢ per copy in bundle orders of ten or more. An immediate order will assure distribution before or during Negro History Week.

With appreciation for your cooperation,

Fraternally yours,

Eugene Konecky

Eugene Konecky, Director
Publications Department

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NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

February 9-15, 1947

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January 30, 1947

Dear Sir:

The publication March 21st, 1947 of Earl Conrad's book "Jim Crow America" is a milestone in the moving history of the Negro in America.

The attached review by Virginia Kirkus is an accurate and vigorous synopsis of the book. The Book-of-the-Month Club has placed it on its "recommended" list.

This is a book to be bought, read, used in classes and libraries, and sold. We enlist your cooperation in accomplishing these ends. For our part we will allow on orders for ten to 49 copies 40% discount from the list price of $3.00, and on 50 to 99 copies 41%, and on 100 or more copies 42%. Special prices on larger quantities may be had on request.

Your orders, placed now, will insure that you have the book in your hands and those of your pupils and friends on publication day. Please send all orders to Dept. T. F. at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

Theodore Fredenburgh

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From Virginia Kirkus' Bookshop Service Bulletin
38 Bank Street, New York, N. Y.

Conrad Earl JIM CROW AMERICA $3.00

Perhaps the most exciting book on the subject yet to be published- and yet it is an informed, responsible piece of investigation and good journalism. Conrad- newspaperman, first white man to act as bureau manager and columnist for the Negro press as head of the Harlem Office of the Chicago Defender - had to fight suspicion and hostility to win the Negro's confidence. He knows their strengths and weaknesses, and frankly challenges corruption in sections of the Negro press, and quislings in the ranks who would sell out their own people. With extraordinary perception and passionate reason he presents the Negro point of view. He hammers home the fact that an economic issue has been labelled a racial one, and argues convincingly that social taboos have grown out of economic causes. Industry has fostered white supremacy so that the Negro must accept lower wages, thus delaying the progress of white workers. He tells the dramatic story of the great migration North. He discusses the resurgence of Negro literature. He accuses the white press of mishandling Negro news, building "crime waves," suppressing news of advance. He gives a grim picture of the black ghetto of Harlem and of segregation housing elsewhere. He discusses Negro organizations and their leaders. A superb chapter on the African heritage will be an eye-opener to many. He goes back in legal history to trace Jim Crowisms, backed by a pattern of socio-economic exclusion and fostered by political deals on both sides. He blasts some myths and generalizations, showing how the so-called innate rhythm has become the relentless rhythm of marching feet as a mockery of democracy sends them in the communist fold. Here is MUST reading for aware young Americans, for neo-liberals, for those who think the Negro problem will work itself out, for those who sincerely want a program to fight the Bilbos and the big financial interests that foster race prejudice. This book- properly launched- will start controversy. And that in turn will produce readers. Don't miss it.

26 - Negro in America

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

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"BIOGRAPHY AND INFORMATION ON INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS IN THE UNITED STATES"

By: Maude B. Coleman
Sr. Interracial Consultant

THIS PROVIDES A SELECTED LIST OF PUBLICATIONS ON THE LIFE AND WORK OF THE NEGRO AND INFORMATION ON THE ACTIVITIES OF INTERRACIAL COMMISSIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS WORKING IN THE INTEREST OF IMPROVING RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

February 1947

INDEX OF BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Bibliographies

II. Biography

III. Economic Outlook, Social and Cultural Life, and Race Relations

IV. Books, Magazines, Pamphlets, and Newspapers

V. Education Material

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Hampton Institute

A classified Catalogue of the Negro Collection in the Collis P. Huntingdon Library of Hampton Institute. Price $1.50
Hampton, Virginia

.....

National Urban League
Negro and National Defense - 1133 Broadway, New York City.

.....

Tennessee State Department of Education. The Negro - a carefully selected list of books on the living and thinking of Negroes in America, for children and young people.

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National Urban League - 1133 Broadway, New York City
Selected Bibliography on the Negro. 10 cents per copy.

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American Civil Liberties University, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City

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Freedom in Wartime
American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City - 10.

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Freedom's Plow - Langston Hughes
Opportunity
National Urban League - New York City.

.....

Fisk University
Program of African Studies, Mark Hanna Watkins, Nashville, Tennessee.

BIOGRAPHY

Life and Times of Frederick Douglass Frederick Douglass	New York Pathway Press New York City. Price $5.00
A Nickel and a Prayer Jane E. Hunter	The Elli Kani Publishing Co. Cleveland, Ohio. Price $2.50
A Colored Woman in a White World Mary Church Terrell	Ransdell National Press Bldg. Washington, D. C.
Interracial Cooperation Dr. Leslie P. Hill	President of Cheyney State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pa.
Pennsylvania State Temporary Commission on Conditions of the Urban Colored Population. Dr. Lawrence Foster, Director	Lincoln University, Pa.
Atlanta School of Social Work Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Director	Atlanta, Georgia
Downington Industrial School Professor J.H.N. Waring, Jr. President	Downington, Pa.
James Adams School Professor T. J. Anderson, Principal	Coatesville, Pa.
American Negroes Edwin R. Embree. (The situation of Negroes in the U.S., their background and heritage, their handicaps and progress and special gifts in the search for fuller freedom and opportunity in a democracy for all the people.)	John Day Company New York City
Negro Youth at the Crossways Franklin E. Fraxier	American Council on Education Washington, D. C. Price $2.25
Cookman Bethune College Dr. Mary McLoed Bethune President	Daytona, Florida
Palmer Memorial Institute Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, President	Sedolia, North Carolina

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE
RACE RELATIONS

Survey of the Negro Population of Metropolitan Johnstown, 1941 Florence M. Hornback. A study of the social and economic conditions of Negroes in Johnstown, Pennsylvania	
Growing Up in the Black Belt Charles S. Johnson. (Negro youth in the rural south.)	American Council on Education Price $2.25
The Case for the Minorities Wendell Wilkie	Saturday Evening Post Curtis Publishing Company
How to Prevent a Race Riot in Your Home Town Winifred Roushenbush	American Civil Liberties Union 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City 10 cents per copy
The Meltong Pot on Trial	Foreign Language Information Service. 222 4th Avenue, New York City
Toward Lynchless America Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames. (Association of southern women for the prevention of lynching.)	710 Standard Building Atlanta, Georgia
War Time and Post War Social Work Among Negroes Lester B. Granger, Executive Secretary	National Urban League New York City
Commission on Interracial Cooperation	Atlanta, Georgia
Social Action Charles S. Johnson	Council for Social Action for the Congregational Churches. 289 4th Ave., New York City. Price $1.00 per year - 20¢ single copy.
Fellowship The journal of the Fellowship of Reconciliation	The Fellowship of Reconciliation. 2929 Broadway, New York City

Christians Protest Persecution	The Editor's Religious News National Conference of Christians and Jews 381 4th Avenue, New York City
Jews in America	Editors of Fortune Magazine New York City
How Management can Integrate Negroes in War Industries (Committee on discrimination in employment.)	New York State War Council National Urban League New York City
Racial Conflict - A Home Front Danger	National Urban League 1133 Broadway New York City
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Building a Brotherhood Worth Defending	Federal Council of Churches New York City
Religious Groups and the Post War World Benson Y. Landis	National Conference of Christians and Jews 381 4th Avenue New York City
Pennsylvania State Temporary Commission Dr. Lawrence Foster, Director (Final Report of 1942.)	524 South 16th Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
America's Obligation to Its Negro Citizens Mark Ethridge	Conference on Education and Race Relations
Refugees and Wartime	National Board, Y.W.C.A. 600 Lexington Avenue New York City
The Pleasures of Hate	Foreign Language Information Service 222 4th Avenue New York City

Southern Conference for Human Welfare	Nashville, Tennessee
Blue Print for the American Community	National Conference of Christians and Jews 320 4th Avenue New York City
Christians and Jews Benson Y. Sanders, Physician (A reading list)	300 Fourth Avenue New York City
Christian Solution of the Jewish Problem Williard Johnson	National Conference of Christians and Jews
Three Faiths, One God Jacob Simpson Payton	National Conference of Christians and Jews 381 4th Avenue New York City
The World We Want to Live In Everett R. Clinchy	National Conference of Christians and Jews 381 4th Avenue New York City
Race and Race Relations	American Missionary Association 287 4th Avenue New York City
There Are Things To Do Lillian Smith (In magazine "South Today")	Clayton, Georgia
With Malice Toward None Dr. Bernard Heller	The Synagogue Council of America New York City

BOOKS, MAGAZINES, PAMPHLETS, AND NEWSPAPERS

Common Ground
Common Council of America Unity
222 4th Avenue, New York City

.....

Understanding Our Neighbors
10 cents per copy. $1.00 a dozen

.....

Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia

.....

Negro Year Book
Dr. Monroe N. Work, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama

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Shackled Still
American Missionary Society Association
287 Fourth Avenue, New York City

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American Common
Common Council for American Unity
40 East 48th Street, New York City

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Speak up for Good Will
Ellis Jensen-National Conference of Christians and Jews, New York City

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Crisis Magazine
N.A.A.C.P., New York City

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Patterns of Negro Segregation
Charles S. Johnson-Harpers - Price $3.50

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3507 Parkway, Chicago, Illinois

South Today
3316 Peachtree Road, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

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George Washington Carver
Doubleday & Doran - Price $3.50

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Race Riots
Humphrey & Lee - Dryden Press

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Race and Rumors of Race
Howard W. Odum, North Carolina University, N. C.

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To Stem This Tide
Charles S. Johnson, Pilgrim Press, Boston, Massachuesetts

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Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Tuskeegee, Alabama

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Philadelphia Tribune
524 S. 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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Afro American
Baltimore, Maryland

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Pittsburgh Courier
Center Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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Brown American
719 S. 19th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

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Opportunity Magazine
National Urban League

EDUCATION MATERIAL

America's Tenth Man
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia

.....

Democratic Processes at Work in the South
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
5 cents per copy
50 cents per dozen
Atlanta, Georgia

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White Women in a BiRacial Society
Edwin L. Clarke
Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching
710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia

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To End This Day of Strife
Department of Race Relations
Federal Council of churches in America
297 4th Avenue, New York City, 10

.....

Justice in Race Relations
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Atlanta, Georgia

.....

Negro Workers in Free America

.....

Guide to Information About the Negro and Negro White Adjustment
Marguerite E. Bucknell
LeMoyne College
Memphis, Tennessee

.....

Interracial Cooperation in Action
National Urban League
1133 Broadway, New York City

Understanding Our Neighbors
R. B. Eleazer
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
10 cents a single copy
$1.00 per dozen
710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia

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Interracial News Service
Federal Council of Churches
297 4th Avenue, New York City

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Publications of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia

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The Need to Eat is Not Racial
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
50 cents per dozen
Atlanta, Georgia

.....

A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations
Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

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Interracial Brotherhood Through Christian Unity
Federal Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue, New York City

.....

Working and Fighting Together
C.I.O. Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination, Washington, D. C.

.....

The Growth of Good Will
Everett R. Clinchy
National Conference of Christians and Jews

.....

"My Country Tis"
A community Good Will Pageant
Althea Osher Silverman
381 Fourth Avenue, New York City

March 6, 1947

Editor
Minnesota Law Review
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Sir:

Thank you for sending us a copy of Judge Waite's report on the Negro in the Supreme Court. Enclosed is 35¢ to cover.

Judge Waite is to be commended for having seen the value of such a compilation of facts and then to have set about the task of putting them into convenient, readable form. We here at the Council have already found this information helpful in preparing some material on provisions made by Southern States for the professional and graduate training of Negroes.

Very truly yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:r

The Presbyterian Outlook

OLD IN SERVICE Established 1819 NEW IN SPIRIT

Volume 129. No. 11. March 17, 1947 403 East Franklin St., Richmond 19, Virginia

Alliance Protests Reported Treatment Of Hungarian People

Memphis Meeting Wants Governments to Join in Move

First time the Western Section of the World Alliance of Presbyterian and Reformed Churches ever met west of Pittsburgh was the recent annual gathering at the Peabody Hotel in Memphis. This group of representatives from the churches (made up almost entirely of ministers) met for three days, heard papers on current problems—mostly about the situation in Europe—and made plans for the August, 1948, meeting of the World Alliance which will be held in Geneva, Switzerland.

New officers of the Western Section include John W. Woodside, of Ottowa, Canada, president; and Ernest Trice Thompson, Richmond, Va., vice-president. Hugh T. Kerr, of Pittsburgh, was this year's president. Buck Hill Falls, Pa., will be next year's meeting place.

One significant action of the Memphis meeting was adoption of a resolution urging the Czech Brethren Church to take action on behalf of Hungarian nationals being deported from Czechoslovakia. Decision on this question followed an official request from the Hungarian Reformed Church that the Alliance voice its protest and ask the U. S. and Canadian governments to do likewise. Stephen Szabo, of Toledo, Ohio, charged that Hungarians in Czechoslovakia are being stripped of their possessions before being forcibly evacuated. The matter will also be brought before the Geneva meeting of the World Alliance.

More than half the 126 delegates to the Western Section from the seven denominations were present in Memphis, with Southern Presbyterians having 12 of their 14 members there. One of that number, Professor James I. McCord, of Austin Theological Seminary, delivered an address on "The Future of the Reformed Faith in the World of Tomorrow."

According to a report by Dr. George Summey, 93-year-old Southern Presbyterian member of the Alliance who never misses a meeting, "The Section devoted itself closely to business. The social side of the meeting was confined to the hotel lobbies. The only outside gatherings were the one evening's session in the Lindsey Memorial Presbyterian church, and a communion service at the close in the Idlewild Presbyterian Church."

ROY LeCRAW
A former mayor seeks $600,000

Colonel LeCraw to Direct Church's War Relief Efforts

A former mayor of Atlanta will lead the Southern Presbyterian Church in its efforts to raise $600,000 for war relief in the next year. Roy LeCraw, lieutenant colonel in the last war with service in the European theater, and an active elder in the North Avenue church of Atlanta, has already begun his work, succeeding Eugene L. Daniel, who will go as a missionary to Korea. Vernon S. Broyles, chairman of the Assembly's committee, made the announcement.

Colonel LeCraw is the Atlanta agent of a life insurance company. He has been a campaign director of the Atlanta Community Chest and president of the city's Chamber of Commerce. Since his return from military duty he has been much in demand as a speaker on conditions in Europe.

Colonel LeCraw will move the headquarters from Nashville to Atlanta and he will be available to all kinds of church groups in presenting war relief needs.

Training of Negro Ministers at Union Seminary Described

Newspapers Tell of Enrollment Of Nine in Graduate Department

With the recent enrollment of three white girls at Hampton Institute, Negro college in Virginia, newspaper reports told also of the instruction of Negro theological students at Union Seminary in Richmond, which has been going on for some years.

According to an account in the Richmond **Times-Dispatch,** nine Negro graduate students are taking master's and doctor's degrees at the seminary at the present time. None of these is in residence. All nine students, it was said, hold the bachelor's degree in divinity from Negro undergraduate schools.

Dean Donald W. Richardson of the graduate department was quoted as saying the Negro ministers are attending Union Seminary "for advance study which they cannot get elsewhere in the South." Dr. Richardson spoke of the students as "very quiet and perfect gentlemen" who are treated "with politeness" by the rest of the student body. They use all classroom facilities, including the library.

Negro graduate students have been attending the seminary for the past eight or ten years, according to Dr. Richardson.

In a recent issue of **Information Service,** Union Seminary is said to be the only southern seminary enrolling Negro students at the present time.

In naming an honor roll for 1947 the **Richmond Afro-American** recently cited President Ben R. Lacy for his part in the admission of Negro students to Union Seminary. Outlining some of Dr. Lacy's achievements of the past, the paper pays tribute to his work as home missionary, city pastor and seminary president, and quotes him as pointing out modestly that opening of the classes in the graduate school of theology was due to the unanimous action of the faculty. The paper states that the pastor of the First (Negro) Presbyterian Church of Richmond was the first Negro student to enroll at the institution—in 1935—and that since that time sixteen others have enrolled.

Only other white person on the **Afro-**

American's honor roll is a Roman Catholic priest of the city who is praised for his work on behalf of Negro youth.

State Department Answers Baptists on Taylor Mission

Nashville, Tenn. (RNS)—The U. S. Department of State has advised the executive committee of the Southern Baptist Convention that while President Truman told a group of Protestant churchmen last June the mission of Myron Taylor to the Vatican is a temporary one he did not mean the appointment would terminate with the signing of the Italian peace treaty.

The letter from the State Department was received by Duke K. McCall, executive secretary of the Baptists' Executive Committee, in reply to a petition adopted by the committee January 22 and forwarded to President Truman.

"Treaties with the countries contiguous to and immediately related to the Vatican having ben agreed upon," said the January 22 petition, "we earnestly urge and petition the President of the United States to fulfill his promise, made last June, at the earliest possible date."

The Department's letter stated:

"By reference from the White House this department has received your communication of January 27, 1947, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Southern Baptist Committee transmitting to the President a petition concerning the mission of Mr. Myron C. Taylor to the Vatican.

"At his press conference on June 14, 1946, President Truman corrected reports to the effect that he had told the group of Protestant leaders that Mr. Taylor's mission would be recalled after the signing of the Italian peace treaty. He indicated the mission was temporary and that when its purpose in assisting in the establishment of peaceful conditions throughout the world has been accomplished, no official representing the President of the United States would be sent to the Vatican. Mr. Taylor has never been appointed as ambassador or other diplomatic officer of the United States nor has his presence at the Vatican as personal representative of the President established a United States embassy there."

In releasing the text of the letter to the Baptist press, Dr. McCall noted that "this interpretation eliminates all definite means of dating the termination of Mr. Taylor's mission to the Vatican."

News Letter Warns of Witch Hunts Against Socially-Minded Men

New York (RNS).—A warning that "witch hunts against socially-minded men" may become "the rule and not the exception," in coming years, was voiced here by the World Alliance News Letter, organ of the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.

Citing the controversy over appointment of David Lilienthal as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission as an indication of this trend, the editorial declared that back of this "red-baiting heresy trial" lies the effort of "bigoted men to mold American policy along purely national lines."

The editorial also warned against the danger of isolationists sabotaging the effectiveness of the International Trade Organization now in process of formation, and declared that "crippling" reservations of American membership would "undermine the enitre structure of the organization and ultimately destroy it."

Calling upon churches during the Lenten season to "create in the minds of men and women an honesty of mind and an integrity of spirit," the editorial asserted that "we must throw the light of religion not only on self, but also on the nation and the society of nations."

Churches Plan to Send 500 Protestant Missionaries to Japan

New York (RNS).—American Protestant churches are planning to send 500 missionaries to Japan within the next three years, it was announced here by Luman J. Shafer, chairman of the Japan Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

A deputation of American church leaders will go to Japan this summer or fall to confer with Christian leaders there on details of the missionary plan.

Most of the missionaries will be permanent workers, Dr. Shafer explained. Some will be specialists in medicine, agriculture, and science.

The committee is studying a plan to ship 100 quonset huts and prefabricated houses to Japan as living quarters for the missionaries, and is also financing the erection of 50 temporary buildings.

Freedom and Justice

By REINHOLD NIEBUHR

London.—It is an unfortunate aspect of human relations that we tend to put the worst possible interpretations on other people's actions. When I left the United States for instance, I noted that the new governor of Pennsylvania declared that America was the only truly democratic country on earth because it was the only nation which had not gone in for collectivism.

Britain and the Scandinavian countries, which have established much more social control than we, but are proud of having maintained their liberties, would resent such a slur upon their life.

On the other hand, there is a tendency in Britain to picture America as a kind of desert of economic confusion and (as a rather callow student informed me recently) a nation which is on the brink of fascism. I informed the student that, no matter how critical one might be of the American identification of democracy with free enterprise, he ought to give us credit for many democratic resources of which he seemed completely oblivious.

Actually the difference between European and American conceptions of democracy are to a large degree determined by circumstances. The poverty of Europe has determined its conception of democracy and our wealth has determined ours.

When the total wealth of a nation has greatly diminished and there is a general sense of a common poverty there is also a strong desire to share the residual wealth as equitably as possible.

Thus the strict rationing system in Britain is not something imposed by the labor government. It would have to be maintained by any government because it is demanded by the general will. There is not enough to go around and provisions must therefore be made for the most equitable sharing.

Conversely the American abundance is such that we can, for some time at least, allow ourselves the luxury of freedom even if things are not shared equitably. I do not say that grave injustices do not arise in this freedom; but they are not sufficient for the moment to change the course of our thought about the relation of justice to freedom.

I doubt whether the British have lost any essential freedom in their new discipline; but they have undoubtedly sacrificed some cherished freedoms. The other day, for example, a clergyman complained that under the strict construction regulations large new residential sections were being built with no possibility of building a church to become the religious center of the community. Thus, he declared, building regulations make for the secularization of communities and the church has lost a cherished freedom.

He has a real point. On the other hand, our building and housing program having broken down in America, we are in danger of building only remunerative buildings and having no new modest priced housing at all.

These contrasting experiences show how difficult it is to preserve both freedom and justice. That is a crucial problem of modern democracy upon which we will be still working a century from now.

We had better try to learn from one another for various strategies will have to be tried before we have the right answer. All we know thus far is that complete regulation leads to totalitarianism and complete freedom leads to anarchy. But the middle ground must still be explored.

(Copyright 1947, by Religious News Service.)

Negro Newspaper

March 17, 1947

RECEIVED
APR 9 1947
Southern Regional Council

MEMORANDUM

To: Governor James E. Folsom

From: Alabama Newspaper Association's
~~Governor's Conference Committee~~

Subject: The General Welfare

Following a conference of leaders representing a cross section of our people in all walks of life which met in Montgomery in early January, we achieved a meeting of minds on recommendations to be submitted to you today.

First we wish to reassure youof our appreciation of the opportunity to confer with you and commend you for your declared intention of being the Governor of all the people and give all the people equal protection under the law. We, here and now, pledge you our full support as you go forward by going forward.

We respectfully urge and recommend that Your Excellency, in view of the fact that Negroes constitute the largest and almost totally voiceless minority in the state, establish an Office of Minority Affairs and a Commission on Minority Affairs to be composed of blacks and whites--men and women of character and good will, who believe in equality of opportunity for all citizens of Alabama. That under the Commission on Minority Affairs sub-committees be set up through which facts might be obtained on conditions or questions affecting the welfare of this minority in order that the State Commission would be able to make constructive recommendations.

It is further suggested that the suggested State Commission have its executive officer a Negro of character, one consecrated and dedicated to the proposition of seeking greater opportunity for dedevelopment of Negroes of character and the gradual integration of same into the administration of every setup in the state having to do with, directly or indirectly, the welfare of our racial group, to the end that those people may make the fullest contribution to the general welfare. That the said executive office have a secretary and typist and other necessary personnel;;that the executive officer be the recognized interpreter of the Negro citizen's needs to the Governor and the state's offering to Negro Citizen; the expenses of said office to be paid out of funds at your disposal.

Through the suggested machinery, state officials would be advised on meeting the needs of the Negro people on the basis of justice and equity.

NEEDS OF NEGRO VETERANS

Today Alabama's 90,000 Negro Veterans are receiving little of the very liberal benefits extended to all ex-service men by the Federal Government. Although Alabama's veteran training program on paper is by far better than that being offered by any state in the union, Negro veterans are receiving far too little attention. Negro personnel, badly needed to administer the program, has not been employed and training facilities have not been made available. While the State Department of Education charged with the responsibility of training veterans must be commended for the splendid opportunities offered Negro veterans in Birmingham. In Tuscaloosa and several other centers the mass of Negro ex-service men are still denied the opportunity to acquire a skill which will enable them to earn a decent living. In order to touch the mass of Negro veterans, it is first necessary to employ more Negro personnel as on-the-job-training coordinators and instructors. The difference in salaries of white and Negro coordinators and instructors set up by the Trades and Industrial Division of the State Department of Education should be eliminated. At present most Negroes are paid from $170 to $185 per month while whites performing similar duties [illegible] qualifications receive from $225 to $275. Many county and city school superintendents and the Boards they represent are completely hostile to providing any type of training for Negro veterans and nothing is done in these communities as the State Department of Education can go no further than the school Board in each Community. State Department officials should be given authority to establish schools and create training opportunities wherever needed regardless of the attitude of local school Boards.

Another bottleneck in the veterans training program is the refusal of the Alabama Employment Service to employ competent Negro interviewers. Negro ex-service men are always channeled into unskilled and least remunerative occupations by unsympathetic counsellors in employment offices. The use of Negro personnel in this branch of service would substantially aid veterans in finding suitable employment.

State Service Commissioner, C. C. Horton is to be congratulated for the employment of a Negro representative in the State Department of Veteran Affairs. There should be several more used in this department in order to serve the thousands of Negro veterans. Mr Horton's proposal to set up a $200,000 loan fund for Alabama's veterans is commendable. Negro ex-service men are confronted with many difficulties when they seek to obtain GI loans. Although a number have received home loans few if any have been able to secure assistance in establishing and expanding their businesses.

EDUCATION

Public education in Alabama should be made a primary function of government. We think well of the program for education outlined by our governor and are ready to roll up our sleeves and fight for it.

Alabama should do all that is within its power to hasten federal-aid to education.

Alabama needs up-to-date mental, health and deliquent education. We have been shocked over newspaper reports of shameful conditions at Mt. Meigs. Equally embarrassing have been reports of disturbing conditions at our mental institutions.

Studies made by the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association indicate widespread racial discrimination in all fields of Extension Service. The vocational, expreiment station, 4-H Club, Co-op-programs, the alleged way the Alabama Farm Bureau Federation uses extension workers to collect dues for it, the soliciting and accepting of Negro memberships without fallowing them to be full members, and other flagrant reported abuses should be ended and outlawed. Racial discrimination in the pay or extension workers in unfair, undemocratic and should cease.

Graduate, professional and special training on a level of that provided at the University of Alabama and Auburn (A. P. I.) should immediately be made available to Negro citizens within the state. Remedies suggested, and in a few instances put in operation, by other governors do not square with the Gaines Decision. We urge the fulfillment of all the implications of that decision.

The differential gap in all public education, as between the races, should be closed in every unit, area and field of education where it now exists.

By using Negro citizens on the administrative and policymaking levels of education, positions for which they are qualified and willing to assume, much might be accomplished along these lines. In its 1946 resolutions, the Alabama State Teachers Association detailed ways by which some of these things might be accomplished.

THE BALLOT

An opportunity should be rpovided for every qualified citizen to register, cast his vote and have it counted.

We recommend repeal of the Boswell Amendment and substitution of a vote law that will be democratic, fair and modern. Poll tax should be outlawed.

There should be year-round registration. Boards of registrars should be allowed to deputize other registrars so that the largest nunber of people might be registered. Board should have and opportunigy to hold night sessions in industrial areas to aid working people. The law should be amended to accept a person with an elementary school certificate or equivalent as satisfying the literacy test. The governor's office should supervise registrations, especially in those counties where Negro citizens are not allowed to register. We urge an investigation of registration practices by the governor's office in each of the 67 counties. All veterans with honorable discharges should be viewed as having satisfied anyliteracy, interpretation, explanatory test and registered forthwith. The voucher as used by Mobile county and Macon county.

we believe should be condemned and displaced.

LABOR

Plants and unions that discriminate in the employment of membership against anyone because of race, religion, creed or national origin should be denied license. We recommend a State Fair Employment Practice Commission.

Alabama should have a state minimum wage law; all levels of public employment should be opened to Negroes. All tests under the state merit system for all positions should be open to all citizens without regard to race, creed or color.

Something needs to be done now to give employment to Negroes as managers, clerks etc. in those ABC stores catering exclusively to Negro Citizens of which ordinaryly would be dominantly frequented by this group. A customer should have the opportunity to purchase at the ABC store of his choice the same as in private stores in Alabama. Alabama has set a backward policy in the ABC stores which is unwarranted, unnecessary and intolerable.

In USES office no returned to the State, Negro Citizens should be allowed to participate on all level-policy-making, administrative and personnel.

To trade unionists the right to strike is paramount with the right to organize. Public workers should not be denied the right to organize and bargain.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

We, of the ANA, feel that the State of Alabama can and must be identified as the new leader in progressive democratic government in the South, provided the program outlined by Your Honor receives the full support of the people of this state and the legislature. We feel that the legislature will act in the interests of the people. once the people make known their desires on all questions.

As newspaper men dedicated to the responsibility of expressing the will of our people, which is in support of your progra, we pledge ourselves to the task of publicizing the will of the people who elected you to office on the the basis of your "people's program."

As members of a minority group in the State of Alabama, we are especially concerned with the democratic rights of racial, religious, and labor groups. We are firmly convinced that now, more that ever, special attention must be given to the problems and affairs of these groups. We feel that this can be accomplished through a Committee for Human Rights to function under the auspices of the previously recommended Commission on Minority Affairs. We would suggest that this committee study and investigate minority problems and to make recommendations for the abolishment of the denial of democratic rights to all the people through legislative action and any other necessary action. We further suggest that a sub-committee on legislative action be established. An additional sub-committee to study the broader social, economic, and educational aspects of promoting civil liberties seems advisable.

We would further recommend that the Committee for Human Rights take into consideration an examination of zoning laws, the unfair practices of barring women from jury service, and police brutality.

We wish to submit the following measures for legislative adoption:

1. Outlawing of Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations.
2. State Fair Employment Practice Commission.
3. Permitting women to do jury service.

HEALTH

We urge that the state underwrite the expense of educating sufficient personnel to administer a state health program to meet the needs of the people under a contract, whereby those so trained will agree to labor in the field of health in the state; that local communities be assisted in the establishment and maintenance of health centers like Slossfield throughout the state; adequate hospital facilities be established to meet the needs of those unable to provide such care for themselves.

HOUSING

We pray that Your Excellency will urge the state to explore the possibility of setting up a state housing authority to, in conjunction with the Federal Government, make it possible for low income people to be assured of the opportunity of providing themselves with decent housing.

RECREATION

We urge that the state make possible recreational opportunities for all people on a basis as would be recommended as adequate by the National Recreation Association.

ADMINISTRATION

We conclude by urging that capable and consecrated Negro consultants and administrative assistants be employed by the Heads of the health, education, labor and executive departments of the State Government.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert Durr, Chairman
Governor's Conference Committee
Birmingham Weekly Review, Birmingham

E. O. Jackson, President ANA
Birmingham World

Frank Thomas, Tuscaloosa Weekly Review

W. C. McCollum, Anniston Weekly Review

J. J. Sneed, Mobile American

Rev. H. B. Gibson, Golden HourDigest Birmingham

J. E.Lowery, Birmingham Informer

E. G. Jackson, Alabama Tribune Montgomery

C. S. Culver, Montgomery Weekly Review

Miss Tommie Lucille Johnson, Selma Citizen

L. C. Jamar, Huntsville Weekly Review

Mrs. Edna Faush, Selma Citizen

26 - Negro in America
(Review by Franklin Frazier
Book Review)

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO

RACE AND RUMORS OF RACE: CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN CRISIS. By Howard W. Odum. The University of North Carolina Press. $2.

PROFESSOR ODUM has set down in a very readable manner--one might even say entertaining were it not for the often tragic implications--the various rumors which were circulating in the South during the latter half of 1942 and the first six months of 1943 concerning the Negro's attempt to escape from his traditional status. These rumors are presented against the economic and cultural background of the South and the social changes which have been accelerated by World War II. In order to understand why they were believed, the author holds, it is necessary to understand the Southern credo in regard to the Negro. The twenty-one items in the Southern credo, as the author states it, amount to the belief that the Negro is not human and must be kept in an inferior position. This explains, for example, why kindly and generous Christian Southern whites can resort to "cold-hearted torture of Negroes" and even burn them. The behavior and the demands of the new generation of Negro youths, who are better educated than their parents, are a threat to everything that the South holds sacred. As a result there is a crisis in race relations involving three militant fronts--the Negroes, the North, and the white South. The North figures because of its influence on the thinking of Negroes and its attitude toward the Negro problem.

The catalogue of rumors is divided into four groups. The first comprises stories of attempts on the part of Negroes to get out of "their place." Many of these rumors grew out of

the fact that Negro women were escaping from the servitude of poorly paid domestic service. The most celebrated were those concerning the organization and activities of the Eleanor Clubs, whose slogan was nearly always a variation of "a white woman in every kitchen by 1943." Because of the importance of the Eleanor Clubs, the author devotes a special chapter to the folklore that grew up around the name of Mrs. Roosevelt. This folklore was often so disgraceful that the author is moved to state that the South forgot its tradition of chivalry and good manners toward women. The second group of rumors consisted of "stories of Negroes taking over white women" or having the "bold intention to achieve the hated 'social equality.'" The author feels that rumors in this class were so widespread and readily believed because of the dormant heritage of fear of Negro men among white women. However, to the reviewer it appears that they were also related to a sense of guilt on the part of white men, who have had access to Negro women while white women have been taboo to the Negro man. In many cases Negro men were reported to have told white men in uniform or about to be drafted that they would "take care of the women." The third group has to do with preparations for revolt, including the widespread rumor that Negroes were buying up ice picks. Other rumors were difficult to classify; some appeared to have been planted for the purpose of sabotage. For example, it may surprise many readers to learn that there was a rumor current that "when Hitler takes over" the Negroes would gain their rightful place in America. Negro children were reported to be singing to the tune of "America":

My country's tired of me
I'm going to Germany
Where I belong.

As one might expect, there were similar rumors concerning the Negro's expectations in the event of a Japanese victory.

The third part of the book, which deals chiefly with The Way Out and The Way On, is likely to prove disappointing to the reader. Professor Odum presents the statement of Southern Negro leaders at the Durham conference, which was followed by a sympathetic reply by white leaders assembled in Atlanta. The latter conference came out for the "legitimate aspirations of the Negro," which included civil rights and a fair share in educational facilities and social services. Then follows a long list of questions--literally over a hundred--to which an answer must be found if race relations in the South are to be improved. Heeding the author's caution that this is not the time to call names and blame individuals, the reviewer does not hold him altogether responsible for the indefiniteness and inadequacy of this section of the book. Professor Odum, like most Southern liberals, is in the same dilemma in which the South finds itself. Therefore, unlike Northern liberals, he must always emphasize his loyalty to the region in which he lives. This results in occasional confusion in an otherwise clear analysis of the situation. For example, in appraising the "rightness" of the three groups, he freely admits that the Negro is "most right" because he has Christian ethics and democratic principles on his side; and that the North is second "most right." But when he comes

to the South he first admits that the South is "least" right or "wrong" and then goes into a long explanation to the effect that the South is "right" in that it reflects "its natural evolutionary pattern," possesses state rights, and has been subject to certain cultural conditioning. One might remind Professor Odum that Nazi youth has been "culturally conditioned" to exterminate inferior races and that Germany is probably reflecting "its natural evolutionary pattern," but that in a world which is struggling to create a single moral order the behavior of the South as well as other political entities must be judged by accepted ethical standards and political principles. Evidently Professor Odum shares this opinion, for toward the end of his book he asks whether the South can experience the "conviction of sin" and "surrender" its stubborn heart.

In view of Professor Odum's sympathetic presentation of the outlook and aspirations of Negro youth and his excellent analysis of racial rumors in relation to Southern society, one would be inclined to overlook certain inconsistencies if they were not bound up with the central problem of the Negro in the American community. Professor Odum is no "isolationist" in respect to the place of the South in the nation; he is, nevertheless, opposed to what he calls "outside agitation," In view of his presentation of the Southern credo, one would like to know whether he thinks that the national government should allow the South to continue to rob Negroes of their proper share of educational funds and of the various social services and subsidies which are

financed by the national government. However much the Southern liberal may deprecate "outside agitation," he cannot deny that he must still look to the outside for support of his position. If he does not openly accept this support, he must at least offer an alternative program. This was implied in a recent editorial by Virginius Dabney, who in advocating the abolition of Jim Crow transportation in Virginia stated that the white South had to determine whether the leadership of Negroes was to rest in Atlanta or in New York City.

E. Franklin Frazier

TO JAMES:

Do you remember
How you won
That last race . . . ?
How you flung your body
At the start . . .
How your spikes
Ripped the cinders
In the stretch . . .
How you catapulted
Through the tape . . .
Do you remember . . . ?
Don't you think
I lurched with you
Out of those starting holes . . . ?
Don't you think
My sinews tightened
At those first
Few strides . . .
And when you flew into the stretch
Was not all my thrill
Of a thousand races
In your blood . . .?
At your final drive
Through the finish line
Did not my shout
Tell of the
Triumphant ectasy
Of victory . . . ?
Live
As I have taught you
To run, Boy---
It's a short dash
Dig your starting holes
Deep and firm
Lurch out of them
Into the straightaway
With all the power
That in in you
Look straight ahead
To the finish line
Think only of the goal
Run straight
Run high
Run hard
Save nothing
And finish
With an ecstatic burst
That carries you
Hurtling
Through the tape
To victory. . . .

---Frank Horne, in THE BOOK OF AMERICAN NEGRO POETRY, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1931

26-Negro in America

Bureau of Correspondence Instruction
UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
Chapel Hill, N. C.

~~Sociology c 185~~
The Negro

General Description

I. Nature of the Course

The American race problem is something which should merit the most serious and dispassionate thought on the part of all citizens, white and black. How often do we hear someone say, "Oh, I know Negroes all right," when his knowledge really consists of a few stereotyped ideas with which he dismisses all arguments on the subject, such as, "The Negro is all right in his place," or "The Negro race is just naturally inferior." By virtue of having been born in the South or having had an opportunity to observe Negroes at close range, we like to think that we know all about them. Yet how many of us know any Negroes other than the servants who have been in our homes or a few occasional colored people with whom we have had some dealings? How many of us have ever been in a Negro home? How many of us have been in a Negro school or a Negro church except upon some occasion which we expected to be rather spectacular or amusing to us? And what do we know about the trends in Negro population, in Negro health, farming, business, education? Is the Negro dying out? Is he going to stay in the South? Is he successful in business? Worst of all, how little we know of what the Negro is thinking! How many of us have ever read a Negro newspaper or a Negro novel, or have read poetry written by any Negro other than Paul Laurence Dunbar? What do we know of that rising tide of race consciousness which is working a revolution in the Negro's attitude toward himself and toward white people? After all, most of us must plead guilty to ignorance of the most elementary facts about Negro life in America today. Many of us could not even guess within two million of the Negro population of the United States.

World War II has brought to the fore the problems of racial and cultural minorities. The sincerity of our belief in democracy is being put to the test by the war and by the peace that follows. We abhor Hitler's doctrine of the "master race" and his treatment of minorities and conquered peoples. We profess to be fighting for tolerance and for the right of minority nations to determine their own forms of government. Yet we ourselves have a record that is far from spotless. Many individual Americans have racial ideas that are quite in harmony with the Nazi ideology. We have lynchings, race riots, and other evidences that white and Negro people in America have not yet solved the problem of getting along together. We have laws and customs which all too frequently humiliate Negroes and handicap them in the struggle for survival. The Negro is our greatest dilemma, the hardest test of our democratic ideals. Democracy must begin at home.

The aims of this course are: (1) to give the student certain factual materials which will enable him to understand the Negro and the problem of race relations in the United States; (2) to acquaint him with Negro thought through a first-hand knowledge of Negro poetry, novels, newspapers, and sociological writings; (3) to give him a determination to keep informed on race relations as long as he lives; and (4) to displace an emotional attitude toward the race problem by an attitude of open-mindedness and honest inquiry.

II. Textbooks

Two texts are used in this course. They are:

Charles S. Johnson and W. D. Weatherford, Race Relations, D. C. Heath & Co., 29 Pryor St., N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, 1934.
E. B. Reuter, The American Race Problem, Thomas Y. Crowell, Publishing Co., New York, N. Y., 1938.
These books may be ordered from the publishers or secured from the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction. Both should be obtained promptly, since they are used throughout the entire course.

III. Outline of the Course

In order that the student may have before him the general layout of the course, the following list of assignment titles and text readings is presented here:

		Weatherford & Johnson Chap. No.	Reuter Chap. No.
I.	RACE AND RACE PROBLEMS		
1.	Race and Racial Differences	1	2, 4
2.	Race Prejudice	3	9
3.	The Role of Dogmas in Race Relations	11	-
II.	HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE NEGRO		
4.	The African Background	2, 5	7
5.	The Rise and Fall of Slavery	6, 7	-
6.	Economic Aspects of Slavery	8	-
7.	Slaves and Free Negroes	12,13	6
8.	The Churches and Slavery	10	-
9.	Effect of Slavery on White People	9,15	-
10.	Effect of Slavery on Negroes	14	-
III.	NEGRO LIFE AND RACE RELATIONS		
11.	The Negro Population	-	3, 8
12.	Negro Migration	17	-
13.	Economic Conditions	16	12
14.	Education	18	13
15.	Health	19	10
16.	Home and Family Life	20	11
17.	Crime	22	16
19.	Religious Life	-	15
18.	Civic and Political Status	21	17
20.	Cultural Development	23,29	-
21.	Literature and Art	24	14
22.	The Negro Novel	Selected novel	
24.	Leadership and Race Consciousness	25	18
23.	The Negro Press	Selected newspapers	
25.	The Changing Attitudes of Whites	26, 28	-
26.	~~The Changing Attitudes of Negroes~~	28	-
27.	Programs for "Solving" the Race Prob.	4,27	19

IV. Parallel Reading

A selected reading list is attached to these instructions. From the section entitled "Negro Life and Race Relations", two books are to be chosen for parallel reading. The student will write a critical

review of 500 to 1000 words on each book, and these reviews are to be turned in before the final examination is taken. The student is also required to select a novel by a Negro author and read it in connection with Assignment 22. He should have the novel at hand while working on this assignment, since all of the questions are concerned with the novel which the student has chosen.

The student is urged to buy or borrow additional books on the Negro and to read far beyond the requirements of this course. The instructor is always glad to advise the student on further reading on any particular phase of the course.

V. General Instructions

First, familarize yourself with the general outline of the course as given above and with the textbooks. Next, if there are any library facilities whatever near you, investigate to find out whether you can obtain any literature on the Negro. If so, make a list of the books on the Negro available to you and send this to the instructor so that he may, if possible, work out a program of parallel reading which will save you the trouble of renting books from the University Extension Library. Finally, adopt the habit of getting facts about the Negroes in your city or town or county. If you live in a city, you will find out something by calling on the health officer, welfare officer, superintendent of schools, chief of police, and other such officials, some of whom will be able to give you printed reports dealing with the Negro. If you live in a small town or in the country, you will find it more difficult to obtain data of this sort, but the resourceful student can always find ways of overcoming difficulties. You might write to your State Health Department, State Superintendent of Public Welfare, State Superintendent of Education, State Prison Commissioner, etc., and obtain copies of their latest official reports. In all of the Southern states and in some of the other states these reports contain a good deal of statistical information which is analyzed and classified into racial groups. A knowledge of Negro life in your home community or home state will aid materially in writing the assignments in this course.

The student should write every answer with care. Before beginning to write any answer he should "digest" his reading and organize his thoughts so that he can make the best possible presentation of what he knows. Answers which merely reproduce the textbooks or other reading, and which show no originality in thinking or in organization, are not wanted. Never dismiss a question with a brief answer of fifty words or so, for the instructor will probably have to conclude that you did not work hard enough on that answer. The instructor reserves the right to drop any student who shows, after two or three assignments, that he is not doing serious or passable work.

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SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE SERIES

Findings of The Study of The Negro in America
sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York

Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, 2 volumes, 1944. $7.50.

Herskovits, Melville J., Myth of the Negro Past, 1943. $4.00.

Johnson, Charles S., Patterns of Negro Segregation, 1943. $3.50.

Klineberg, Otto (Editor), Characteristics of the American Negro, 1944. $4.00.

Sterner, Richard, The Negro's Share, 1943. $4.50.

(These books may be obtained from the publishers, Harper and Brothers, 49 East 33rd Street, New York, N.Y., at the price indicated.)

THE AMERICAN YOUTH COMMISSION SERIES

Atwood, J. Howell, and others, Thus Be Their Destiny, 1941. $0.75.

Davis, Allison and Dollard, John, Children of Bondage, 1940. $2.25.

Frazier, E. Franklin, Negro Youth at the Crossways, 1940. $2.25.

Johnson, Charles S., Growing Up in the Black Belt, 1941. $2.25.

Reid, Ira DeA., In A Minor Key, 1939. $1.25.

Sutherland, Robert L., Color, Class and Personality, 1942. $1.00.

Warner, W. Lloyd, et al., Color and Human Nature, 1941. $2.25.

(These books may be obtained from the publishers, American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C., at the price indicated.)

THE BRONZE BOOKLET SERIES

No. 1. Adult Education Among Negroes, by Ira DeA. Reid.

No. 2. The Negro and His Music, by Alain Locke.

No. 3. Negro Arts: Past and Present, by Alain Locke.

No. 4. A World View of Race, by Ralph Bunche.

No. 5. The Negro and Economic Reconstruction, by T. Arnold Hill.

No. 6. The Negro in American Fiction, by Sterling Brown.

No. 7. Negro Poetry and Drama, by Sterling Brown.

No. 8. The Negro in the Caribbean, by Eric Williams.

(These booklets may be obtained for twenty-five cents from the publishers, The Associates in Negro Folk Education, Inc., Box 636, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C.)

OTHER BOOKS

Bond, Horace Mann, Education of the Negro in the American Social Order. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1943. $1.50.

Brown, Ina Corinne, The Story of the American Negro. New York: Friendship Press, 150 Fifth Avenue, 1936. $1.25.

Brown, Sterling A., Arthur P. Davis, Ulysses Lee (Editors), Negro Caravan. (1,000 pages of writings by Negroes). New York: Dryden Press, 103 Park Avenue, 1941. $4.25.

Cayton, Horace R. and George S. Mitchell, Black Workers and the New Unions. Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. $4.00

Downs, Karl E., Meet the Negro. (Brief life stories of sixty-one Negro Americans). Pasadena, Cal.: The Login Press. $2.00.

Embree, Edwin R., American Negroes: A Handbook. New York: Viking Press, 1943. $1.00.

Embree, Edwin R., Brown Americans. New York: Viking Press, 1943. $2.75.

Embree, Edwin R., Thirteen Against the Odds. N ew York: Viking Press, 1944. $2.75.

Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro Family in the United States. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. $4.00.

Johnson, Charles S., The Negro College Graduate. Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938. $3.00.

La Farge, John, Interracial Justice. New York: American Press, 461 Eighth Avenue, 1937.

Lotz, P. L. (Editor), Rising Above Color. New York: Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, 1943. $1.50.

Magnum, Charles S., Jr., Legal Status of the Negro. Chapel Hill, N .C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940. $5.00

Mayes, Benjamin E. and Joseph W. Nicholson, The Negro's Church. New York: Institute for Social and Religious Research, 1933. $2.00.

McWilliams, Carey, Brothers Under the Skin. Boston: Little,Brown, and Company, 1943. $3.00.

Ottley, Roi. New World A-Coming. New York: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1943. $3.00.

Porter, James A., Modern Negro Art. (Illustrated) New York: Dryden Press, 103 Park Avenue, 1943. $3.25.

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A SELECTED LIST OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ABOUT THE NEGRO

PAMPHLETS

Benedict, Ruth, and Gene Weltfish, The Races of Mankind. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 85. 10¢. May be obtained from the Southern Regional Council.

Lee, Alfred McClung, Race Riots Aren't Necessary. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 107. 10¢. Prepared by Mr. Lee in cooperation with American Council on Race Relations, 32 West Randolph Street, Chicago 1, Illinois. May be obtained from the American Council on Race Relations or from the Southern Regional Council.

Repairers of the Breach : The Story of Interracial Cooperation Between Southern Women, 1935-1940. Southern Regional Council. 10¢

Richards, J. McDowell, Brothers In Black. Sermon Preached as retiring Moderator before the Presbytery of Atlanta. Southern Regional Council. Single copy free. 1 dox. 50¢.

Steward, Maxwell S. The Negro In America. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 95. 10¢. May be obtained from the Southern Regional Council.

BOOKS

Brown, Ina Corinne, The Story of the American Negro. New York: Friendship Press, 150 Fifth Avenue, 1936. $1.25.

Davis, Allison, and John Dollard, Children of Bondage. American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. $2.25.

Downs, Karl E. Meet the Negro. (Brief life stories of sixty-one Negro Americans.) Pasadena, Calif: The Login Press. $2.00.

Embree, Edwin R., American Negroes: A Handbook. New York: Viking Press, 1943. $1.00.

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A REMARKABLE NEGRO FAMILY

IN THE heart of Georgia, far removed from any town or railroad, in a community known as Springfield, is the home of a most remarkable family known as the Huberts. Here reside Zack Hubert and Camilla Hilman Hubert, the mother and father of a family that has done much to add to the material and spiritual progress of Georgia and the nation.

YOUNGEST GRANDDAUGHTER OF THE HUBERTS

Throughout the State of Georgia the Hubert family is well and favorably known. Wherever this name is mentioned one instinctively thinks of the farm of several hundred acres near the center of Hancock County, the birthplace and home of one of the most interesting families in America.

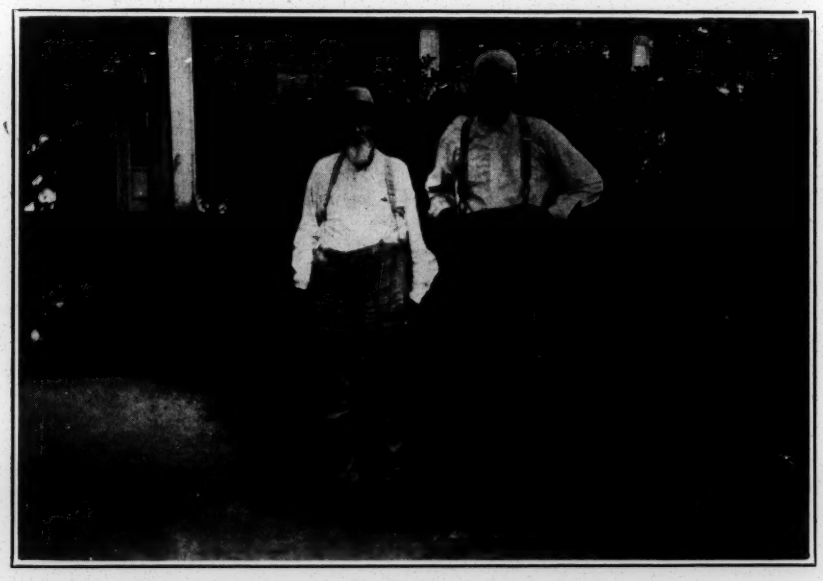
ZACK HUBERT

The story reads like a novel. It begins over sixty years ago when Zack Hubert, then a small boy owned by Mathew Hubert learned to do the various chores connected with farm life. At that time Mathew Hubert, the slave owner, resided in Warren County, Georgia, a few miles beyond the Ogeeche River and near the Atlanta and Augusta line of the Georgia Railroad. Paul, the father of Zack Hubert, himself a Negro, was overseer of one of the farms of his master. His good sense and high regard for justice and fairness in his dealings with his fellowmen made him stand out as a leader even in slavery time. He not only directed his fellow-slaves on the farms but he led them in their simple prayer services and was arbiter in any dispute that arose.

A remarkable spirit of friendliness existed between this slave master and his slaves. It can be appreciated when we are told that Paul sold a bale of cotton when freedom was declared for more than $300. This cotton had been kept through the whole war, during which time the Confederate Government permitted its farmers to produce only foodstuffs. So attached was

this slaveowner's son to one of the "boys" that he took him along with him when he went to war and let him share his bunk. He took care of him when he was sick and sent his body back home when he died in camp. "Young marster" and Zack have maintained through all the years a close family feeling and they are never happier than on the occasions of friendly visits.

Zack Hubert came out of slavery a young man. He remained with his parents assisting them on the farm that they had rented until he was twenty-one years of age. Leaving his father at this time, he rented a farm for himself which he worked for a few years. Talking with one of his white neighbors, Zack was advised to find land that could be purchased and get a farm of his



"YOUNG MARSTER" AND ZACK HUBERT AT 84 AND 80

own. He was shown how he had paid for the land he rented in the rents he had paid to the owner each year but still did not own it. After thinking the question over he decided to buy for himself. He began to search for land that could be purchased by Negroes. Not being able to find land for sale to Negroes in Warren County he crossed the river into Hancock County. Here about ten miles from the county line of Warren he at last found land for sale. This land was owned by an attorney named Burke of Sparta, Georgia.

Returning home Zack urged his brothers to go up with him and settle on this land. Floyd and David ventured forth with him. Moses and Shade came later and settled three miles away at a place called Pride. Zack, David, and Floyd came to Springfield in the prime of their youth. They found here a

THE HUBERT HOMESTEAD

THE HOME CHURCH

tract of 165 acres of land, mostly woodland, offered to them for $10 per acre. They agreed to pay for this land in three equal annual installments. They came in the fall of the year and started felling trees and clearing land for settlement. Sufficient land was cleared to produce a fine crop the first year and they were able to meet their notes when they fell due. By hard work and the strictest economy the land belonged to the three boys at the end of three years.

During the first year Zack married into one of the most prominent Negro families of that county. After completing payments on the land the brothers decided to separate and an equal division was made of the land, each receiving 55 acres for his share. Floyd, the youngest brother, retained the house already built. It was a wonderful sight to see these three youngsters fighting their way up with rare courage, self-denial, and hard physical and mental toil, in the face of the sentiment everywhere that Negroes should not own land.

The Huberts have always been intensely religious. Paul Hubert was the religious leader among his slave brethren during the Civil War. It was he who, possessing a powerful personality, gave his sons an outlook on life that transcends in many ways the high vision of some of America's greatest leaders. The sons grew up with a strong religious bent. Hardly had they built their log cabin in the clearing they had made, when they began to call their neighbors together to plan for some kind of Sunday services. A brush arbor was built and there began what is now known as Springfield Baptist Church with more than three hundred members.

FATHER AND MOTHER HUBERT AT THEIR GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY

The school followed soon after the church. Built of logs and crude in many ways it nevertheless has sent out girls and boys who have made their mark in the world. And now a Rosenwald School with four teachers, one of whom is a vocational agriculture teacher stands as a credit to the community and as the realization of the ideal of a young man who had a thirst of knowledge that could only be realized in the educating and training of his children.

At the time the Hubert boys paid for their farm no other Negroes owned land anywhere in central Georgia. The fact that these three boys had bought and paid for 165 acres of land was heralded to all parts of Hancock and the adjoining counties. As the boys began to add gradually to their holdings, neighbors caught the land-buying spirit and today Springfield community is one of the largest Negro land-holding communities in the South. One can easily walk in a straight line for more than fifteen miles without once leaving land owned and operated by Negroes. It is estimated that they own over 15,000 acres of land in this and neighboring communities.

Zack Hubert never attended school in his life. But he had always a thirst for knowledge. He wanted to know! He learned to read and write. He has come in contact with men in various walks of life and has been able to get, through this contact, a liberal education. Especially does he enjoy reading and explaining the most difficult passages of the Bible that often confuse those well versed in Biblical dogmas. Realizing his great handicap in life because of his lack of education, he determined that his children should not have the same handicap. He determined that they should enjoy some of the many opportunities

that had never come to him. Largely through his efforts the best teachers were obtained for the little rural school and as rapidly as his children became old enough and sufficiently advanced in the home school, he sent them away to college in order that they might have a better and fuller appreciation of the things that make life worth while.

It was a terrible strain and sacrifice to send one son and daughter after another away to college and carry on the farm work at home at the same time. But that is what he and that wonderfully fine wife and mother did for each child until all twelve had found their way to Morehouse and Spelman Colleges and then to Northern universities in order that they might "carry on"—might fulfill what to him had been an unfulfilled desire, a longing for an opportunity, a chance that never came to him, to serve in the largest possible way.

THE HUBERT CHILDREN

Zack Hubert and his wife were blessed with a family of twelve strong, robust boys and girls all of whom are living and rendering service in their respective fields of labor. The fact that there has been no death in the family although the history covers such a long period of time is the best possible proof of Zack and Camilla Hubert's ability in health education. Not only do they know how to keep their own children well and physically strong, but their services were generously offered to the entire community whenever there was sickness or the need for sound advice on how to keep well. Reared on a farm, they

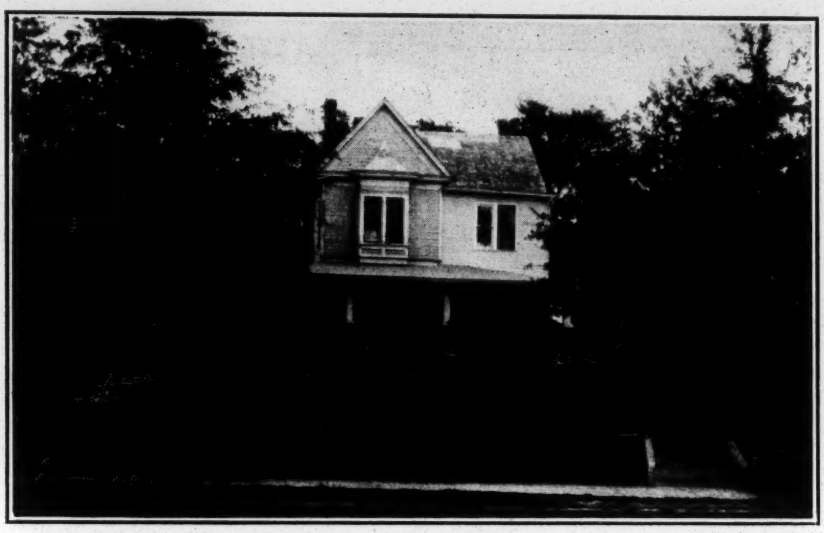
THE SIX OLDER CHILDREN IN COLLEGE AT THE SAME TIME

soon learned to plow, harness, and ride horses, milk cows, shoe horses, build the houses necessary on the place and do various other odds and ends that every good farmer should know how to do. They made baskets for picking the cotton and picked the cotton themselves. They hunted and fished together and got much joy and happiness in telling of their feats on their return when they sat down to their evening meal. The father and mother always entered into the discussions with much zest and their opinion was always final in case of a dispute. The older children who went away to school usually brought back friends to spend some time with the family during the summer. All of these seemed to enter into the spirit of the home, enjoying everything from watermelons and story telling to visits to county churches and associations.

John Wesley Hubert, the first-born son, a graduate of Morehouse College and Chicago University, and for several years professor of natural sciences at Morehouse College and Tuskegee Institute, is at present principal of the Cuyler Street High School of Savannah, Georgia, a school with an enrollment of about 2000 students and 40 teachers. John is not only a leader in the school life of the community but he is active in almost every movement of interest among Negroes in Savannah and southern Georgia. People follow his leadership because they believe in his honesty and sincerity and know of his love for his fellow-men. He has a lovely wife and four children. His oldest daughter, Ophelia, a graduate of the high-school department of Spelman College is now enrolled in the college course in vocational Home Economics at Hampton. John owns several hundred acres of farm land at the home place in Georgia.

Beatrice Hubert Douthard, the oldest daughter, a graduate of the normal school of Spelman College and a teacher for many years in the public schools of Atlanta, the wife of Dr. R. S. Douthard, resides in Atlanta. She has a family of three girls and one boy. Her husband is one of the leading physicians of the Gate City. Both are prominent as church and community workers.

Zack Hubert, Jr., a graduate of Morehouse College and of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, formerly a teacher at the State A. & M. College of Florida and superintendent of buildings and grounds at Spelman College, has been for the last twelve years president of Jackson College, Jackson, Mississippi. He was the first Negro to become president of Jackson College. Under his leadership it has become one of the foremost Negro colleges of the South. His wife and his three boys and one girl



PRESENT HOME OF ZACK HUBERT, JR., PRESIDENT OF JACKSON COLLEGE

make up the family. Zack Hubert is known throughout Mississippi for his well-balanced leadership and has the respect of the thinking men and women of both races. Men and women constantly turn to him for advice and encouragement whenever an emergency arises. He is the proud possessor of a good farm in Georgia.

Jency Hubert Reeves, a graduate of Spelman College and the wife of Professor A. R. Reeves, resides in Chicago where she successfully operates a millinery shop. For a long time she was a teacher in the public schools of the South. She has one son who was graduated from Morehouse College in 1924 and is now preparing for a future in the field of business.

Moses Hubert, a graduate of Morehouse College and for two years a student of dentistry at Meharry Medical College, for the past two years has been a practical farmer and county agricultural agent. He is at present in the United States mail service.

Gadus Johnson Hubert, a graduate of the school of religion, Morehouse College, is now a farmer-carpenter-preacher, pastor of Springfield Baptist Church—the home church—and of the New Hope Baptist Church, about five miles from Springfield. He is at present in direct charge of the farms at the home place. His wife is a teacher in the public schools. Their three boys and one girl are in the public schools preparing for lives of service.

Benjamin F. Hubert, a graduate of Morehouse College, the Massachusetts Agricultural College, and the University of Minnesota, for several years director of agriculture and agricultural extension and supervisor of the vocational teacher-training work

in South Carolina, is now director of agriculture at Tuskegee Institute and supervisor of its vocational teacher-training work. During the World War he was for a time special agent for the United States Food Administration and later a member of the American Army Educational Corps with headquarters at Beaune Cote D'Or, and in charge of all agricultural instruction among colored troops in France. He received from superior officers high commendation for the efficient service rendered. He is considered one of the leading authorities on matters pertaining to practical and theoretical agriculture and other problems in country life. He has written many feature articles and bulletins on the various phases of agriculture and is now preparing a thesis for his doctor's degree in agriculture. He owns a farm of his own and supervises in a general way the farming activities at the home place in Georgia.

James H. Hubert, a graduate of Morehouse College and of the New York School of Philanthropy, is the executive secretary of the New York Urban League. He founded the Brooklyn Urban League and the success of the League in New York City is largely a story of his untiring efforts to build up an organization that would serve as a center of influence for the amelioration of the unwholesome housing and working conditions of our people in the great urban centers. Through his efforts the league has lately purchased for itself a beautiful home-office building which will give it larger opportunities for efficient service in its field of endeavor. His wife and four children make up his very happy family.

Lucy Hubert Bolling, a graduate of Spelman College and for a number of years teacher in the rural schools of Georgia, is now the wife of a Chicago business man and the mother of three fine children.

Esther Hubert, a graduate of Spelman College and for some time a teacher in the public schools of Georgia, is now the very efficient secretary of the Urban League in Tampa, Florida.

Mabel Hubert Warner, a graduate of Jackson College, a student of Brown's Business School of New York and for some time secretary of the late Mrs. Booker T. Washington, is now the wife of Mr. C. E. Warner, Hampton '12, instructor at Morehouse College. She is the mother of one boy and one girl.

Theodore Hubert, the youngest of the children, is now in the senior class of Morehouse College. He is looking forward to a future in the field of business. He believes that the time has come for young men to lead in providing for our people avenues

THE FAMILY GROUP AT THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

of employment and opportunities for building up for themselves, with their meager means, great industrial and agricultural businesses.

HAS THE FREEDOM OF THE NEGRO BEEN WORTH WHILE?

This question and many other similar questions have been asked by people who are anxious seekers after the truth. A trip to Georgia and a talk with Zack and Camilla Hubert, now far advanced in years but looking out on the world through the eyes of their children, or a visit in their community talking with people of both races who have profited by the great example of this wonderful family that grew up in their midst will provide an answer to this question as to whether or not it pays to give men a chance to make places for themselves in this civilized and enlightened world.

In a recent trip to Georgia the writer visited a white family, the O'Rears, neighbors of the Huberts for fifty years. The mother of this family, now about seventy years of age, said, "I never want or expect to find any better neighbors than Zack Hubert and his family have been to us. No one could make me believe that he or his children would do anything that would cause me or my family inconvenience. I look upon them as some of my best friends." She unconsciously turned to them for assistance whenever trouble came and she told them of her joys. For many years they lived side by side and exchanged plows, garden tools, vegetables, and even cooked food. They borrowed and loaned money to each other. This and many other families in the heart

of Georgia furnish excellent examples of how right kind of contact between the races will bring about a wholesome respect on the part of one race for the other. It causes men to think and talk more of the similarity of people, of the fine qualities in men and women of every race and less and less of differences and the many little things that tend to make men hate and distrust each other.

DOES EDUCATING THE NEGRO PAY?

This question needs no better answer than the example of this one family. Its members grew up learning to work and have never forgotten that education of the mind should go along with education of the hand and that both should tend to make men of larger service to the folks around them—should fit them to lead in doing the common ordinary tasks of everyday life in a way that will bring joy and happiness into the life of the worker. As these boys and girls grew up under their God-fearing mother and father they learned the real significance of education. They learned that a moral and religious character is the foundation-stone for every other good thing in life. The parents strove to breathe into the lives of their children the Biblical injunction, "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, or if there be any praise, think on these things."

They learned and practiced real democracy. No man was so poor as not to find a welcome at the fireside and at the table of Zack Hubert, providing his life was one of common decency—one that men could respect. The children were made to feel that the clothes of a man, a man's physical appearance, even poverty itself, did not count provided his ideals and moral life were high. They learned to detest and abhor anything that smacked of insincerity. Arrogance, haughtiness, or unseemly pride that set men off from each other has never been a charge against this family.

The boys and girls have maintained the confidence and friendship of whites and blacks alike. What is usually termed their higher education has become in a very real sense a larger education and has only served to draw them closer to their fellow-men and to make them understand and sympathize with them in their everyday problems. They grew up learning to touch and inspire men and women just as their father and mother had inspired their neighbors and themselves. Hundreds of boys and girls from central Georgia who went away to college and prepared themselves for their field of service and are now

scattered to all parts of the land, would never have seen the light had they not been able to profit by the example of the Hubert boys and girls.

Some day Zack and Camilla Hubert must pass on even as their father and mother went before them, but Georgia and the world will continue until the end of time to feel the impress of their great souls "that have done what they could" to make heaven on earth. They have given to the world what cannot die—the spiritual interpretation and meaning of life. "I have come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly," was never more appropriately exemplified than in this rare case of simple living and high thinking on the part of these great servants of their race and their country.

As farmer, business man, deacon, and treasurer of the church, advisor to the people, and an upstanding man, leader in his community and throughout Georgia in everything that points to a wholesome economic, social, and religious life, Zack Hubert is equalled by few and excelled by none. He has imparted to his sturdy sons and daughters the same big, broad, human sympathies and inspiration for world service that are helping in a very real and tangible way to bring about right here in this world a recognition of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

A COMMUNITY SCHOOL

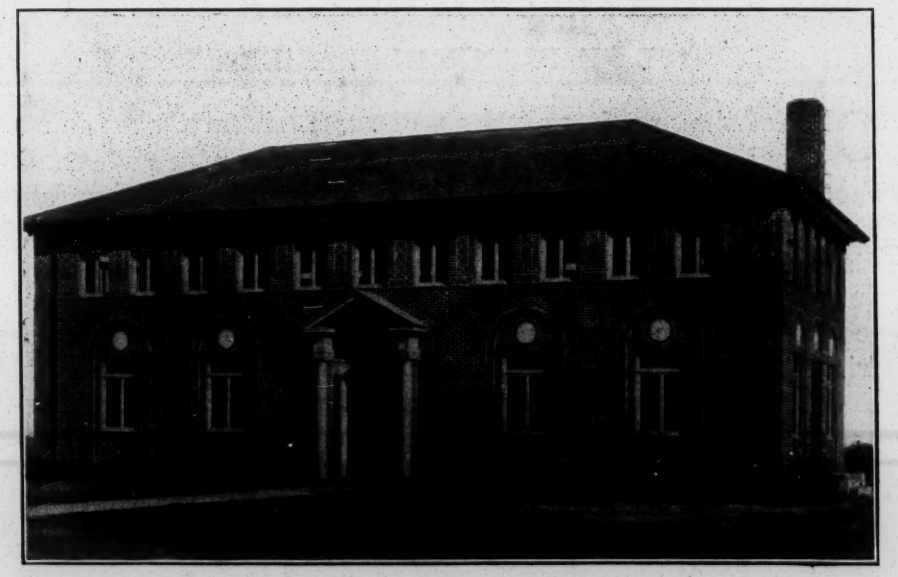
FORT VALLEY HIGH AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

BY E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

ONE of the pressing problems of rural-community organization has been the discovery of an institution which will focus the socio-economic relations of the community. It appears that this problem is being solved in many sections by the judicious location of consolidated schools. In the South, until very recently, there were no real rural communities. But here too the problem is being met by the consolidated school district. The fact that Negroes are not sharing in such schools to any appreciable extent means the continuance of the present absence of community life for the masses of Southern Negroes. This delays the socialization of the race, which is one of its greatest needs. In this article the writer has sketched the work of a private school which has become, to a large extent, the focus of socio-economic relations in a colored community.

HISTORY

The Fort Valley High and Industrial School is located in Peach County (recently carved out of Houston and Macon Counties in the central part of Georgia), the shipping point for this well-known peach section. This school was founded in 1895 by Mr. J. W. Davidson, the land being bought from a Michigan white man interested in the colored people. Its first sessions were held in a lodge hall. In 1904 the present principal, Mr. H. A. Hunt, took charge of the school and developed it to its present importance. Mr. Hunt is a graduate of Atlanta University and spent some time in educational work at Biddle University before going to Fort Valley. The school has done all the public-school work for Negroes in the town of Fort Valley although it stands just outside of the city limits. The physical equipment consists of a newly constructed library, a trades building, a dormitory, and a building containing the dining-room and the teachers' dormitory. In place of the academic building recently destroyed by fire the principal is planning to erect, at a cost of nearly $100,000, a new one which will contain an adequate auditorium. A sanitary sewage system, now being installed, will make the school a modern plant. Thirty well-educated Negro teachers from the best industrial schools and colleges of the country give work of senior-high, normal, junior-high, grammar, night, and summer-school grades. The new industrial building will bring this department up to standard efficiency. The total enrollment amounts



THE FORT VALLEY CARNEGIE LIBRARY

NEGROES IN AMERICA

by

ROBERT C. JONES

(adapted from an article "Negroes in Latin America" by the author published in the September-October 1945 issue of Sociology and Social Research.)

Some twenty years ago I recommended to my friends in the United States who were interested in the study of interracial and intercultural relations that they should observe these in various parts of Latin America as well as in their own country. I felt from my experience that this would help them to develop a more exact understanding of the concept "race". A comparison of the greatly varying situations existing in different countries and regions would assist in making clear the character of race prejudice showing that the prevalent attitudes of different ethnic groups towards each other were the product of conditions which were constantly changing, that they are brought about through historical processes which can be traced and are subject to modification.

It had been my privilege to know personally a number of the Negro elite in the United States during my university days, but it was not until later when I had an opportunity to work for several years in urban communities largely settled by Negroes that I came to realize what a wide variety of background and experience exists among them and how serious a handicap discriminatory practices really are.

Even Negroes themselves and students of "race relations" generally expressed surprise a few years ago when they were told that there were probably twice as many Negroes in Latin America as in the United States. No exact enumeration of Negroes in all of America has, however, ever been even attempted. The great flexibility of the "color line" in some of the countries would make a statistician's nightmare out of such an effort. A very rough guess would be that there are close to forty million Negroes in the Western Hemisphere, located mainly on the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean. According to Census figures there are about thirteen million Negroes in the United States. There is perhaps about an equal number in Brazil. The next largest number is in the Caribbean area, where there may be ten million. The remainder are to be found in the Guianas, in the Pacific low-lands of Peru and Ecuador, with small scattered groups and individuals in all countries. Negroes thus constitute almost 15 per cent of the total population of the American continents.[1]

If we accept the verdict of professional anthropologists, students of the subject, that there are no fundamental differences in the inherent ability or mental characteristics of various races and ethnic groups, the question as to how many Negroes there are in America becomes largely an academic one but for the fact that large numbers of persons do not act on this premise. Subjective attitudes and concepts center themselves around Negroes and their relationships to other groups, and for that reason it is important to them as well as to others interested in their welfare to know their number and status. Race prejudice is to be found in all countries, although in greatly

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1 Although Negroes have, in general, settled in areas where the Indian had a low cultural level and the population was small, the two races have mixed to some extent. Such mixed bloods, or zambos, have been included in the present estimate, but many might with equal or greater justification be included in estimates of the Indian population.

varying forms and degrees of emotional intensity. In those places where Negroes are treated almost as equals by other groups, such an enumeration tends to lose its importance and may, in fact, promote the continuation of distinctions rather than be an aid in promoting plans to equalize opportunities. What it is really important to know about ethnic and cultural groups in any country is the extent to which their members vary from the remainder of the population in cultural and economic standards so that practical programs to remove existing disadvantages may be inaugurated on a valid basis and an adequate scale.

As is well known Negroes are not indigenous to America. Millions were, however, brought to America from Africa to furnish labor for tropical and subtropical plantations. They were at first largely restricted to a comparatively small area but have tended to scatter. They made special contributions to the development of sugar and cotton production and later to the cultivation of bananas. They constituted much of the labor used in the building of the Panama Canal and they also made up a large proportion of the port workers in the harbors. Since they were brought in bondage and did not have a good opportunity to transplant their own culture, they have to a very large measure adopted European civilization, adapting it to the social and economic situation in which they have been forced to live. African cultures were much richer, however, than has usually been thought, and Negroes have no reason to be ashamed of their African ancestry.

Although Haiti is the only country in America in which Negroes themselves overthrew their European masters and rulers and founded a state of their own, they have made an important contribution to the independence movement of almost every country in this hemisphere. This was true even in Argentina, where an important contingent of Negro soldiers served under San Martin. Haitain soldiers helped the American colonists win their freedom in the United States.

Relations between races are not yet governed by democratic principles of respect for the individual person and the guarantee of relative equality of opportunity irrespective of ethnic background. Partly for this reason many Negroes have possessed a keen interest in freedom, for they knew that their own welfare was somehow bound up with the general problem of democratic living. As long as certain people are not given opportunities equal to others to possess an adequate standard of economic well-being, to secure an education, and to enjoy the best things which our culture offers because of difference in the color of their skin and other outer physical characteristics, we cannot say that we are genuinely and completely democratic. Even in the countries where the "color line" is most flexible the term "white" is to a considerable extent a designation of status rather than a purely physical classification. It is a concept colored by tradition and prejudice rather than one determined by reason and objective scientific investigation. What the continuing relationship of Negroes is to members of other groups is a test of whether our democracy is real or not in that it will indicate whether a minority group can rise from an exploited and submerged position to one of relative equality without there being a great deal of bitterness and serious conflicts. Responsibility for creating and maintaining a situation where peaceful progressive adjustment is possible must be shared by both minority and dominant groups.

Negroes should be interested not only in their own advancement and that of their group but also in the promotion of democratic processes in our entire society. Self-interest alone should recommend this to them, as studies have shown that the greatest feeling against them exists among the uneducated, underprivileged, and intellectually isolated. Nor have Negroes themselves kept free from racist attitudes as is indicated by the frequent existence of a color caste within the Negro population itself. Negroes cannot be said to be in any sense unified; those in different segments of society and

in different countries apparently have about as much difficulty as anybody else in understanding each other. A city Negro art group in the United States once asked the author for help in arranging an exchange of art work with Negroes in a Latin-American country such as Cuba or Brazil. It was difficult for them to understand that a collection of art secured from either of those countries would quite likely contain work by Negro artists but that it would not be very politic to ask for an exclusively Negro exhibit. Cuban and Brazilian Negroes are primarily nationals of their country of birth or adoption and are frequently not given to thinking of themselves in terms of their racial background. The general population takes pride in the contribution of outstanding Negroes who are known as eminent citizens of their respective countries on much the same basis as other leaders.

Little more than half of thepopulation of the western hemisphere can even pretend to be of purely European ancestry.[2] Recognition and graceful acceptance of this fact is of importance in determining the character of inter-American relations. Because of the greater tolerance existing in the Latin American countries the discriminatory treatment which Negroes receive in the United States is widely resented. Whites in countries where little segregation takes place frequently criticize such conduct as much as, if not more than, the Negroes themselves. Nevertheless United States tourists and other influences have affected some change in the attitudes and behavior of Latin Americans so that in effect race prejudice has been exported.

Although resolutions have been passed at a number of inter-American conferences favoring the promotion of democracy, better conditions for the working classes, and the abolition of discriminatory practices, the Inter-American Congress of Demography, held in Mexico City in October, 1943, was the first to openly consider the situation of the Negro in America.[3] The recommendations of the Commission on Ethnology and Eugenics of this Congress included the suggestion that the governments of America should enact laws which would promote educational programs intended to improve the condition of life of the Negro people and promote the removal of distinctions because of race or color in all human relationships. It was also suggested that the scientific study of the Negro populations be promoted so that information as to their condition, potentialities, general culture, and their contribution to the national and continental heritage might be adequately diffused in order to bring about better understanding between racial groups. The position was taken that the American governments should completely repudiate all policies and action of a discriminatory character, keeping in mind that the traits of racial classification which are scientifically valid indicate only hereditary somatic qualities without any implications of a psychological or cultural character.[4]

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2. As has already been indicated, care should be taken in making estimates of the number of persons belonging to minority ethnic groups not to count the considerable number of persons of mixed blood more than once. It should be remembered that in several countries, contrary to the prevalent practice in the United States, persons of mixed ethnic background are considered to be White, particularly if they possess superior economic and cultural status.

3. The Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace held in Mexico City in February 1945 reaffirmed "the principle ---- of equality of rights and opportunities for all men, regardless of race or religion." and recommended "that the governments of the American republics.....make every effort to prevent in their respective countries all acts which may provoke discrimination between individuals because of race or religion." See- Final Act of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace- February-March, 1945. Washington, Pan American Union, 1945. p.80.

4. Earle Harrison, "Inter-American Demographic Congress," Monthly Review (Immigration and Naturalization Service), November, 1943. pp.1-2. The complete resolutions of this Congress have not up to the present been made available in an adequate English translation.

As a result of increasing mutual acquaintance among scholars interested in the Negro people in America and of the interest expressed in studies relating to them at the Congress of Demography there was organized in Mexico City in October 1943 the International Institute of Afro-American Studies. It is the purpose of the organization to stimulate the study of the Negro population of America and collect, arrange, and distribute the results of these investigations, make reports regarding activities of other societies and study groups interested in the same subject, and carry on other related work. It is not only to encourage research but also to organize lectures, seminars, exhibits, and other public programs relating to the Negro. Its program is to be educational in character, and it is to serve as an inter-American clearinghouse for scholars interested in the Negro rather than be an action or pressure group. Eventually a magazine may be published and other publications issued from time to time as seen fit. The Institute may also function in an advisory capacity, furnishing information and making recommendations as requested by official agencies, private organizations, or individuals. Headquarters for the Institute were established, for the time being, at the National School of Anthropology of Mexico, located at Moneda No. 13, Mexico, D.F. So far, the Institute has been merely in the process of organization. Whether or not it becomes a vital project depends upon the amount of interest shown.

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The Negro in Brazil

By Dr. Arthur Ramos

A Distinguished Anthropologist and Historian of Brazil

Translated by Dr. Richard Pattee

Of the Division of American Republics, U. S. Department of State

This work supplies a long-felt want in all scholarly circles. The Negro in the Western Hemisphere has been studied scientifically only in the United States, Cuba, and Brazil, and what has been made known to scholars remains all but hidden from the public. The cooperation of Dr. Ramos, one of the best known Brazilian scholars in anthropology and history, and Dr. Pattee, a serious student and instructor in the history of Latin America, has been productive of this useful book. The author discusses the slave trade, the expansion of slavery, the insurrections, the rise of Palmares, abolition, the participation of the Negro in his own liberation, the cultural heritage of the Brazilian Negro, his music, painting, sculpture, architecture, literature, science, statesmanship, and military achievement.

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By E. B. Henderson

Head of the Department of Health and Physical Education, Public Schools of the District of Columbia

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Of the Howard University Medical School

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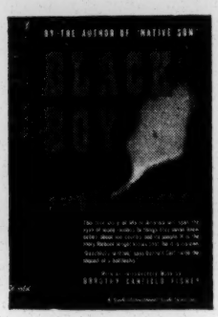

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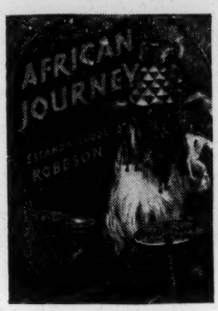

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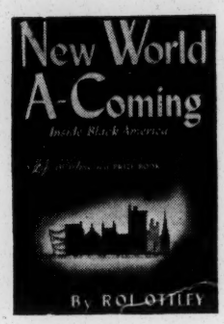

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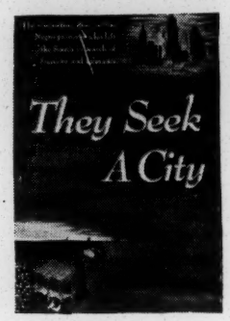

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The Negro Press

A GREAT DEAL has been said and written about the Negro press in the last year or two, but few white people have actually bothered to read it. And this includes a number of the writers who, in leading magazines and newspaper columns, have presumed to put the race press on warning. In most cases, what they have actually known about the Negro press, or truly understood, has been superficial. They have seen a number of blatant headlines which irate white readers or clipping services have mailed to them; they have bought a few issues of these newspapers and read them with a mounting indignation that passed all understanding; and those few who actually read the Negro press consistently over a long period have had the experience of watching it grow too big and tough for the focus of their prejudiced visions. They have accused the Negro press of creating something to which it has only given expression: the American Negro's drive for the freedoms, rights, privileges and human happiness for which the war itself is being fought.

An excellent, concise history of the race press, by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois of Atlanta University, has appeared recently in The Chicago Defender. It begins in 1827, when Samuel Cornish, first Negro graduate of an American college, and a man named John B. Russworm started The Freedman's Journal. The Negro journals didn't amount to much for a long time. The best ones were organs of personal opinion for individual editors, and the worst were scandal sheets and shakedowns. When the race press gained maturity, it began to feature personal news, so that Negroes might read of their friends in other cities.

The First World War brought a great change. Negroes demanded real news of Negroes in the war and the war's effect upon race issues. The Associated Negro Press and other agencies were formed, and the larger papers began to make sizable budgets for news-gathering. During the war, Dr. DuBois was editor of a weekly magazine, The Crisis. He had access to information, which none of the other journals could get, about the treatment of Negro soldiers in Washington, in Southern camps, and in France. In one month the magazine's circulation jumped to over 100,000, an extraordinary accomplishment for a small journal with meager backing. It is this same understandable hunger for wartime race news which is booming Negro newspapers today. A Negro buys a Negro paper to find out what happens to Negroes. If there are strong stories to tell, he wants them served up strong. Westbrook Pegler, Virginius Dabney and other critics have attacked the Negro press for giving the news a race slant and thereby damaging Negro morale. Race news in a great majority of cases is given the race slant right at the source. It is given a race slant, for example, by the big army generals who sit around a table in the War Department and turn down requests for experimental mixed units of white and black volunteers; requests emanating from responsible sources such as Bishop Bernard Sheil of Chicago, who came to his views on the race issue from observing the way mixed groups worked together in the athletic clubs of his diocese. In most cases where war stories have proved damaging to Negro morale, the damage was accomplished before the papers hit the street. When the crucial FEPC railroad hearings into the glaring discrimination against Negro firemen were canceled, the damage was accomplished as Paul McNutt announced the cancellation. It was foreordained the moment President Roosevelt accepted the word of a group of politicians and plausible Southerners in Washington who told him that righting a wrong against a group of Negro railroad firemen was going to hurt the war effort. This is how stories get race-angled.

The race press has grown up to fill a need as important to the Negro as the home-town paper to any white man. Since the World War, it has become an important implement of the Negro minority in making its pressure effective. The glaring light of publicity which the Negro press has focused for twenty years on crimes like lynching has been in good measure responsible for their decline. It was easier for white groups to get away with these things when a Negro could be swallowed up and no more heard of him, except for the muttered talk of his terrified friends.

Everybody knows about the five Sullivan brothers who were lost on a warship in the Pacific. We have all seen their pictures, five fine-looking young white men. The navy named a destroyer after the Sullivans. Does everybody know about the five Holden brothers who died on the battleship Arizona at Pearl Harbor? They were five of nine brothers in military service. It happened fifteen months ago. I read about it last week in The Chicago Defender. The Defender picked up and headlined a brief Associated Press story by John Moroso. The details were obscure and it took an AP reporter stationed with the Atlantic fleet to dig up a story that happened in the Pacific. The navy doesn't make heroes out of Negroes, nor do white newspapers.

How many white people know who Dorie Miller is? The name means as much to Negroes as Colin Kelly's does to white newspaper readers. The Negro press has built up more war morale with Dorie Miller's story than official Washington tears down in a month. He was the Negro messman who quit being a cook at Pearl Harbor and grabbed a machine gun. With bombs

crashing, and terror and excitement in the air, Dorie Miller wanted to fight with a gun, like everybody else. And he did, against standing orders. The story was told with approval in the white press, along with the hundreds of other stories that came out of Pearl Harbor. At first the navy wouldn't reveal his name. The Negro press had to work hard to get it. Finally Dorie Miller got a medal, and the Negro people got a hero they could feel proud of.

When a nineteen-year-old gets a Ph.D. from Chicago, they are proud of him and want the details; when the body of a Negro soldier, hands tied, is found hanging from a tree at Fort Benning, they are enraged; when the first Negro captain of an American freighter takes her through the submarines, they want to know; when a radio show reveals a Negro in the character of a self-respecting human being, they want to thank the director; when the President's valet goes into the navy they want a bigger story than The New York Times or The Richmond Times-Dispatch can give them; when young Lt. Maria August, RN, of Atlanta, arrives in North Africa with thirty white nurses, they want to know; when William Thaddeus Colemen, brilliant Harvard law student, goes into the army they want to read about it. All these things affect them in their personal feelings as Negroes, and make them furious or proud. Why? Because they are a Jim-Crowed minority who, brought here long ago against their wishes, have never been allowed to feel that they were just the same as other Americans. When they achieve the integration into our national life for which the race press is crusading, then the race press as it exists today will have served its purpose, and must either disappear or begin to operate from a non-racial basis. But this change cannot be achieved by pious lectures from white newspaper editors. A fundamental change in the attitude of white Americans has got to precede it. When the white Southern editors state flatly that the Negroes must always expect to be segregated in the South, then these editors must always expect to be confronted by a segregated Negro press.

When a squat little redneck, with none of the graces he says are inherent in his race, gets up in the Senate and proposes that 13,000,000 people—who for three centuries spilled their sweat into the American earth—be torn away from it and sent to the fever coast of Africa, Negroes want their press to call him a liar, a thug and a cheat. They don't want him handled with calm disdain, as The New York Times might handle him. They know what he is. They want to see it in print, or as near to it as possible under the libel laws. When they put out ten cents for their weekly budget of current reading they also want the details of spicy Negro divorce cases and bloody crime stories. White critics have hammered this aspect of the Negro press as though they have never seen the white newspapers which built up circulations in the millions by featuring sex and crime. And in fairness it should be pointed out that it is not these stories but political news which the race press features. The Negro press goes out to cooks, servants, elevator boys and truck drivers. Not exclusively, but almost so; 95 percent of the race are classed as laborers. They are fighting their way up, but what they have been able to win as a group, against the odds, in the fields of education, money and mores, is not high when looked at from the white end of the telescope. They wouldn't buy a black New York Times if one were available. As a matter of fact, there are a few Negro newspapers—when things like drive, courage, purpose and readability are taken into consideration with The Times's vaunted thoroughness and propriety—that I would rather read than The Times. More than one white man has picked up a Negro newspaper to scoff and remained to read, and to read with a sense of discovery. Rose Wilder Lane, author of "Free Land" and other books, who never saw a Negro until she was fully grown, took a look at the race papers because such a controversy was being raised about them. The hard-hitting, fighting columns were a new experience. She became an avid reader and finally a columnist herself. She writes a column in The Pittsburgh Courier and she has never enjoyed any writing more than this.

When a white man first reads a Negro newspaper, it is like getting a bucket of cold water in the face. There is hardly a white man alive—whether a product of the Emerson tradition and the abolitionist soil of Harvard, or whether of the Mississippi Delta—who is not a ruddy sahib in his heart. If we get to understand this fact about ourselves, we can disarm it. It would do many a Southerner and many a South-hating Yankee sahib a lot of good to take a look at the Negro press. They won't get their accustomed deference in the Negro press. The Negro writers, over and over, in all possible variations, with a variety of tones and shadings, with none of the ambiguous and deceitful language by which hard facts are softened in the white press, tell the Negro exactly what the white man is doing for him and to him. It is not a bad thing for a white man to see how he looks through Negro eyes, and it is even better for him to try to understand why it is so.

In his first two columns on the Negro press printed about a year ago, Pegler, the great foul-blow artist of our time, even criticized the race press because it derived much of its advertising income from rackets like magic-powder companies, purveyors of love secrets, hair-straighteners and race books. Where would he have them go for their income? Negro purchasing power is low and the press simply cannot get high-grade advertising. It takes what it can get. The white press has passed through the same phase. Pegler also found the writing in the Negro newspapers undistinguished. If he did, he confined himself to police-

court stories. But probably he only skimmed through a few papers before writing his article. His statements were so unfair and vulnerable that he reopened the subject in a later column, took some of it back in effect, and gave the Negro people a few encouraging pats on the back. But the knifing had done real damage, and set off a whole train of critical articles.

The best writing in the Negro press is found in the numerous signed columns which all of the papers feature; the next best in the unsigned editorials. The news stories are not literature, but they are very often vivid with the hard, lean structure which is one of the few virtues a news story can have as a form of writing. Some of them are sloppy. Their editorializing is open and frank, when it occurs, which is pretty frequently. Editorializing in white newspapers is more subtle, but it occurs just as constantly.

These columnists are fighting for Negro equality; they are fighting the white people who oppose it and the Negroes who show no heart for the fight. In some of their columns, fierceness is apparent in every sentence. In others it lies beneath a calm and subtle prose, and sometimes dullness. The white reader will not find dullness very often. Almost everything in the Negro press will be new to him, or if not new, written in a strange new key. Sometimes these columnists are inaccurate with facts and careless in their attitudes. But the white reader must be careful about what he allows to anger him, for there is a vast amount of raw, solid fact which they handle well within the bounds of accuracy, and which the white reader simply has got to gulp down and let it educate him. There is one flavor of the white press fortunately absent from the Negro: the dreary, pedestrian writing of men who are bored with their jobs. There are a lot of white columnists and reporters who are drawing pay today on writing they did in the 1920's, and their weariness is inescapable. The white reader doesn't find this weariness in the Negro columnists. They live and write at the beginning of a new era for their people, and they are swept along by it.

In my opinion, George S. Schuyler, who writes in The Pittsburgh Courier, is about the best. He is a clear and vivid writer. Sometimes he writes with a mordant sarcasm, but he does not let it unbalance the order of his ideas. And he hammers what seems to me the soundest line of all: that the Negro's natural friend, and natural ally, is the white worker, and that the two should strive for a unity of purpose in the labor movement.

Critics of the race press fail to mention the better-conduct campaigns. Those who can gloss over this effort of Negro writers to arm their people with the tools of morality and dignity are prejudiced indeed. Week after week papers like The Pittsburgh Courier and The Chicago Defender have carried thousands of words lecturing Negroes on their behavior. They have campaigned against loud clothes, loose personal habits, cursing, drinking, laxness at work. They have warned that race immaturity will lose the Negroes' newly won jobs after the war is over. No white newspaper could be more frank. The Courier carries a front-page box on the subject. Joseph D. Bibb, in The Courier, one of the first to pursue this theme, and Lucius C. Harper, in The Defender, have written brilliant columns.

Enoc P. Waters, reporter for The Chicago Defender, has written the best series on the South and the wartime race problem that has been written. It is still running. He has dug for information in the good places and he has dug deep. By any standards, he is a first-rate reporter. The editorial page of The Norfolk Journal and Guide is one of the best in the country and Arthur Davis, whose column appears on the page, has written columns defending the Negro press that were far better writing and reasoning than the attacks. It is unfortunate that few white people will ever see them.

These few accolades are based on no inclusive judgment of Negro writers. There are many outstanding columns and newspapermen which have not been mentioned and many which I don't even know about. Furthermore, there are a whole lot of brickbats which would have to be thrown along with the bouquets in any criticism of individual writers. Many of the gossip columns, for instance, seem to me vulgar and immature, with lower standards, if possible, than the usual gossip columns in the white press. I have seen a number of columns which might well have been rejected by the editors as part of the better-conduct campaign.

The fundamental weakness of the Negro press is its strong tendency to overcompensate. Where Negro achievement is slighted in the white press, it is often overpraised in the race press. Negro crime is apt to be given subjective and apologetic treatment. Most white newspapers in New York have overplayed and emphasized recent robberies and assaults in Harlem, suggesting that race, rather than deplorable social conditions, was responsible. The Negro press in New York has been carried to another extreme in its reaction against these stories. They have counter-attacked the white man on the basis of his own criminal record, and have tried to explain away Harlem's numerous recent crimes instead of discussing both the existence of these crimes and their causes. Where the Negro race is systematically disparaged in the white press (frequently unintentionally or through ignorance) and the white man given the benefit of every doubt, the reverse is true in the Negro press. There are two ways of looking at such overcompensation; one is to say superficially that its fundamental cause is the white man's treatment of the Negro; but it is far more important to the Negro people and to the goals they hope to achieve that the men who write for the Negro press try to rise to a larger point of view than the

eye-for-an-eye philosophy. It will take this sort of greatness on the part of the Negro's leaders to carry the fight for him against enormous odds.

Racism is a bad game no matter who plays it. Despite such outspoken features as the better-conduct campaigns, or the fact that much of the criticism of white affairs is justified, there is an accompanying tendency to create a chauvinistic racism among the Negro people, and a feeling of subjective bitterness toward all whites. "*The crafty Caucasian,*" writes one columnist, "seems to derive a certain sadistic delight in seeing us handicap ourselves, and he will pay us his good money to indulge us in these sordid and miserable roles" (blackface roles in radio plays). Another says, "What will it take to make her [a white woman living near the Tuskegee airfield] and *the rest of the white devils of the South* believe in us and let us have a fair chance?" This is a moving sentence, but calling the Southern people white devils creates destructive resentment on both sides of the color line, when an understanding of the race problem and a knowledge of the things which have to be done to solve it, are needed. Short fiction in the Negro press deals most often with lynching and white criminality. Most Southerners have become stereotyped villains with names like "Ratley" and "Stalk." This is no more inaccurate than the mawkish self-glorification which Southern newspapers and writers have engaged in for a century. It is difficult for a Negro to feel objective about a Southern society which has used him as a beast of burden for generations.

But the Negro press must learn objectivity before anything approaching a solution of the race problem can be achieved. Programs of action are needed: programs for Negroes as individuals, and programs for Negroes as political and social groups. A sound and workable attitude toward the white majority, particularly toward the Southern white people, is needed. It seems to me that the Negro press should adopt an editorial policy toward Southern affairs which coincides with the political manifesto of the group of Southern Negroes who met recently in Durham in an attempt to bring some order and reason into the unsettled field of race relations in the South. This statement outlined the Negro's aspirations for political, economic and educational equality; then, turning to the major question, it said, "We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society," but it acknowledged the "strength and age of these patterns of segregation." From this point it continued to furnish a thorough outline of the Southern Negro's goals and methods of procedure in industry, politics, education, agriculture and other fields. The effect of this statement has been to relieve the fears of a large section of the white South that the Negro might attempt some revolutionary political coup, under cover of the war, to abolish segregation; but at the same time, with great skill, it declared itself fundamentally against the principle of segregation and thus has left a basis for operations against this primary and fundamental injustice when the war is over and wartime fears and excitements have ebbed from the high-tide mark which they reached about the time of the Durham conference in the fall.

Most of the Negro newspapers wrote approvingly of the Durham conference. They would do well to adopt the Durham line as their own policy toward the Southern white people. It is a far cry from the Booker T. Washington line which accepted permanent humility and segregation as a basis for race relations. On the other hand it gives the Negro possible goals to work for during the war, and furnishes a positive program rather than one of vague and negative bitterness. The strength of the Durham statement is its honesty in refusing to accept the principle of segregation, and its realism in admitting segregation to be an established fact, a deeply rooted Southern institution too substantial and too much in the forefront of the thoughts of white Southerners today to be successfully resisted by Southern Negroes.

The fault of overcompensation grows out of the fact that Negro newspapers are money-making businesses: their first function is to put out a readable, and salable, product. Negro publishers are apt to be primarily business men whose interest in race welfare is secondary to their interest in selling newspapers. It is not they, but the men they hire, who make their papers worth-while; the editors, the columnists, the reporters. These are the men who are qualified to speak of the sufferings and aspirations of Negroes, for they are still part of the race. Some of their publishers have been rich men so long that they have almost forgotten what it feels like to be a Negro. The only one with whom I have become personally acquainted is as pleasant individually as his counterparts in the white publishing field. But he is also a patronage politician, a political reactionary and an anti-Semite. And I soon saw it was a travesty to speak to him about race issues. The fact that he had had to battle his way up against ruthless odds made him like this, but it did not change the fact that he was what he was. He was exactly like the majority of white newspaper publishers. His newspaper was guilty of certain faults and excesses which paralleled those of the average white newspaper. He had rounded up a good staff of writers and for that reason his newspaper was somewhat above average, by both white and Negro newspaper standards. Furthermore, its big issue was not anti-liberal, anti-labor, pro-big-business tub thumping—the pattern of most white newspapers—but advancing the cause of an abused minority in a democracy. This gave it a certain intrinsic worth which redeemed many of the faults which grew out of its commercial character. And it seems to me that this is not an unusual pattern in the Negro press.

THOMAS SANCTON

Spring '45

LEADING NEGRO PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

CITY	PUBLICATION	DATE OF PUBLICATION	CIRCULATION
ALABAMA			
Birmingham	Review	Weekly	13,000
Birmingham	World	Tues & Fri	8,000
Mobile	Press-Forum Sun	Saturday	
Mobile	Advocate	Saturday	
Montgomery	Alabama Tribune	Thursday	8,500
ARKANSAS			
Hot Springs	Crusader Journal	Saturday	3,250
Little Rock	Arkansas World	Saturday	5,000
Little Rock	Arkansas State Press	Saturday	3,000
Pine Bluff	Negro Spokesman	Saturday	2,890
CALIFORNIA			
Los Angeles	California Eagle	Friday	13,250
Los Angeles	California Sentinel	Saturday	18,000
Los Angeles	Tribune	Monday	10,000
Oakland	California Voice	Friday	10,500
COLORADO			
Denver	Star	Saturday	4,000
Denver	Colorado Statesman	Saturday	3,900
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA			
Washington	Afro-American	Saturday	32,240
Washington	Tribune	Saturday	21,000
FLORIDA			
Jacksonville	Florida Press	Saturday	21,000
Jacksonville	Florida Tattler	Saturday	5,000
Jacksonville	Progressive News	Saturday	1,500
Miami	Times	Saturday	5,000
Miami	Tropical Dispatch	Saturday	1,500
Miami	Whip	Saturday	4,950
Pensacola	Colored Citizen	Saturday	4,200
St. Petersburg	World	Saturday	3,500
Tampa	Bulletin	Saturday	15,000

CITY	PUBLICATION	DATE OF PUBLICATION	CIRCULATION
GEORGIA			
Albany	Enterprise	Saturday	2,242
Albany	Southwest Georgian	Saturday	2,200
Atlanta	World	Daily	23,000
Augusta	Echo	Saturday	3,000
Columbus	World	Saturday	2,500
Rome	Enterprise	Bi-weekly	4,200
Savannah	Tribune	Saturday	5,000
Savannah	Journal	Saturday	
ILLINOIS			
Champaign	Illinois Times	Saturday	1,100
Chicago	Bee	Sunday	23,000
Chicago	Defender	Saturday	100,000
Springfield	Illinois Conservator	Saturday	5,000
Danville	Illinois Times	Saturday	
INDIANA			
Gary	American	Saturday	3,108
Indianapolis	Recorder	Saturday	14,105
IOWA			
Des Moines	Iowa Bystander	Friday	2,500
Des Moines	Iowa Observer	Saturday	3,500
KANSAS			
Kansas City	Plaindealer	Friday	14,768
KENTUCKY			
Louisville	Defender	Saturday	15,297
Louisville	Falls City News	Saturday	
Louisville	Leader	Saturday	14,223
LOUISIANA			
Alexandria	Observer	Saturday	800
Monroe	Twin City Tribune	Saturday	
New Orleans	Louisiana Weekly	Saturday	16,819
New Orleans	Sentinel	Saturday	4,000
New Orleans	Sepia Socialite	Friday	9,850
Shreveport	Sun	Weekly	3,890
Shreveport	World	Weekly	3,500

CITY	PUBLICATION	DATE OF PUBLICATION	CIRCULATION
MARYLAND			
Baltimore	Afro-American	Tuesday (local)	21,449
		Saturday (local)	28,044
Baltimore	Afro-American	Saturday (national)	41,027
MASSACHUSETTS			
Boston	Chronicle (Combined with Providence Chronicle)	Saturday	8,000
Boston	Guardian	Saturday	5,000
MICHIGAN			
Detroit	Blade Express	Saturday	
Detroit	Tribune	Saturday	17,177
Flint	Brownsville News	Friday	
Hamtranck	North Detroit Echo	Saturday	
Lansing	Lansing Echo	Saturday	
Mt. Clemens	Macomb County Echo	Saturday	
Pontiac	Echo	Saturday	
MINNESOTA			
Minneapolis	Spokesman	Friday	3,626
Minneapolis	Twin City Leader	Weekly	3,500
St. Paul	Recorder	Friday	3,385
MISSISSIPPI			
Greenville	Delta Leader	Friday	8,000
Greenville	Southern Leader	Saturday	3,527
Jackson	Advocate	Saturday	
Jackson	Mississippi Enterprise	Friday	2,350
Meridian	Weekly Echo	Saturday	4,130
Jackson	Weekly Recorder	Saturday	2,000
Vicksburg	Advance Dispatch	Saturday	2,521
Vicksburg	Tribune	Saturday	
MISSOURI			
Kansas City	Call	Friday	26,796
St. Louis	American	Friday	12,500
St. Louis	Argus	Friday	15,053
NEBRASKA			
Omaha	Guide	Saturday	15,057

CITY	PUBLICATION	DATE OF PUBLICATION	CIRCULATION
NEW JERSEY			
Newark	Afro-American	Saturday	15,654
Newark	Herald News	Saturday	19,881
Newark	New Jersey Record	Wednesday	
NEW YORK			
Buffalo	Star	Friday	4,650
New York	Age		20,711
New York	Amsterdam Star-News	Saturday	48,932
New York	Crisis Magazine	Monthly	36,000
New York	People's Voice		45,000
NORTH CAROLINA			
Asheville	Record	Saturday	6,422
Durham	Carolina Times	Saturday	7,750
Greenville	Carolina Citizen	Saturday	1,200
Greensboro	Carolina Citizen	Saturday	3,000
Greensboro	Tribune	Saturday	3,300
Raleigh	Carolina Tribune	Saturday	5,590
Wilmington	Cape Fear Journal	Saturday	9,000
Winston-Salem	Telegram	Saturday	
OHIO			
Cincinnati	Cincinnati Independent	Saturday	2,500
Cincinnati	Union	Friday	8,000
Cleveland	Call and Post	Saturday	15,626
Columbus	Columbus Advocate	Saturday	
Columbus	Ohio State News	Saturday	9,500
Dayton	Dayton Bulletin	Daily	10,000
Dayton	Dayton Forum	Friday	3,500
Toledo	Press	Saturday	3,200
Toledo	Toledo Voice	Saturday	1,000
Youngstown	Buckeye Review	Thursday	1,425
OKLAHOMA			
Muskogee	Oklahoma Independent	Saturday	4,000
Oklahoma City	Black Dispatch	Saturday	14,000
Tulsa	Eagle	Saturday	4,000
PENNSYLVANIA			
Philadelphia	Afro-American	Saturday	21,656
Philadelphia	Independent	Sunday	18,054
Philadelphia	The Christian Review	Thursday	
Philadelphia	Tribune	Thursday	14,000
Pittsburgh	Courier	Saturday	229,720
Pittsburgh	Telegram	Saturday	

CITY	PUBLICATION	DATE OF PUBLICATION	CIRCULATION
RHODE ISLAND			
Providence	Providence Chronicle (Combined with Boston Chronicle)	Saturday	4,000
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Charleston	Lighthouse	Saturday	4,000
Columbia	Palmetto Leader	Saturday	10,000
TENNESSEE			
Chattanooga	Chattanooga Observer	Friday	3,000
Jackson	Times	Bi-weekly	3,100
Knoxville	Flashlight Herald	Saturday	
Knoxville	East Tennessee News	Thursday	6,700
Knoxville	Enquirer	Saturday	6,000
Memphis	World	Tues.& Fri.	8,500
Nashville	Globe	Friday	18,000
TEXAS			
Beaumont	Industrial Era	Saturday	
Dallas	Dallas Express	Saturday	6,000
El Paso	Southwestern Torch	Saturday	
Fort Worth	Fort Worth Mind	Saturday	9,244
Galveston	Galveston Voice	Saturday	
Houston	Houston Defender	Saturday	7,000
Houston	Informer	Saturday	23,916
Houston	Negro Labor News	Saturday	10,000
San Antonio	Register	Friday	7,230
Waco	Waco Messenger	Friday	2,500
VIRGINIA			
Norfolk	Journal and Guide	Saturday	42,897
Richmond	Afro-American	Saturday	10,298
WASHINGTON			
Seattle	Northwest Enterprise	Friday	1,300
Washington	Afro-American		
WEST VIRGINIA			
Huntington	Tri-State News		

B, MISC.

Info

Press

January 14, 1952

Mr. Seth Babcock
Longwood, Fla.

Dear Mr. Babcock:

How very kind that was of you to write us about the consideratenes of the Orlando Sentinel Star in handling that particular item of news.

I know that Ed May, who used to be a Board member of ours, is the newish editor of one of the Orlando papers, and I will hope it is the Sentinel Star.

You will be interested in this booklet of ours, done 2½ years ago, on race in the news. It has had a surprising effectiveness.

I can suggest two fields to try to get something moving in. One is getting your own or some reachable Florida community to do a home town self-survey. I send you a manual for it and copies of the summaries produced at Jacksonville. But we are most anxious for smaller communities to take it up. One diligent person working patiently for months to persuade a town could get such a thing going. And that would produce really friendly race relations.

The other thing would be to work at improvement of police administration in some local areas. We are doing a pamphlet on that. And the whole thing will turn on getting committees of local people to go and see the sheriff or the chief. Not just visit him, but visit him with the booklet. And not quit then, but keep tabs on him thereafter. And keep going back. And help the chief by helping him to get the larger appropriations he will need in order to pay the man better and train them better. I have the manual now only in mimeo form, but I send you one of those. If you are interested, write us again in mid-February, and we will have it in print.

Do join the Council if you find that you can. We would like to have you. There is a blank toward the back of the brown leaflet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.
Dictated but not read.

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
JAN 9 1952
Southern Regional Council

Longwood Fla
Jan 4 - 1952

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Georgia

Sirs:

With so much that is regretable in race relations in Florida I would like to report one bright spot.

The Orlando Sentinel Star conducted a first baby in new year contest for the last 20 years, only white babies considered. This year color is no bar.

I am white, a retired teacher, want something to do to help. Have no money but can give time.

Sincerely

Seth O Babcock

IR

Pres

AIRMAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

February 7, 1952

Mr. Hodding Carter
The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Carter:

We are delighted to learn of your latest good step in Greenville and want to help in every way we can.

Unfortunately we haven't tried to keep a comprehensive list of Southern newspapers using titles without racial distinction. We have simply noted such examples as we came across or had called to our attention.

The attached list, hastily pulled together, is by no means complete, I am sure. But I am sending it off today so that you will have something to work with immediately. We will keep on checking and send you further information as it turns up.

The list is based on direct evidence of one or more uses of "Mrs." with Negro names. In most cases, we know for sure that it is a continuous practice. If any of the papers have suffered a relapse, we are not aware of it. As you know, different papers follow the practice in different ways. Some reserve the title for stories of civic activity and achievement in which the Negro women featured have "status". Others regard it merely as part of the name, regardless of context. Still others use it only in columns set aside for Negro news. For your information I have designated the three listed newspapers in the latter category.

Dr. Mitchell joins in kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

enc.

HODDING CARTER
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

JOHN T. GIBSON
GENERAL MANAGER

The Delta Democrat-Times

Greenville, Mississippi

RECEIVED
FEB 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 5, 1952

AIRMAIL SPECIAL

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for the piece from the Columbia paper. I'm happy to note that they are doing and have done many of the things that we are also doing and have done here.

Right now I am running into a little snag. We decided a short time ago to use Mrs. in stories about Negro women and it has stirred up something of a rumpus. What I need in the way of ammunition is as full a list as possible of other Southern newspapers which are doing the same thing.

I am not too interested, for purposes of counter-attack, whether they are doing it on a separate page of Negro news or scattered throughout the paper as we are doing.

So far the animosity has been mostly under ~~current.~~ cover No one has phoned me anonymously or written hate letters or otherwise behaved as they used to only five years ago when Bilbo was around. Nevertheless, the resentment is something I want to be prepared to answer and challenge. I would appreciate your sending me this information as quickly as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Hodding Carter

HC:IB

Hodding Carter

SOUTHERN WHITE NEWSPAPERS
USING "MRS." WITH NEGRO NAMES

*Arkansas Gazette

Asheville Citizen Times

Ashland (Va.) Herald (weekly)

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta Journal

Birmingham News

Chapel Hill Weekly

Charleston Evening Post

Charleston News and Courier

Chattanooga Times

Cobb County Times (Marietta, Ga.)

Columbia Record (S.C.)

Columbia State (S. C.)

Conway (S. C.) Field

Daytona Beach Journal

Houston Post

Louisville Courier-Journal

Miami Herald

Nashville Banner

Nashville Tennessean

Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

Palm Beach Times

Petersburg (Va.) Progress-Index

Raleigh News and Observer

Richmond News Leader

Richmond Times-Dispatch

*Rock Hill Evening Herald

*Royston (Ga.) Record

Salisbury (N. C.) Post

Spartanburg Herald-Journal

Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel

*Courtesy title used only in columns devoted solely to Negro news

ZR

Press.

June 3, 1952

Mrs. Helen Schwartz
Jewish Community Relations Council
602 Fullerton Building
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Helen:

Good to hear from you, even though your query about race in the news finds us embarrassingly uninformed. The truth is, we haven't had the people or the means to do any real follow-up of changes since our pamphlet was published in September 1949. That is one of the things we have put hopefully on the program for the fall.

We have collected a certain amount of information by general observation, but the Post-Dispatch is, I'm sure, already straight on the practices observed (e.g., courtesy titles, pictures, crime headlines, etc.). For example, we have got up a list of some twenty-odd papers that now use titles for Negro women as a fairly regular thing.

Does the P-D employ any Negro reporters? If not, a good talking point is the Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel, which employed a capable guy named A. A. Morisey a couple of years ago. I am sure the Journal and Sentinel would recommend the practice to any and all inquirers.

As for race labeling, I know of no Southern newspaper which has dropped the practice altogether. The better ones, like the Chattanooga Times, almost never designate race in stories of church, civic, and other dignified doings in the Negro community. But in crime stories the fact that a suspect is Negro is almost always indicated. The best that can be said is that the trend is more and more to play down race identification; often it doesn't appear until the third or fourth paragraph. It is conceivable, of course, that some Southern paper is quietly omitting the race label, but without a public announcement to that effect, or personal knowledge of an incident reported, it would be impossible to tell.

Sorry we can't do better. We continue to be grateful to you for putting us onto the Teamsters' statement on integrating St. Louis Schools. A condensed version of it will appear in the June New South, copies to come.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming

H F ans. 162

Honorary President
SAMUEL I. SIEVERS

President
ALFRED FLEISHMAN

Executive Director
MYRON SCHWARTZ

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL

602 FULLERTON BUILDING • SAINT LOUIS 1 • CHestnut 2584

RECEIVED
MAY 26 1952
Southern Regional Council

MEMO TO: George Mitchell

FROM: Helen Schwartz

DATE: May 22, 1952

Will you please send me whatever information you have regarding recent changes in policy of handling race news in Southern newspapers. It would be particularly helpful to know whether any Southern newspapers have stopped race labeling within the past two or three years, because this is still the practice of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Some church people are going to talk to the local editors, and would find this information helpful.

My very best regards.

Helen

HS:ah

I R

TEACHERS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

DIVISION OF INSTRUCTION
DEPARTMENT OF THE TEACHING OF
ENGLISH AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES

RECEIVED
JUN 2 1952
Southern Regional Council

May 28, 1952

Press -

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Editor
The New South
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This summer, our School Journalism Workshop, in cooperation with the editorial staffs of the Metropolitan School Study Council, the Associated Public School Systems, and the Citizenship Education Project, will be experimenting with newsletters. This experience should acquaint students with a variety of educational newsletters and give them some skill in preparing simple newsletters - an activity in which they may very likely share in their teaching positions. In connection with the summer Workshop, I am preparing a manual for students and teachers interested in developing newsletters for professional and community readers.

I am very eager to see the New South, published by the Southern Regional Conference. I am convinced, as you must be, of the value of newsletters and small bulletins in our work in education. These can be prepared simply, rapidly, and inexpensively - as well as elaborately - and can be a powerful force in developing rapport and sharing ideas among readers.

done 6/4/52 HCF

Would you be willing to send me two copies of a representative issue of the New South? I shall be happy to reimburse you for the cost of the copies and for mailing, if you wish.

The Staff of the Workshop and I will be very grateful for your consideration of this request. We look forward to seeing your publication.

Cordially yours,

Virginia M. Burke

(Miss) Virginia M. Burke

Negro Press & R

November 18, 1952

Mr. Donald W. Bigham
10 Webster Ave.
Hanover, N. H.

Dear Mr. Bigham:

The Southern Regional Council has not published any material concerning the Negro press and politics, nor do we know of any recent research in this field.

We suggest the following references for generial background on the Negro press and the Negro in politics--if you have not already consulted them:

J. H. Burma, "Analysis of the Rresent Negro Press," SOCIAL FORCES, v. 26(Dec., 1947), 172-180

Jessie P. Guzman, NEGRO YEARBOOK, 1941-1946. Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Tuskegee Dept. of Research and Records, 1947. Chapter on Negro Press.

Henry L. Moon, BALANCE OF POWER, THE NEGRO VOTE. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1948.

Florence Murray, NEGRO HANDBOOK, 1946-1947. New York: Current Books, 1947. Section on Negro press.

Gunnar Myrdal, AN AMERICAN DILEMMA. New York: Harper, 1944. Chapters on Negro Press and Negro and Politics.

R. Ottley, "Negro Press Today," COMMON GROUND, v. 5 (No. 1, 1944), 98-103

A copy of our pamphlet "Race in the News" has been sent to you under separate cover.. While it does not bear directly on your topic, we thought it might be of interest.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Dartmouth College
Hanover, New Hampshire

RECEIVED
NOV 10 1952

Commission on Interracial Coop. Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta Ga.

Nov. 6, 1952

Dear Sirs.

For my Senior Thesis in the department of Government at Dartmouth College I am going to write on the topic, "The Negro Press and Politics".

I am using as primary material issues from a number of newspapers geographically distributed throughout the country. I am however direly in need of secondary material.

As I know of the work that your organization carries on, I would like to know whether you have a service through which I might be able to obtain information on my topic.

I would appreciate very much if you could inform me as to how I might obtain material which might be helpful to me — through your organization and through other sources of which you may know.

Yours truly,
Donald H. Bigham

10 Webster Ave.
Hanover, N.H.

"D-Day" and the Negro Soldier

What will happen when demobilization day comes?

by IRA DE A. REID

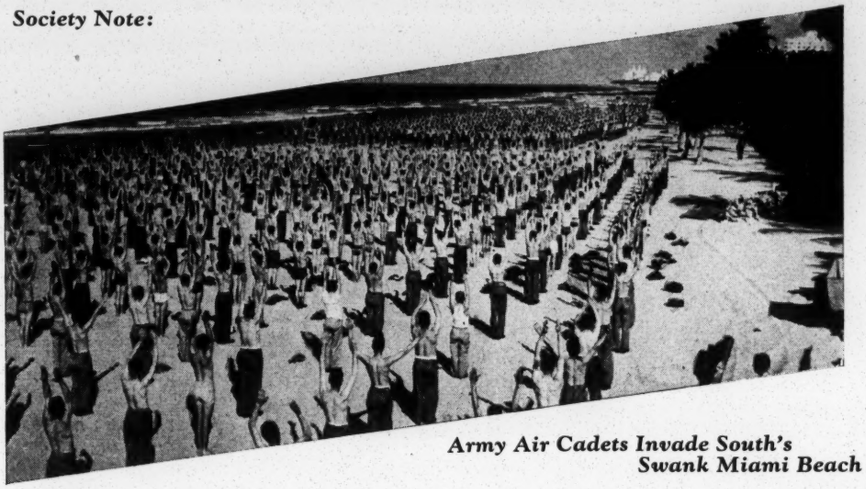
FOR MORE THAN a year Winston Churchill has been pleading for a constructive national policy of demobilization for the British soldiers. In the United States, there is little talk of this problem despite the fact that demobilization is recognized as no trivial phase of postwar planning. Especially in connection with the problems of the Negro, both as citizen and soldier, there is need for sound and realistic planning.

All of us hope that this war will bring a new world rather than a new world war. In this new world there will be many who have broken free from their old moorings, never to return. Once again, young men and women will flock to the big cities to seek their fortunes in new and wider fields. Already, the postwar plans of many cities are directed toward caring for a new and larger population. These programs of necessity are tentative. They must be watched day by day to make sure that they take into account each new, unforeseen event.

The bridge between war problems and postwar planning will be difficult to span for the returning Negro service man and woman. We have not undertaken for Negroes many of the ameliorative and corrective social programs that have been initiated on a wide basis for the citizenry as a whole. Indeed in many places we have all we can do to help the Negro to catch up with what we believe to be a desirable minimum in social participation.

Throughout the United States, but especially in the South, there is no satisfactory "floor" for wages paid for services rendered. In the Southeast, the National War Labor Board has not yet decided what is the general wage below which workers should not be employed. This is a problem that affects thousands of Negro workers. Few Americans are unaware of the problems involved in the efforts of the War Manpower Commission and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices to secure full and adequate employment for Negroes in the war industries where there has been a tremendous *shortage* of workers! Many Negro women went into the WACs for the simple reason that this was the only war employment in which they could get the same wages as white women for similar work.

Society Note:



Army Air Cadets Invade South's Swank Miami Beach

There have been many and eloquent pronouncements of faith in the American Way; of what should be done to assure that the Negro is an integral part of the life of the nation. When the warnings that have caused these proclamations have not been heeded in time the result has been riots and strikes and unwarranted migrations. To the Negro men in service, who themselves have no easy time coping with the rebuffs that attend their efforts to serve their country, all this adds up to the fact that Negroes at best are only partially accepted in American life. What will happen, they ask, when they return. Are they expected to accept the *status quo* of the Negro, the inequalities he fought to eliminate and thought he left behind?

When our soldiers return, they will be tired of struggle. They will want to find fulfilment of the promises that were made to them. But having accustomed themselves to risking their lives for causes, they may be willing to continue taking that risk if the life to which they return denies the cause for which they fought.

What is needed is for our American communities to establish for returning soldiers, of all colors and faiths, some basis for action regarding the problems they shall face. We cannot expect to prevent riots and strikes by the methods of fear and repression. In the postwar world, Negroes must be unleashed from the harness of democratic slavery. They must have opportunity to participate fully in the democratic processes. They must not be forced to rely upon the willingness and efforts of others to do something *for* them.

Among Negroes, as among all other returning soldiers, there will be three major groups for whom special planning will be required: the disabled, the demobilized, displaced war industry workers. Efforts to do "the usual thing" for these workers will not be enough. In addition, special planning will be necessary for agricultural workers who don't want to go back to the farm, for women workers who don't want to go back to the kitchen, for Negroes who don't want to live in the South. Are we going to ask agricultural workers to return to the farms under the farming-as-usual program? Are we going to displace women ruthlessly in favor of men? Are we going to restrain the Negro movement as we did during and after the last war so that certain sections of the country may continue to have a surplus of cheap, exploitable labor?

These are but a few of the many problems that must be faced. To a certain extent, their solutions will depend upon:

1. Work. How much work will there be? What kind?

2. Training. How much training will be made available for those who want to learn new skills? What standards of training? What facilities for satisfactory placement?

3. Counseling. Who will counsel returning service men and women and industrial workers? To what ends shall this counseling be developed?

4. Good will. How shall we go about creating good will among these diverse groups? How shall we avoid the "nightmare" period that inevitably follows war and accompanies postwar adjustment?

5. Pressure groups. Shall pressure groups have free lance to work as they will?

We do not have the answers to these questions today. But it is the responsibility of every community to see that planning is initiated *now* to offset the chaos that will attend no planning at war's end. Is it too much to expect of you and I, in our school groups and communities:

1. To establish principles for action on each of the above problems?

2. To put a group to work on these problems—not the usual goodwill or interracial committee, but a group of socially-minded young people who are anxious to do something for the welfare of all the people?

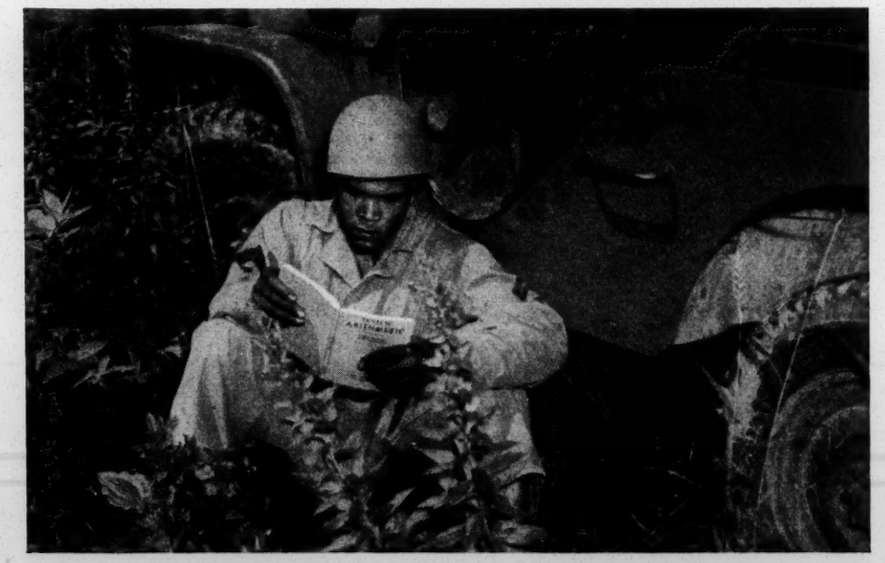
3. To sponsor institutes for training personnel and committees for this task, under leaders who are interested in and professionally equipped to deal with the social situations here described?

4. To promote programs of public cooperation and planning which give constructive recognition to those who will wish to live more widely and more fully in the future than they have in the past?

In terms of constructive community living the simple answer to all of this is to insure that when men and women return from the armed services and from war industry, they will find full opportunities for work and for education; they will share adequately in civic benefits and cultural opportunities; that any and all restrictions upon their social mobility will be removed when these do not affect the general welfare of a truly democratic community.

► Have you read *An American Dilemma,* by Gunnar Myrdal, a book (two books!) about the Negro in American Life? It presents a picture of the whole scene not previously available. See it (them!) in the college "lib."

► G. A. Studdert Kennedy's poem "The Great Wager," (page 10) is from "Christ and the Fine Arts," by Cynthia Pearl Maus, Harper & Brothers. It is reprinted in the INTERCOLLEGIAN by special permission of the author.



A little off-duty time, a set of Army Institute lessons, and a shady tree, turns any camp or station into a college campus.

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THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
Oberlin College
Thomas Wesley Graham, Dean
OBERLIN OHIO

WSSF News

"Nice work, WSSF!" is the title of an editorial appearing in the University of Cincinnati paper. When a World Student Service Fund secretary visited the campus last month, the editor thought that it was "idealistic and impractical" to think of $1000 goal, predicting that the students would not give over $200 at the utmost.

"We were wrong," writes the editor. "This is not an instance, however, where we were sorry to be wrong. We don't know how you did it, but you certainly did. Our hats off to you, WSSF Committee!"

The WSSF office in New York (8 West 40th Street) has just received checks totalling $1,145.00 and a $500.00 bond from the University of Cincinnati!

Campaigns like this are taking place all over the country. There are more than 20 drives scheduled for April and about as many for May. If your campus has not yet made any plans for doing its share in world student relief, why don't you start right now and prove what you *can* do!

Negro Soldiers

Tucson Committee for Inter-Racial
Understanding
21 South Court Street
Tucson, Arizona
September 12, 1944

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

With a determination which may well dramatize a nation-wide problem, fifty seven negro soldiers working as Kitchen Police at the Marana Army Air Field near Tuscon, Arizona spontaneously went on strike. At 4:00 A.M. on the morning of September 11, the first shift of sixteen men reported to the mess hall and announced they were no longer going to work without the extra pay to which each was entitled. In the face of the most dire punishment, they sat down. The Military Police were immediately called and the strikers were imprisoned in the Guardhouse.

The Executive Officer of the Field, Major Tilden, and the white commanding officer of the negro squadron, Lieutenant Shoupe called a meeting in the Day Room of the second shift which was supposed to report at 1:00 P.M. The members of this shift told the officers they would not report for work either. These men too, were sent to the Guardhouse.

The remaining two shifts did not report but so far no disciplinary action has been taken against them.

The strike was really the desperate protest of men who have suffered many abuses and had no recourse to remedial action. Most of the soldiers in question have been on K.P. for upwards of nineteen months, performing day in, day out, the most dreary and menial work in the Army Air Forces. They have been under constant abuse of "pushers" who are notorious for their speed-up methods.

For the last nine months, they have been serving cadets without being paid the extra 50% of base pay to which each is entitled.

For punishment of minor infractions, they have been obliged to serve their extra duty in the mess halls instead of their squadron area. This policy was recently declared illegal by an Administrative Inspector after having been in operation for over eighteen months.

Tucson, near which they are stationed, is the nearest sizeable town to the largest concentration of negro troops in the country. Large detachments are stationed at Marana and Davis-Monthan Fields and Fort Huachuca is the largest negro training center in the world. Yet the recreational facilities are utterly inadequate. Civic leaders and military personnel have long petitioned for a Negro Servicemen's Center near transportation and amusement centers, but in vain. They have met the successful opposition of local merchants and prejudiced city officials.

The profound resentment which fathered this strike becomes clear when it is understood that these men can be tried for mutiny if the higher officers choose to be severe. It is not yet known whether rigorous punishment will be meted out, or if some concerted effort will be made to render the lives of these negro soldiers tolerable.

TUCSON COMMITTEE FOR INTERRACIAL UNDERSTANDING
12 S. COURT STREET, TUCSON, ARIZONA
TELEPHONE 4434

Saturday, Sept. 23

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Tucson, Ariz. The 57 Negro soldiers stationed at Marana AAF, Tucson, Ariz., who went on strike Sept. 11 returned to work two days later. The soldiers, assigned permanently to Kitchen Police, have been granted the extra pay which they asserted was their due when working for cadets. None of the men has been punished.

The strike was the climax of protests against conditions which have long caused resentment among the men. Performing KP for periods up to 19 months, working 9 months for cadets without the customary extra pay, obliged to execute their extra squadron duty in the mess halls or other squadron areas than their own, unable to find adequate recreational facilities in Tucson - all these antecoded the strike which occurred when civilians were assigned to the recently reopened cadet mess hall.

33 of the strikers had been put in the Guardhouse for the 2 days of their work stoppage, and all had been warned of the long prison terms to which they were subject for mutiny.

The outcome of the strike is as follows: all Negro KP have been assigned to the cadet mess hall where they will draw $25. per month in extra pay. However, they now work 84 hours a week as compared to the 56 hours a week they formerly worked in the General mess hall.

Civic leaders in Tucson have expressed renewed interest in establishing a Negro servicemen's center near amusement and transportation centers.

##########

Negro Soldiers

THE LYNN COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH SEGREGATION IN THE ARMED FORCES

360 West 125 Street
New York 27, New York

For Release upon Receipt

In answer to a questionnaire sent to them by the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces, several important candidates for Congress have expressed themselves as opposed to segregation in the armed forces.

The questions asked of the candidates were:

(1) If elected, what steps would you take to see that Section 4a (of the Selective Service Act), the "no discrimination clause" is carried out?

(2) Do you believe that segregation in the Armed Forces should be abolished? What measures would you take to effect this?

"These candidates will be closely watched by the millions of colored voters to see that their campaign promises are fulfilled," said Wilfred Kerr, Chairman of the Lynn Committee. He also condemned the congressional candidates who ignored the committee's questionnaire. "Silence on this vital question," he said, "is equivalent to sanctioning the fighting of a war against Nazi racial dogmas with a segregated, Jim Crow army. This is the basest type of hypocrisy."

The following candidates declared themselves as willing to end discrimination in the military services:

State	District	Candidate	State	District	Candidate
Ill.	21	Thomas L. Jarrett	N. Y.	5	Raymond S. Richmond
Ill.	10	Curtis D. MacDougall	N. Y.	5	James A. Roe
Ill.	12	Herbert J. Max	N. Y.	40	George F. Rogers
Ky.	5	Olin W. Davis	N. Y.	41	Jean Walrath
Mass.	7	Ernest Bentley	N. J.	4	Don Guinness
Mass.	11	Lester W. Bowen	N. J.	??	T. Millet Hand
Mich.	11	Cecil W. Bailey	N. J.	9	Elmer Zabriskie
Mich.	8	William A. Hemmer	N. J.	12	John S. Suling
Mich.	17	John W. L. Hicks	Penna.	22	Bernard J. Clark
N. Y.	13	Clarence W. Archibold	Penna.	21	Josiah W. Gitt
N. Y.	32	William T. Byrne	Penna.	7	Hugh D. Scott, Jr.
N. Y.	39	J. P. Bretz	Penna.	30	Samuel Weiss
N. Y.	10	Emanuel Celler	Va.	5	Howard H. Carwile
N. Y.	39	Charlotte D. Curren	Va.	6	Ruby M. Wilkes
N. Y.	17	Leon Felshin	Wis.	1	John W. Kyle
N. Y.	14	James V. King	Wis.	5	Howard J. McMurray
N. Y.	14	Leo F. Rayfiel			

TUCSON COMMITTEE FOR INTERRACIAL
UNDERSTANDING

21 S. Court Street
Tucson, Arizona
October 10, 1944

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Tucson, Ariz...It is now possible to summarize the outcome of the strike in which fifty-seven Negro soldiers took part on Sept. 12, 1944 at Marana AAF, Tucson, Arizona.

As a consequence of the work stoppage, approximately thrity men have been transferred from the Enlisted man's mess to the Cadet mess. They now draw an extra $25. per month and work only fifty hours a week or six hours less than their previous schedule. Several men have been assigned to the Line to assist airplane mechanics. Several have been assigned to work in their own squadron area. Approximately fifteen men remain at the enlisted man's mess. In view of these reassignments and the fact that none of the strikers has been punished, the men involved feel that much has been gained.

A number of the men at present assigned to KP have indicated to their Commanding Officer that they would like to be reassigned to another type of work. It is not yet known whether any action will be taken on this.

The opinion prevailing among members of the Tucson Committee for Interracial Understanding is that many difficulties would have been avoided if Post policy followed that of Davis-Monthan Field, also located near Tucson. Members of the Second Air Forces, Negro KP'S at D-M, are not compelled to work in any mess hall but their own. If they are willing to work outside their squadron facilities, they automatically are entitled to an extra fifty percent of base pay.

Requests for Info
Soldiers
Negroes in Armed Serv

January 12, 1945

Lt. William R. Mueller, U. S. N. R.
Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Lt. Mueller:

Your letter of November 29 got misplaced somehow in the mass of material which has been accumulating on my desk. I am terribly sorry for this delay, and I assure you that it was not due to any lack of interest on our part.

It is quite probable that you have obtained all the information you want by this time. However, in case you have not, I want to call your attention to the best source that I have been able to find on the subject of the Negro in the Navy. This source is The Negro Handbook, 1944, edited by Florence Murray, published by Current Reference Publications, New York City. I am reasonably sure that you will find it in the University library. It contains a great many details on the Negro in the Navy--so many in fact that we can not undertake to copy them all for you.

If this book is not in the library, I suggest that you go to see Miss Anna G. Smith, who occupies my old office at 309 Alumni Building.

Enclosed is a bit of general information on Negroes in the armed services which might be of some interest to you.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure
Memo on Negro Servicemen

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
NAVAL RESERVE OFFICERS' TRAINING CORPS
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

PROFESSOR OF NAVAL SCIENCE
AND TACTICS

29 November 1944

Mr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Couch, Director of the University Press, suggested that you might be willing to give me some information which would of value for an article I am writing on the Negro in the U.S. Navy.

I am anxious to obtain all available facts on the subject, from statistics to activities which indicate either intolerance, prejudice, or encouragement to the gradual improvement of the Negro's status in the Navy. I think this information should be common knowledge and hope to have the article published.

I should be very grateful if you could allow me to have the facts at your disposal, as well as any relevant bibliographical material and the names of any persons who might also have material on the subject.

Hoping that I may hear from you, and thanking you very much for your trouble, I am,

Respectfully yours,

William R. Mueller

William R. Mueller,
Lieutenant, U.S.N.R.

NAACP MAKES SEABEE INVESTIGATION; 3/8/45
ASKS IMMEDIATE NAVY PROBE OF FINDINGS

Port Hueneme, California-- Thorough investigation by the NAACP of the recent two-day hunger strike, of 1,000 Negro Seabee members of the 34th Construction Battalion who protested discrimination in the awarding of Naval promotions, reveals a story of violent racial antipathies, thwarted ambitions and broken promises.

According to the report made by Norman O. Houston of the Los Angeles NAACP, who interviewed 27 members from the personnel of the 34th and 80th Construction Battalions at Camp Rousseau, a great gap exists between Negro and white personnel; and a still greater gap between the Negro personnel and the officers...In describing the series of discriminatory situations which led up to the strike, Mr. Houston submits the following testimony as representative of unanimous sentiment of all but one of the members interviewed in the 34th Battalion: "They had men of ability and leadership in the Negro personnel of the unit. While overseas, Negro personnel made possible the advancement of many white first class petty officers to chief petty officers, most of whom were transferred out of the unit upon return to the United States.

"Men stated that while they were overseas they were promised that as soon as they were qualified as to technical skill and time in service that they would be given appropriate promotions. Later the promise was changed until when they got back to the States. Now that they have been back in the States since last October and expect an early return to foreign service, no appreciable change has been made on the part of the commanding officer to give the advance ratings.

"Instead of providing training courses and encouraging the uprating of Negro personnel to first class men and chief petty officers, a group of white petty officers, first class, and chief petty officers were brought into the Battalion for positions of leadership. These men average inferior to the Negro personnel, yet they will be given the opportunities for advancement and become their superiors once the Battalion is ready for overseas assignment or out of state assignment.

"It is a naval custom for chief petty officers to have separate mess and living quarters and all other ratings to mess and live together, but in this battalion they complain that regardless of rank all white men are put into separate mess lines and are given separate and the most preferred quarters, and that while white petty officers are lounging in their quarters Negroes of comparable ratings are out doing the most menial kind of chores. It was stated that while in camp Negro personnel takes care of most of camp duties whereas white personnel have little or no camp responsiblities."

Men Complain of Officers Treatment

In pointing up the maneuvers and hatred existing between Commanding Officer McBean, a "Simon Legree" Mississippian, his executive officer, Lt. Commander C. V. White, and the men under him in the 34th Bn., Mr. Houston stated, "The men accuse Battalion Commander McBean, and his executive officer, Lt. Commander C. V.White, of violent racial antipathies as is expressed in their attitude that a Negro has no rights that a white man is bound to respect. They also complained that while they were overseas he refused to allow them to accept invitations from white units to compete in athletic contests; and that he took it on himself to go into Oxnard and ask white business places not to serve them; and that at one time he caused to be maintained separate heads for his white and Negro personnel. The Commander, in order to prove the incompetence of Negro for leadership, picks the wrong men as examples of leadership and nothing is being done to develop the Negro leadership for higher ratings. The Negro personnel made the white chief petty officers, many of whom lacked qualifications, yet were advanced on the work and reputation of the men working under them.

"It was stated that certain vital records are hidden from Negro personnel in order that maneuvering to elevate whites will not be known prior to advancement."

Interviewees under the command of Lt. Commander Ebersole,

provided the only bright spot in the report. According to them the C. O. emphasizes the building of leadership and morale. They agreed unanimously that "since a change in their white officers and chief petty officers last June, conditions have been better" and there is a definite opportunity for advancement. However, this one ray of hopefulness in no way offsets the desire expressed by 34th Bn. members to mutiny if conditions were not improved.

CO's Discredit Seriousness of Situation and Negro Leadership

In subsequent conferences with Capt. Sihler, Commander J.P. McBean and Lt. Commander Ebersole, the officers revealed general disbelief in the seriousness of the situation. Commander McBean stated "he had met the situation before and could meet it again." He indicated further that no Negro personnel under his command was qualified for leadership or elevation, and declared that he "was forced to bring in whites in order to have material to maintain the battalion at a standard."

In making recoomendations for an immediate navy probe of all personnel conditions existing in the 34th Construction Battalion, and the separation meanwhile of both Commander McBean and Lt. Commander C. V. White, from the unit, Mr. Houston summarized his findings by declaring "There is more potential dynamite in the 34th Construction Battalion than any similar situation. Composed largely of above average men in intelligence, these men are on the brink of mutiny and some one overt act may cause a serious blight on our progress in making inroads in the Naval establishment.

"The camp commander and battalion commander are very resentful against outside influence or outside attempts to secure information they made every effort to see to it that there was no grouping of the men for interview. Commanding officer refuses to consider applications for transfer."

NEGROES IN THE ARMY

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Approximately 920,000 Negro personnel served in the Army from December 1, 1941, six days before Pearl Harbor, through VJ-Day, September 2, 1945, the War Department reported today. This figure includes members of the Women's Army Corps and officers and enlisted personnel.

The figure represents more than twice the number of Negro troops — 404,348 — that served all during World War I.

NEGROES IN THE ARMY

The total Negro strength of the Army was 589,362 as of October 31, 1945; commissioned officers, flight and warrant officers made up 6,293 of this figure, with 386,101 officers and enlisted men listed as being assigned to overseas stations.

A partial breakdown of Negro strength in the Army as of October 31, 1945, follows:

Infantry	37,887
Coast and Field Artillery	15,440
Engineers	115,250
Air Corps	70,806
Transportation Corps	76,795
All Others	273,184
Total	589,362

Officers	6,293
Including:	
Dental Corps Officers	95
Nurses	426
Other Medical Corps Officers	450
Chaplains	201
Serving Overseas	386,101
Including:	
Pacific Theater	200,888
China and India-Burma Theaters	22,231
Alaskan Department	4,131
European Theater	116,926
Mediterranean Theater	31,246
* Africa-Middle East Theater	853
Caribbean Defense Command	1,525
Including:	
Women's Army Corps	600

* Including Persian Gulf Command.

Source: War Department, Bureau of Public Relations

Clearcopy Onion Skin

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Source: War Department, Bureau of Public Relations

Service

NEGRO SERVICEMEN

A recent survey by the Associated Negro Press discloses that there were 871,010 Negroes in the armed services of the United States as of October 31, 1944. Of this number 701,678 were in the Army and 169,332 in the Navy. The Army figures showed 5,804 commissioned officers; 49,483 in the Infantry; 36,302 in the Coast and Field Artillery; 867 Cavalry; 133,180 Engineers, and 408,160 in other branches. The Navy personnel included 17 officers and 142,628 enlisted; the Marines 15,771 enlisted; the Coast Guard 4 officers and 3,675 enlisted.

6 copies

WAR DEPARTMENT
Bureau of Public Relations
Press Branch
Tel. - RE 6700
Brs. 3425 and 4860

December 21, 1945

S P E C I A L R E L E A S E

NEGRO GIs P OE ENLISTMENTS
IN REGULAR ARMY; 37,343 JOIN UP

WASHINGTON, D. C.---Thirty-seven thousand three hundred and forty-three Negro soldiers had enlisted voluntarily in the peacetime Regular Army on November 30, 1945, the War Department announced today. They comprised better than 14 percent of the over all Regular Army post-war enlistments for that date of 261,705.

The total Negro strength of the Army was 589,362 as of October 31, 1945; commissioned officers, flight and warrant officers made up 6,293 of this figure, with 386,101 officers and enlisted men listed as being assigned to oversea stations.

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~~END~~

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FUTURE RELEASE
PLEASE NOTE DATE

WAR DEPARTMENT
Bureau of Public Relations
NEWS DIVISION
Washington, D. C.

FOR RELEASE MONDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1945

* * * *

2257th Truck Company (Avn.)	3	99
2258th Truck Company (Avn.)	3	99
2259th Truck Company (Avn.)	3	99
2260th Truck Company (Avn.)	3	99
2261st Truck Company (Avn.)	3	99
2485th Truck Company (Avn.)	3	99
428th Heavy Construction Bn. (Avn.)	21	441
445th Heavy Construction Bn. (Avn.)	21	441
730th Air Warning Company	12	324
484th Automatic Weapons Battalion (Semi-Mobile)	37	748
76th Light Pontoon Company	6	205
77th Light Pontoon Company	6	205
2nd Veterinarian Company (Separate)	5	59
60th Ammunition Company	6	173
235th Ammunition Company	6	173
241st Ammunition Company	6	173
591st Ammunition Company	6	173
21st Headquarters and Headquarters Det. (320th QM Group)	12	27
45th Headquarters and Headquarters Det. (320th QM Group)	12	27
468th Headquarters and Headquarters Det. (320th QM Group)	12	27
36th Mobile Hdqs. and Hdqs. (321st QM Group)	5	21
39th Mobile Hdqs. and Hdqs. (321st QM Group)	5	28
45th Mobile Hdqs. and Hdqs. Det. (321st Mobile Group)	5	21
47th Mobile Hdqs. and Hdqs. Det. (321st Mobile Group)	5	21
68th Mobile Hdqs. and Hdqs. Det. (321st Mobile Group)	5	21
78th Mobile Hdqs. and Hdqs. Det. (321st Mobile Group)	5	21
108th Mobile Hdqs. and Hdqs. Det. (321st Mobile Group)	5	21
120th Mobile Hdqs. and Hdqs. Det. (321st Mobile Group)	5	21
153rd Mobile Hdqs.and Hdqs. Det. (321st Mobile Group)	5	21
179th Mobile Hdqs. and Hdqs. Det. (321st Mobile Group)	5	21
518th Mobile Hdqs. and Hdqs. Det. (321st Mobile Group)	5	21
547th Depot Supply Company	8	178
373rd Truck Company	5	105
3301st Truck Company	5	105
3302nd Truck Company	5	105
3303rd Truck Company	5	105
3304th Truck Company	5	105
3305th Truck Company	5	105
3306th Truck Company	5	105
3307th Truck Company	5	105
3308th Truck Company	5	105
3309th Truck Company	5	105
3310th Truck Company	5	105
3311th Truck Company	5	105
3312th Truck Company	5	105
3461st Truck Company	5	105
3462nd Truck Company	5	105
3463rd Truck Company	5	105
3464th Truck Company	5	105
3465th Truck Company	5	105
3466th Truck Company	5	105

MORE

3961st QM Truck Company	5	105
3962nd QM Truck Company	5	105
3963rd QM Truck Company	5	105
3964th QM Truck Company	5	105
3969th QM Truck Company	5	105
3970th QM Truck Company	5	105
3971st QM Truck Company	5	105
3972nd QM Truck Company	5	105
3978th QM Truck Company	5	105
3995th QM Truck Company	5	105
3996th QM Truck Company	5	105
3997th QM Truck Company	5	105
3998th QM Truck Company	5	105
3999th QM Truck Company	5	105
4014th QM Truck Company	5	105
4023rd QM Truck Company	5	105
4024th QM Truck Company	5	105
4025th QM Truck Company	5	105
4048th QM Truck Company	5	105
4052md QM Truck Company	5	105
4155th QM Truck Company	5	105
4390th QM Truck Company	5	105
437th Army Service Forces Band	1	28
45th General Service Engineer Regiment	53	1186
93rd General Service Engineer Regiment	53	1186
352nd General Service Engineer Regiment	53	1186
1327th General Service Engineer Regiment	53	1186
382nd Engineer Construction Battalion	29	870
1359th Engineer Dump Truck Company	4	103
335th Station Hospital	9	59
383rd Station Hospital	9	59
175th MP Motor Patrol Platoon	1	60
561st Composite Service Headquarters	2	24

* * * * * * * *

NEGRO TRUCKERS REMOVE ART
TREASURES FROM SALT MINES

AUSTRIA---Art treasures from Central Europe worth millions of dollars are now being removed from salt mines, located high in the Austrian Alps, by the 3rd Platoon of the 3681st Quartermaster Trucking Company.

Completely equipped with all the essentials for the rugged outdoor life they live daily, these soldiers drive their [illegible]-ton six-wheel vehicles over perilous mountain roads.

Peasants pause from their toils in the fields to stare in awe at the drivers for they are the first Negro GIs to enter this section of Austria near the Czechoslovakian border. As the convoy roars down upon village after village, hidden in beautiful mountain valleys, the local inhabitants, many still wearing the colorful dress of the country, chatter in excitement as each truck passes in a cloud of dust.

Upon arriving in the village of Bad Aussie, where Lieutenant Rufus R. Johnson, Detroit, Michigan, platoon leader, directs convoy movements, the drivers and their assistants sleep in the truck-trailers the first night while suitable billets in the town are prepared for them. To reach this Austrian summer resort, the convoy has travelled more than four hundred miles.

The following morning, the trucks are dispatched to the mines where the art treasures are carefully packed in them by civilians. The treasures are brought from the many large caves in the mines on small carts that were formerly used in removing salt.

On the morning of the second day the loaded convoy leaves the mine and takes to the road through the mountains for the 150-mile trip to Munich, Germany,

MORE

arriving in that city early in the evening of the same day.

Drawing tough assignments has been the lot of this platoon since arriving on the beaches of Normandy D-plus-3. Its trucks have hauled live ammunition and fuel to the front under fire and withstood numerous strafings from enemy aircraft to convoy essential supplies where they were badly needed. It also was men of this platoon that convoyed millions of dollars for an Advance Headquarters without loss, and delivered tank motors to Patton's armor to prevent his drive through France from becoming stalled.

* * * * * * * *

RECEIVES SOLDIER'S MEDAL
IN SCHOOL HOUSE AT REIMS

REIMS, France---For his heroic action in rescuing a comrade from a burning truck, Corporal Abraham Burch, husband of Mrs. Elvira Burch, 2610 Tenth Street, Riverside, California, has been awarded the Soldier's Medal.

The award was formally presented in the famed "little red schoolhouse" in Reims, where the German surrender was signed and which is now the home of the Assembly Area Command.

On April 20, 1945, when a convoy of vehicles of Cpl. Burch's Quartermaster Truck Company was rolling down a German road between Frankfurt and Furth, a Nazi plane strafed the column, sending 20-mm shells into the cab of one truck and seriously wounding the driver. A gasoline-filled trailer, also hit, burned fiercely. An explosion was imminent. Corporal Burch stopped his vehicle, raced to the cab and removed the wounded man to a safe distance. He then returned to the scene, unhooked the burning trailer from the truck, and drove the vehicle away.

* * * * * * * *

371 ATTEND FULL-TIME
STUDY CENTER AT FLORENCE

UNIVERSITY STUDY CENTER, Florence, Italy---Attending classes at the first full-time Army college to be established overseas are 354 Negro enlisted men and 17 Negro officers. Forming approximately 13 percent of the University Study Center's 2,240 students, these men are spending their time in educational pursuits while awaiting redeployment.

In the group registered for theprevious term which ended September 8 were men from 31 states and the Territory of Hawaii.

One Negro officer and one enlisted man are found among the university's 161 hand-picked instructors. Teaching classes in college algebra, First Lieutenant Theodore A. Love, former supervising principal of Laboratory Schools, Alabama State Teacher's College, was one of the first instructors to arrive before the University Study Center opened last July 1. Technical sergeant John L. Stewart who teaches biological science, was formerly an instructor in the Alcorn A and M College at Alcorn, Mississippi.

"The spirit of the student body is good," Stewart said. "Their only complaint is about the tempo of the course."

Terms at USC are one month in length, but a student whose grades are satisfactory may apply for a second term. Certificates are awarded for satisfactory completion of a minimum of 20 hours of work in any subject. While these certificates will be considered for credits by American Universities, actual credit allowed rests with the school in which the student desires additional work toward a degree.

Private First Class Benjamin Scrutchions of Chicago, Illinois, who is now in his second term at USC has applied for a third. Scrutchions, planning to continue his education under the GI Bill of Rights after release from the Army, said,

MORE

"Courses taken over here will not only give me college credit, but they will also eliminate refresher work when I return to the States."

The twenty-five member Student Council, on which Scrutchions serves, has two other Negroes on its roster for the current term. They are: Technical Sergeant William H. Fields, Newark, Ohio, and Sergeant Harold Brown, Jr., Denver, Colorado.

Technician Fourth Grade James L. Lucas, of Canton, Ohio, editor of the campus weekly, "U. S. Collegian," describes life on the campus as ideal. "There is no attempt at segregation," he said. Lucas comes from the 600th Field Artillery Battalion of the 92nd Infantry Division.

Typical opinions voiced by 100 men picked at random in a survey conducted on the USC campus recently indicated that the Negro GIs were unanimous in their praise of this democratic educational opportunity.

"This institution is one of the most democratic ever set up by our Government—all the principles for which democracy stands are portrayed here in every phase of both the campus life and the classrooms," is the way Technician Fifth Grade Flotilla Watkins of Pueblo, Colorado expresses it. Watkins is married and has spent 14 of his 35 months in the Army overseas.

Corporal Leslie R. Anderson of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania who saw action with the 599th Field Artillery Battalion of the 92nd Division describes the atmosphere of the University Study Center's campus as "a state of complete assistance and fraternity. It has done much toward racial understanding and the propagation of tolerance," he concluded.

"If all institutions in the United States were like USC -- well, it was worth fighting for! "says Technician Fourth Grade Harold L. Carter, holder of a Purple Heart and former cannoneer with the 600th Field Artillery of the 92nd Division. Carter, who is married, hails from Springfield, Ohio. He has served 13 of his 29 months in the Army overseas.

Tackling such subjects as physics, analytical geometry and the slide rule—all in the same term, Technician Third Grade Calvin Goering, an Army airplane mechanic, admitted that sometimes the courses "proceed a little too rapidly, but the main thing USC does for every student is to get him back into the habit of studying." Goering's home town is Flushing, New York.

Sergeant Louis L. Scott of New Brunswick, New Jersey, who has seen 26 months overseas' service had this to say: "The set-up in general is fine, and we're all one big family. This is about the best thing that could have happened to a GI. It takes him back to the campus of the old university at home."

New York state takes the lead as the home of 29 of USC's 371 Negroes. Illinois runs second with a total of 21. Other leaders are Ohio, 18, New Jersey, 13, and North Carolina 12.

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SIGNAL UNIT'S RECORD
IN EUROPE IMPRESSIVE

WITH U.S. FORCES IN MARSEILLE, France—Their battalion emblem bears the words, "Bene Factum," — well done. How well men of the 40th Signal Construction Battalion have upheld that emblem is shown by their record in the European Theater.

The 40th Signal Construction Battalion was the first to cross the German border and the first across the Rhine. They are veterans of the battle of the Bulge and the sweep across Europe, and for the time they were in action, they averaged one mile of open wire and one-half mile of spiral per day.

Activated September 2, 1942, the battalion trained at Camp Campbell, Kentucky and was sent to England in January, 1944. They landed on Omaha Beach, in Normandy

MORE

July 6th of that year, and almost immediately were assigned to the job of constructing a communications line connecting the United States First Army, First Army Rear, and the Seventh and Eighth Corps. The job was tough; the line ran across swamps flooded by the Germans, a canal and a river, and were under the constant fire from enemy artillery.

This assignment completed, the unit was transferred to the Twelfth Army group, to lay lines needed to control operations in the battle for St. Lo. Bombing, strafing and artillery fire were now commonplace.

Operations of the battalion were stopped June 11, and shortly after this date the battalion made the long trip down through France to the Calas Staging Area, near Marseille, to await whatever new assignment it may be given.

* * * * * * *

PLATOON OF 93rd DIVISION
ON LAST MISSION AS WAR ENDED

MINDANAO, Philippine Islands---The cessation of hostilities with Japan was the occasion for a double celebration in Company D, 368th Infantry, 93rd Infantry Division. Elements of the company had just completed what was their last patrol into the hills of Mindanao and were returning to their base camp, when news of the Japanese surrender was broadcast from Manila.

Led by First Lieutenant Wallace P. Gant of Washington, D. C., the patrol accounted for thirty-three of the Mikado's men killed and five taken prisoners.

Members of the patrol were:

First Sergeant Allen N. Herring, Hartshorne, Oklahoma
Technical Sergeant Elery C. English, Elizabethtown, Kentucky
Staff Sergeant Thomas L. Bond, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Staff Sergeant Leroy Christopher, Rosseville, Georgia
Staff Sergeant James Hill, Fort Lauderdale, Florida
Staff Sergeant Verner Johnson, Shepherd, Texas
Staff Sergeant Lucius Spears, Mound Bayou, Mississippi
Staff Sergeant R. T. Strickland, Mount Olive, Mississippi
Sergeant Max M. Brothers, Laing, West Virginia
Sergeant Brister Dickerson, Estill, South Carolina
Sergeant Marvell Hall, Brewton, Alabama
Sergeant Frank Thomas, Clarkville, Tennessee
Corporal Norman H. Bowen, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Corporal Lewis Gray, Screven, Georgia
Corporal President Henry, Monroe, Louisiana
Corporal Richard A. Spencer, Detroit, Michigan
Private First Class William M. Campbell, Henderson, Kentucky
Private First Class Charles T. Coleman, Hockessin, Delaware
Private First Class Robert L. Curtis, Arcadia, Florida
Private First Class Theodore Gardner, Atlantic City, New Jersey
Private First Class Napoleon Green, Jr., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Private First Class Robert W. Grimes, Indianapolis, Indiana
Private First Class Leonard Hall, Sulphur Springs, Texas
Private First Class Wilbert Harrison, Wilsonville, Alabama
Private First Class Linzy Hughes, Huston, Texas
Private First Class George Johnson, Salis, Alabama
Private First Class James Lightsey, Graniteville, South Carolina
Private First Class Wade H. McMillon, Clinton, North Carolina
Private First Class Traquilla L. Minters, Gary, Indiana
Private First Class Floyd Neal, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Private First Class Robert B. Prince, Edingburg, Indiana
Private First Class Elmo Pitchford, Weldon, North Carolina
Private First Class Elliott Scott, Cleveland, Ohio
Private First Class Leandrew H. Taylor, St. Petersburg, Florida
Private First Class Earl N. Thompson, Cincinnati, Ohio
Private First Class John C. Williams, Chicago, Illinois
Private First Class Thomas F. Williams, Washington, D. C.
Private First Class Warren D. Witsell, Jacksonville, Florida

MORE

Private Junious R. Artis, Wilson, North Carolina
Private Joe Ervin, Bonify, Florida
Private Lawrence T. Ghee, Norfolk, Virginia
Private Willie H. McMillion, Laurelhill, North Carolina
Private J. D. McCollough, Greenville, South Carolina
Private Calvin Sutton, Hugo, Oklahoma
Private Richard M. Woodruff, Plateau, Alabama

* * * * * * * *

2,000 PACIFIC GIs EARN
EXPERT INFANTRYMAN'S BADGE

SCHOFIELD BARRACKS, Territory of Hawaii—More than 2,000 enlisted men and officers in Colonel Edward O. Gourdin's 372nd Infantry Regiment, who are sweating out these post-V-J days here in the Mid-Pacific, have been awarded the Expert Infantryman Badge. The awards were made after a full and rigorous course of requirements had been satisfactorily completed.

* * * * * * * *

FORMER CAVALRYMEN SUBDUE
AVERAGE OF TWO FIRES DAILY

WITH DELTA BASE TROOPS, Marseille, France—The 1243rd Engineers Fire Fighting Platoon, Marseille, France, has suppressed 201 fires in the greater Marseille district, and average of two fires daily since last November.

The unit was activated in Oran, North Africa in 1944 from former elements of the deactivated Second Cavalry Division. It has been assigned to the Delta Base Section in Marseille since November 1944.

In addition to fire-fighting the platoon makes a safety inspection of more than 300 military installations in the city each month. The unit has been divided into four sections each responsible for a certain district of the city.

The 1243rd serves as an auxiliary fire-fighting unit. Military installations in Marseille have their own fire-fighting equipment, Frequently it has helped to extinguish French Civilian fires.

A squad of GI fire-fighters walked right into an inferno at Port de Bouc. Deadly missels of shrapnel showered the area.

Members of the platoon include:

ARKANSAS: Paris—Pfc. John H. Barnes, Route 3.

CALIFORNIA: Pasadena—Sgt. Gerald W. Perry, 599 Ashtubula Street; Porterville—Pfc. James R. Devine, 401 E. Olive Street.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Washington—Pfc. William H. Dandridge, 43 M. St.,N.W.; Cpl. Dundley W. Turner, 4414 Falls Terrace, S. E.

FLORIDA: Brandenton—Cpl. Louis L. McDuffy, 1003, 1st Street.

ILLINOIS: Chicago—Cpl. Floyd Terry, 2959 S. State Street; Pvt. Moses C. Price, 5750 S. Perry Street; Pfc. Frank Ellis, 5631 Calumet Avenue.

KANSAS: Hillsdale—Staff Sgt. Johnny D. Montgomery.

KENTUCKY: Paris—Pfc. Robert Bedinger, 24 Water Street

LOUISIANA: Tallulah—Sgt. James Zininon; Transylvania—Pvt. Ossie B. Richardson, Route 1; Crawley—Cpl. Allen Clement, 618 W. 5th Street; Simmesport—Cpl. Alvin Courtney; Hooma—Pvt. Jack Johnson.

MORE

MARYLAND: Baltimore—Pvt. Norman C. Dadd, 527 N. Carry.

MICHIGAN: Grand Rapids—Pvt. Albert Johnson, 352 Finney Street.

MISSISSIPPI: McComb—Sgt. Johnnie B. Carter, 905 Wall Street; Pelahatchie—Cpl. George C. Blackwell.

MISSOURI: Madrid—Cpl. Charlie D. Bell, Route 1.

NEW YORK: Brooklyn—Cpl. Norman Artis, 433 Jefferson Avenue.

NORTH CAROLINA: Wilson—Pfc. Raymond Armstrong, 607 Bank Street.

OHIO: Cleveland—Staff Sgt. James P. Lemon, 10701 Pasadena Avenue.

PENNSYLVANIA: Pittsburgh—Pfc. Alfred Allen, 2715 Webster Avenue.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Maron—Pvt. Franklin El Finklea, 627 Eutaw Street.

TEXAS: El Campo—Cpl. Zeb W. Bennet.

VIRGINIA: Kesnick—Pvt. Lorenzo P. Barrett.

* * * * * * * *

ERROR CAUSED QM LAUNDRYMEN
TO EXCHANGE SUDS FOR GUNS

ASSEMBLY AREA COMMAND, France—A harrassed MP, doing his best to rush reinforcements up to the line, mistook the 600th Quartermaster Laundry Company's big trucks for a motorized infantry outfit and, as a result, members of that organization spent a most uncomfortable night in "no-man's land," between American and German lines, "sweating out" a hot night of artillery shelling.

Recalling those hectic days, members of the 600th gathered for an informal chat of old times at Camp Cleveland in the Assembly Area Command, where they are awaiting shipment to the United States.

"That experience in Hambye, France last July was probably both the roughest and funniest we had, "recalled Private Bersford Gayle of 174 West 141st Street, New York City, New York, an 80-point veteran. "It was actually an MP's mistake. I don't know how it was possible, but he must have mistaken us for motorized infantry."

"The MPs waved tanks, artillery, medical vehicles and combat trucks off the road to shoot our twenty large vans through," continued Private Gayle. The French civilians were cheering us on from the side lines and we began to think something was wrong."

"And something was wrong, as we soon found out," interrupted Sergeant Charles C. Minter, one of the few tractor drivers in the company, and winner of a Certificate of Merit, who lives at 719 North Carey Street, Baltimore, Maryland.

"We moved up a little farther and then turned into a valley and stopped," the sergeant said. "No sooner had we dropped our bags, however, than artillery opened up on us. We dove for cover and dug in as well as we could before trying to size up the situation.

"We soon discovered that the Germans were on one mountain, the Americans on the other, and we were in the valley between."

It was impossible for the outfit to move to safety until the following morning, when the company's vehicles left the area one by one so as not to present a good target. Private First Class John A. Hall, Jr., of 1154 21st Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., remembered well that evacuation.

MORE

"Naturally everyone was anxious to leave as quickly as possible," he recalled, "and each vehicle was packed with men as it took off. Men even hung from the sides."

The 600th earned a commendation from Lieutenant General J. Lawton Collins, commanding General of the VII Corps, while the unit performed its duties under all conditions and sometimes within enemy artillery range.

"We ran into unexpected trouble at Duderstat, Germany, early in April," remarked Sergeant Wallace Twyman of 1528 East Broad Street, Richmond, Virginia, who is assured of discharge with 92 points. "The infantry by-passed the town, and the company took over with some medics and a military government unit. We were threatened with a German counter-attack. We sent out patrols to look for SS troopers near the town and captured five soldiers in civilian clothes."

Corporal Albert Martin, Jr., of 1202 Norman Street, Shreveport, Louisiana, remembered particularly when, at Aachen during the Battle of the Bulge, he and his buddies stood eight-hours night guard in the bitter cold after a fulltime day's work, while the enemy bombed and shelled nearby. "At that time we were the only laundry company operating anywhere near the front in the Ardennes.

"That was as bad as our situation in Korneliumster in October," he continued." At that time we were operating a fumigation and bath installation less than three miles from the front. Jerry artillery hit some of the boys of the First Division who were in the same town."

Technical Sergeant Clifford McQueen of 1100 West Gonzales Street, Pensacola, Florida, a section leader who has received the Certificate of Merit, thought back to the early days of the campaign in France for one of his most memorable experiences.

"We followed the combat troops rather closely during the St. Lo break through," he recalled.

"We were close enough to the fight so that, by standing on the tops of our vehicles on a nearby hill, we could look down on the city as it was being pounded flat. It was a terrific sight. I didn't think a living thing would be left, and I was almost right."

The 600th served most of its combat time with the VII Corps of the First Army and was frequently broken down into sections to work for such famous divisions as the 3rd Armored, 1st, 8th, 78th, 83rd, 84th and 104th Infantry. It arrived overseas at Liverpool, England, in December, 1943, landed on the continent on the following July 15th and two days later began twenty-four-hours a day operations which lasted until after V-E day.

The unit was awarded five battle participation stars for its service in the ETO.

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<u>4401st QUARTERMASTERS</u>
<u>AWAITING REDEPLOYMENT</u>

LIEGE, Belgium---Veterans of three major campaigns in Europe, 157 members of the 3401st Quartermaster Service Company, a Negro unit assigned to the Chanor Base Section, are now undergoing a training program here while awaiting redeployment to the United States.

Upon completion of the short, brush-up course in Infantry weapons and field practices, the soldiers may participate in sports and other forms of recreation. Under the direction of the Special Service Officer, a tour of the historic city of Liege has been established for them.

Most of the troops spend their evenings studying text-books supplied by the Armed Forces Institute. The many courses offered are designed to prepare the soldiers for civilian work.

MORE

During the final stages of the war, the 4401st Quartermasters played an important role in supplying American forces in their final drive into Germany.

Members of the company are:

ALABAMA: Alexander City—Pfc. Ivy Russell, 163 North Central Avenue; Birmingham—Cpl. Hamilton Williams, Route 1, Box 440; Clanton—Pfc. D. L. Spence, General Delivery; Opp—Pfc Nelaicy Bailey, 123 Harden Street; Pratt City—Pfc. David Buford, Sr., 300 Miles Street; Prichard—1st Sgt. John W. Mason, General Delivery; Wadley—Staff Sgt. William Hawthorne, Route 1.

ARKANSAS: Morrilton—Pvt. Willie Carter, 501 West Elm Street; Wiville—Pfc. John W. Harper, Box 45.

ARIZONA: Phoenix—Pvt. Johnnie Jackson, 1126 E. Monroe Street.

CALIFORNIA: San Francisco—Pfc. Wallace Jackson, 1625 E. Webster Street.

DELAWARE: Newark—Pvt. William Lewis, 115 N. College Avenue.

FLORIDA: Bean City—Pvt. Luther McKinney, PO Box 31; Fort Pierce—Pfc. Wardell Broadnax, 517 N. 9th Street.

GEORGIA: Atlanta—Pfc. Albert Willis, 501 Markham Street; Pfc. Lee Wyatt, 195 Daisy Street; Augusta—Pfc. Frank J. Easley, 1353 Conklin Avenue; Carr Station—Pfc. Jessie Harper, Route 1, Box 65; Covington—Cpl. Henry J. Coleman, Box 443; Duren—Pfc. Abraham Tompkins, Route 2; Rutledge—Pfc. Rotha L. Baugh, Route 1, Box 143.

ILLINOIS: Chicago— Pvt. Samuel Clasper, 4022 S. Parkway; Cpl. Alious Houston, 4835 S. Michigan Avenue; Staff Sgt. Emmett Mallory, Route 1, Box 92; Decatur—Pvt. James Johnson, 1015 W. Forrest Street; Evanston—Pfc. Preston Giles, 1811 Hoveland Court; St. Louis—Pfc. Milton Springfield, East St. Louis.

KANSAS: Kansas City—Pvt. Charles Logan, 3817 Minnie St.

KENTUCKY: Lexington—Cpl. Dallas Blackford, 505 Caden Court.

LOUISIANA: Algiers—Pfc. Edwin P. Lombard, 825 Dearmas Street; Baton Route—Cpl. Thomas Carroll, 1033 Julian Street; Gretana—Pfc. Southern Barrow, 523 Were Street; Monroe—Pvt. Doc Johnson, 2109 S. Grand Street; Natchitoches—Cpl. Marion Bazadier, Box 431; New Orleans—Pvt. Edward Jones, 2920 Belmont Street Pfc. Willie Owens, 1323 Socrates Street.

MISSISSIPPI: Coffeeville—Pfc. Sayle Spearman, Route 3, Box 48; Picayune—Pfc. Frank Ables, General Delivery; Silver City—Pfc. Artice McLorn, Route 1, Box 79, Sweatman—Pfc Andrew Ratcliff, Route 1, Box 78; Moss—Pvt. James Ulmer, General Delivery; Vicksburg—Pfc. James M. Williams, Route 1, Box 50.

MISSOURI: Cape Girardeau—Pvt. Guy Campbell, 328 N. Fredrick Street; Crystal City—Pvt. A. B. Harris, 101 Crystal Street; Haiti—Pfc. Jesse Smith, Route 1, Box 194; Kirkwood—Pfc. Chester McCrary, 325 Newark Street; St. Louis—Pvt. Herman Alton, 4662 Evans Street; Pfc. Lester Blackshire, 2818 Papins Street,

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Washington—Sgt. Elmer Henry, 313 Virginia Avenue; Pfc. Curtis Cofer, 521 5th Street, S. E.; Pfc. Lynn R. Dunlap, 324 G Street, N. E.; Pvt. Lawrence Carter, 1117 Eton Street, S. E.; Pvt. James L. Jackson, 1446 Swan Street, N. W.; Pfc. John W. Scott, 210 S. Street, N. W.; Pfc. Godfrey Willis 728 Columbia Road, N. W.

END

DISTRIBUTION: Ad.
10-3-45

25-62659-450

Servicemen, Negro

October 23, 1945

Miss Virginia L. Owens
1530 N. W. 27
Oklahoma City 6, Oklahoma

Dear Miss Owens:

I am sorry that because of travel we were so slow in answering your letter of September 28th about printed material about the part played by the Negro in the war.

The Council, in cooperation with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, will shortly be publishing a pamphlet which will review the whole matter. Meanwhile, most of our file material is at Nashville, Tennessee, being used in preparation of the pamphlet. I have found one of the best sources the series of news releases from the War Department, Bureau of Public Relations, News Division, Washington, D. C. I imagine that if you wrote them they would be glad to send you a bundle of back copies of releases relating to the services of Negroes in the Army.

Another good document is Army Service Forces Manual M5, entitled "Leadership and the Negro Soldier". This was classified as restricted, but it is quite possible that you could have access to it at some local post of the Army Service Forces or through writing to the Army Service Forces, War Department, Washington, D. C.

I am arranging for a copy of the pamphlet I spoke of to be sent you when it comes out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

check with G.S.M. for some material. JSG

RECEIVED
OCT 1 1945
Southern Regional Council

September 28, 1945

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear sirs:

I am very much interested in obtaining some facts and figures on the part played by the Negro in the recent war. Any literature you may have for distribution to the public will be very muchhappreciated.

It is possible that I may be able to use this material in preparing a report which will have wide distribution in this state, and in which we would like to devote one section to the Negro's part in the war.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours truly,

Virginia L. Owens

Virginia L. Owens
1530 N. W. 27
Oklahoma City 6, Oklahoma

Servicemen, Negro

November 21, 1945

Dr. Lee Owens
1530 N. W. 27 Street
Oklahoma City 6, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Owens:

Your inquiry addressed to the Conference on Education and Race Relations has come to our attention. You will be interested to know that when the Southern Regional Council was founded last year it absorbed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and such related activities as the Conference.

I am sorry that we were not able to reply to your letter promptly. We have just been through a period of preparing and holding the annual meeting of the Council, an occasion which brought together people from all over the South.

We have in our clipping file a good deal of material dealing with the role of the Negro in the recent war. We have not compiled this and I am afraid that it will be some time before we are able to do it. However, I can promise to try to locate a compilation showing the regiments and divisions in which Negroes served and to put this in your hands as soon as possible. In the meantime I suggest that you order the little book, The Negro in the Armed Forces, by Lt. Cmdr. Seymour J. Schonfeld. It is published by Associated Publishers, 1538 Ninth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Its price is one dollar.

The Southern Regional Council is attempting some special work in behalf of fair play to Negro veterans. Dr. George S. Mitchell is in charge of this part of our program. We have published a pamphlet entitled Opportunities for the Negro Veteran in Atlanta, Georgia and a leaflet entitled It Seems Queer. These publications together with some other Council literature are being sent to you under separate cover with our compliments. If you think well of the sort of things which we are doing, I hope you will join us. Unlike the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, we are going out for a wide membership in thirteen Southern states. An information form is enclosed.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

P.S. Since the above was dictated, it has come to my attention that about three weeks ago Dr. Mitchell answered an inquiry from Virginia L. Owens at your address. I hope that you have been able to get the War Department

press releases dealing with Negro soldiers as Dr. Mitchell suggested. They are a rich source of information on Negro service men and women and their achievements in the recent war. If you have not been able to get these releases, please let us know and we will see what we can do to help you.

GBJ

GBJ:m

Separate cover
ISQ, Veteran, Oct. Fron., 1, After the War, After the War, Mitchell's reply to Eastland

✓m

Oklahoma City University

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
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Peter W. Swartz, *Economics*
Theron C. McGee, *Sociology*
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Acton Porter, *History*
Floy York, *Commerce*
Howard B. Thornton, *Journalism*
Clifton L. Grossman, *Journalism*

October 31, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

~~Conference~~ on Education and Race Relations
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I would appreciate it very much if you would send me any material that you have relating to the part that the Negro played in the war that has just closed. I am aware of the fact that he played a very important part and I am anxious to know as much as possible about the regiments and divisions in which the Negro served and also the independent units to which they were attached.

I had considerable correspondence with your office some ten or more years ago and served on the Memphis, Tennessee Board of Interracial Relations. Whatever printed material you have bearing on this subject I shall be very glad to have.

Very truly yours,

Lee Owens

Dr. Lee Owens
1530 N. W. 27 Street
Oklahoma City 6, Oklahoma

LO:vlo

Clipping received from Miss Frances Cox, on the staff of THE ROBESONIAN, who is a member of SRC and describes herself as being a liberal on a conservative, small-town paper.

THE ROBESONIAN
Lumberton, N. C.

N. C., TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1945.

People's Forum

CHANGED HIS VIEWS

To the Editor of The Robesonian:

Before the war I had the same feeling towards the Negro as the typical Southerner. God didn't intend them to have equal rights with other races, I thought. Working in a northern city where they rode side-by-side with the whites I refused to sit with them. If one sat down beside me I stood up and gave him the whole seat rather than sit beside him.

Since coming into the service I have seen them sleep in the same barracks with us and eat at the same table. I have seen them work and fight side-by-side with the white man.

When the call sounded to man battle stations, nobody told him he couldn't man a station because he was black.

I knew of 3 Negro steward mates who had never fired a 40-mm machine gun who rushed out into the open facing deadly bullets when enemy planes strafed a ship and killed the gun crew. They downed a plane and drove the others off. Nobody told them they couldn't do it and they didn't ask.

Needless to say, they saved the ship.

So far as mingling socially with them is concerned I still think that is up to the individuals concerned. But forcing them to ride in the rear of busses and stand for white to sit down, I realize now is narrow-minded childishness practiced by our state. I discovered that the Negro is a human being.

Sentiment toward Negroes being what it is at home I doubt if you will have the nerve to print this letter and I can't blame you much. Even if it is the duty of newspapers to bring the truth to their readers, the readers sometime resent having the truth told to them.

Lewis R. Barton EM3C

Miss Cox said that Petty Officer Barton recently returned to his home on Maxton Rt. 3 after serving over two years in the navy in action covering both the European and the Pacific theatres. She is under the impression that his family "is economically poor."

EHC
12/6/45

LETTER IN THE ROBESONIAN, LUMBERTON, N. C.

December 4, 1945

PEOPLE'S FORUM

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LEWIS R. BARTON
Electrician's mate, Third Class
Treausre Island, California

RECEIVED
FEB 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

A Walter Wilson Release - #5
7 Washington Place, NY 3.
Feb. ~~16~~ 7.

PERPETUATING CASTE IN POSTWAR ARMIES

The Military Personnel Procurement Service, AGO, U.S. Army is now placing advertisements in leading newspapers addressed " To wartime officers of the Army who wish to apply for commissions in the Regular Army." Commissions are offered to temporary officers who will go with the Regular army. This is being done to bring the commissioned strength of the army up to 25,000.

If the enlisted men are right in their complaints about the officer caste in World War II, some other methods should be worked out of selecting officers. Many of those with commissions got them because of a chaotic, discriminatory promotion system.

MORE ON MILITARY JUSTICE

Predictions made in our release of January 15 entitled "Injustice of Military Justice" are coming true. Since then the American Bar Association has announced that it will conduct an investigation of courts-martial abuses; Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon has introduced a resolution in the Senate calling for a thorough probe; PM newspaper has run a long series of articles; Major George Fielding Eliot devoted his column in the New York Herald Tribune (Feb.4) to listing military prison horrors that have been brought to his attention. So this big story is coming closer and closer to the front pages.

But nowhere in the above is there a recognition of the disease itself. All they see are symptoms. So long as we keep the caste system and the official doctrine of discipline through terror we'll continue to have democracy-destroying army scandals.

PAMPHLET EXPOSING MILITARY JUSTICE OUT FEB. 22

The Walter Wilson pamphlet entitled "Injustice of Military Justice" is now scheduled for Washington's Birthday. It had originally been announced for Feb.15. This pamphlet develops more fully the outline on the subject contained in the release of January 15. Price 25 cents, coin or stamps. Lower prices for quantity orders.

Walter Wilson release #5

GOOD ARTICLE ON ARMY BRASS

It is not often that we have anything nice to say about the American Mercury under its present management and its fake red scares. But just the same the current (Feb.) issue contains a MUST article entitled "Conscription and the West Point Mind." The author is Arthur E.Morgan, educator and former head of the TVA. Mr.Morgan says the officers have made a united front against the proposed Missouri Valley Authority; that "The authoritarian and dictatorial temper of West Point rules the Army; that if present plans for universal training are adopted; West Point will control the program, and all America will be impregnated with the West Point mind; that at West Point there is rigid, anti-democratic stratification of rank; that extension of West Point influence would menance long-time MILITARY security; that West Point should be Americanized before it Prussianizes America." He quotes the New York State Commission on Education: "The kind of discipline that is fostered by military training is not the kind that lasts. It is a temporary subjection of the will which often leads to greater disobedience when military pressure is removed."

Mr.Morgan's article asks: "Why not give voluntary enlistment a fair trial? The common soldier has been looked on throughout history as a sort of slave....Treat him as an American citizen....and probably enough young men will join the services."

DeTOCQUEVILLE ON AMERICAN ARMY DISCIPLINE

The most penetrating foreigner ever to study American democracy was Alexis DeTocqueville. He gave particular attention to our military affairs. And what he said about discipline and the caste system is timely and wonderful:

He argues that "It is by the instrumentality of the private soldiers especially that it may be possible to infuse into a democratic army the love of freedom and the respect of rights." What he said in elucidating this idea is so timely right now that I feel justified in calling it to your attention in some detail in the following extended quotes:-

Walter Wilson Release #5

Page 771 - Democracy in America, by DeTocqueville.

"It is a very general opinion, especially in aristocratic countries, that the great social equality which prevails in democracies ultimately renders the private soldier independent of the officer, and thus destroys the bond of discipline. This is a mistake, for there are two kinds of discipline, which it is important not to confound. When the officer is noble and the soldier a serf -- one rich, the other poor -- the former educated and strong, the latter ignorant and weak -- the strictest bond of obedience may easily be established between the two men. The soldier is broken in to military discipline, as it were, before he enters the army; or rather, military discipline is nothing but an enhancement of social servitude. In aristrocratic armies the soldier will soon become insensible to everything but the orders of his superior officers; he acts without reflection, triumphs without enthusiasm, and dies without complaint: in this state he is no longer a man, but he is still a most formidable animal trained for war."

"A democratic people must despair of ever obtaining from soldiers that blind, minute, submissive, and invariable obedience which an aristocratic people may impose on them without difficulty. The state of society does not prepare them for it, and the nation might be in danger of losing its natural advantages if it sought artificially to acquire advantages of this particular kind. Among democratic communities, military discipline ought not to attempt to annihilate the free spring of the faculties; all that can be done by discipline is to direct it; the obedience thus inculcated is less exact, but it is more eager and more intelligent. It has root in the will of him who obeys; it rests not only on his instinct, but on his reason; and consequently it will often spontaneously become more strict as danger requires it. The discipline of an aristocratic army is apt to be relaxed in war, because that discipline is founded upon habits, and war disturbs those habits. The discipline of a democratic army, on the contrary is (p---772) strengthened in sight of the enemy, because every soldier then clearly perceives that he must be silent and obedient in order to conquer."

"The nations which have performed the greatest warlike achievements knew no other discipline than that which I speak of. Among the ancients none were admitted into the armies but freemen and citizens, who differed but little from one another, and were accustomed to treat each other as equals. In this respect it may be said that the armies of antiquity were democratic, although they came out of the bosom of aristocracy; the consequence was that in those armies a sort of fraternal familiarity prevailed between the officers and the men. Plutarch's lives of great commanders furnish convincing instances of the fact: the soldiers were in the constant habit of freely addressing their general, and the general listened to and answered whatever the soldiers had to say: they were kept in order by language and by example, far more than by constraint or punishment; the general was as much their companion as their chief....."

# # # # # # # #

Summer Page

May 8, 1946

Hon. Helen Gahagan Douglas
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Douglas:

We have read with a great deal of interest the editorial in the New York Times of February 10 reporting that you have prepared a "partial record" of the Negro's part in World War II. Because the Southern Regional Council has for one of its tasks the development of better race relations in the South, we feel that we could make good use of this material and would like to have one or, if possible, two or three copies of it.

We are sending you copies of some of our recent publications which we believe will interest you, and also a copy of a little membership promotion leaflet now being distributed. We should be very proud if you would see fit to join the Southern Regional Council as an associate member.

Thanks in advance for your cooperation and best wishes for all success in your work.

Sincerely,

RAY WARWICK
Director of Public Relations

RW:jm

Negro Servicemen

MEMORANDUM June 19, 1946

To: Dr. Guy B. Johnson

From: Harold L. Trigg

Subject: USO Committee Meeting, New York City, June 11, 1946

On June 11, 1946, I met with the Post-USO Services Committee of United Service Organizations, Inc. and the Committee on Negro USO. The two met jointly in the offices of USO in the Empire State Building, New York City.

Three topics were considered.

The first and prime question was the possible continuation of USO services in communities where units of this organization existed during the war. No definite conclusions were reached, in view of the fact that each community and each USO center presented a picture which was more or less unique in itself. I was unable to commit this organization to any specific aid in the program, but did assure the chairman that we might request our local representatives to aid in the solution of the problem when conditions permitted this assistance, provided that we could get hold of specific information about each situation.

The second question which consumed most of the time was the disposition of USO centers for Negroes. This was quite difficult for many reasons which are evident. Many local communities have not had recreation services for Negroes prior to the war, and feel now that the need for such services no longer exists because the servicemen have been removed. No conclusions were reached. It was decided, however, that another meeting of the committee would be held in New York at some time during July.

The Fayetteville USO presents a special problem in itself. The large number of Negro servicemen at Fort Bragg during the war were provided recreation services at the State Teachers College and at an additional center in the city known as the Winslow Street USO. The building at State Teachers College burned, and President Seabrook continued the USO services in the college gymnasium. He has since discontinued the service there, and at the same time, the Winslow Street USO has been closed, which means that the Negro veterans remaining at Fort Bragg have little or no directed recreation. The mayor and city council of Fayetteville are willing to continue the services provided that USO make a substantial contribution of money toward the construction of a new building. It seems that they are really evading the issue, and the national organization does not know what to do. In view of the fact that I have been closely connected with work in North Carolina, I did not attempt to make any contribution to the solution.

It was also suggested that a national committee be formed composed of at least one representative from each of the organizations like the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., National Recreation Association, and others that serve Negroes in such capacity in order that opportunity be presented at least once or

twice a year to measure the services of these organizations to local communities and determine the extent to which they are securing support which is more or less adequate to do what they are attempting to do. In addition to this suggestion it was thought worthwhile to put on a national drive for funds, similar to the one which is being put on by the National Negro College Fund.

No conclusions were reached in any instance, and it was thought that something definite could be done at the next meeting of the Committee on Negro Affairs, which is planned for some date in July. I doubt the advisability of our sending a special representative to this meeting unless something new turns up.

I agree. HBJ

July 16, 1946

Mr. Leon Rupert Cirlot
Ellisville, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Cirlot:

Your letter to the Conference on Education and Race Relations has come to our attention. The Conference, which was one phase of the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council in February, 1944.

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of Negroes and the War and a copy of America's Tenth Man. On pages 11 and 27 of America's Tenth Man you will find some reference to the Negro in the war. Harper's Magazine for April 1946 carried an article by Warman Welliver entitled "Report on the Negro Soldier" which might be of interest to you. You might also wish to secure a copy of The Negro Soldier, Remarks of Hon. Helen Gahagan Douglas in House of Representatives, February 1, 1946, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

I hope that this information will be helpful to you in preparing your talk.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

P. S. Since writing this letter I have found that we have an extra copy of The Negro Soldier, so I am sending it also.

Sep. Cover - America's Tenth Man
Negroes and the War

IBT

Elliaville, Miss.
July 12, 1946

Conference on Education & Race Relations.

RECEIVED
JUL 15 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sirs

I am seeking information on the American Negro in battle. I am writing a talk on this subject and I want to take in all the American wars.

If you could give me any of this information I would appreciate it greatly.

Sincerely yours,
Leon Rupert Cirlot

Amer's Lewis Mass
p. 11, p. 27

Letters to the Editors

Negroes' Valor, Devotion to Duty Praised

Appreciation Is Needed

To the Editors:

I was disappointed to read in the March 10th OUTLOOK Francis Gum's observations upon the performance of Negro troops in the European Theatre in the recent conflict. Publicly to cast aspersions upon the performance of any group in the war is rather presumptuous, but when generalizations are made upon the basis of limited experience and limited facts, such an act is intolerant and unworthy of a Christian.

I have heard the same facts brought forward time and again, to picture, in an unfavorable light, the behavior of the Negro soldier in the E. T. O. I saw Negro soldiers going with white girls too. The story that is not told is that of the overwillingness of the white girls to encourage such relationships. Certain unfortunate instances, as Gum cites, are more directly attributable to General John C. H. Lee's lack of policy in insuring some controls and restraints upon the troops, both white and black, in the use of their leisure time. Laxity in morals was characteristic of white troops as well as Negro. Admittedly some Negro soldiers did indiscreet things, but to attribute to the whole race responsibility for the actions of the few, is deplorable, to say the least.

Reader Gum has no rational basis for casting aspersions upon the courage and devotion to duty of the Negro, as he does. His experience as a stockade guard has certainly colored his appreciation of his fellow countrymen, or he would not say the things he does without some qualification. There is quite a difference between guarding German prisoners of war, who were glad to be done with the business of fighting, and guarding fellow countrymen who were behind wire because of their own misdemeanors.

Francis Gum's experience as a stockade guard militates against a just and fair appraisal of the performance of such outfits as Colonel Ben Davis' Fighter Group in Africa and Italy, and of the record of the splendid Negro port battalions and combat engineer battalions, which more than once drew the just commendation of General Eisenhower. In fact, as the war drew to an end special platoons of volunteer Negro service troops, re-trained as infantrymen, were attached to line rifle companies for front-line service. They gave a good account of themselves and paid too heavy a price for men like Francis Gum arbitrarily to criticize their valor and devotion to duty.

The Infantry Division with which I served was often supported in Normandy by a very fine Negro Field Artillery outfit. Their superior shooting in the face of withering counterbattery fire time and again won from us both praise and respect. In fact, their alleged cry as they pulled the lanyards on their guns, "Mr. ROW-mel, you can now count yo puhsonnel, cause you'se boun' to be comin' up some short," became famous throughout the division and did much towards bolstering our spirits.

That certain Negro outfits did not perform so well is a known fact, but the environmental factors that helped produce poor performance should be considered. Looking forward to the probable fact that there would be no change in their condition at home, when the war was over, it is small wonder that any of them felt like fighting at all. Poor training, poor leadership, and the general feeling of insecurity are known factors which produced poor performance in any outfit, whether white or black.

The Negro has shed blood along with the rest of us. Let us give him a break, by giving him credit for what he did, where credit is due. Unjust criticism can do nothing but draw his resentment. Sincere appreciation of him as a fellow citizen will win from him everlasting love and respect.

WILLIAM H. CRANE.
Union Theological Seminary,
Richmond, Va .

"Race, Creed, Color"

To the Editors:

We hear over the radio and read in our newspapers this hackneyed expression, "Race, creed and color." Let us analyze it.

Race.—If we try to unite the white and Negro races in our Southern Presbyterian churches, we will have trouble. Let the congregations that want this, stand up and be counted. Some of our preachers might desire this, but the congregation does not. There may be some, but personally I do not know of one. What became of Dr. Crowe's resolution to form an American Negro Presbyterian Church?

Creed.—If the Jews are right that Jesus Christ is not the Messiah, then we Christians are wrong.

Unless we use these words, knowing their full significance, and keep it up we are going to do more harm than good and split our church wide open.

WILLIAM HIRAM SHARPE.
Chelsea Avenue Church,
Memphis, Tenn.

One Woman's Sons

To the Editors:

Some wishing is transitory. Some is glorious. Is it wise to project our wishes into a past? In regard to the thrilling article by Mrs. Wyndham Blanton (March 10, 17) which to me creates a lot of wishes, I wish it very general circulation. I wish each sister in our church of teen age and on would read and adopt each sentence in the article. Personally I wish the article could have reached my beloved companion before she had shared with me our sixty-second wedding anniversary. I also wish those two might have met. I feel that such a meeting would have been mutually pleasing and profitable.

Her life was rugged. She reared and trained for church membership nine children, five of whom were members of a New York Presbyterian church. Before 1906 four younger ones later joined Ebenezer Church in southern Virginia under the ministry of the late Dr. B. F. Bedinger. She was much help in Sunday school work in the lumber woods. . . . Among the sons of this loved one can be found a Presbyterian elder, a chairman of a Presbyterian board of deacons, a Baptist deacon, a chairman of finance in a Baptist church, and three Methodist stewards.

E. A. SKILLMAN.
Petersburg, Va.

More Letters p. 2

MINISTERIAL MENTION

CHANGES

Frank Alfred Mathes, former pastor of the First church, Meridian, Miss., who has been studying on a fellowship in Scotland, began his work as pastor of the South Highland church, Birmingham, Ala., March 16.

Jennings B. Reid from Rockingham, N. C., to 114 Hodge Hall, Princeton Seminary, N. J.

Walter Getty, Philadelphia, Presbyterian, USA, youth worker and former director of Presbyterian, US, youth activities, has been named executive director of the proposed official Presbyterian Life weekly.

Cecil C. Callis, recent Union Seminary graduate, is at Jefferson, N. C. It is expected that he will also supply Big Ridge church and assist at the Low Gap church.

James G. McMurtry from Lufkin, Texas, to 3302 Plumb St., Houston 5, Texas, April 1.

J. H. Gruver from Inverness, Fla., to Box 596, Black Mountain, N. C.

Charles C. McNeill from Charlotte, N. C., to Box 268, Pompano, Fla.

J. S. Robinson from Whitesburg, Ky., to 35 Poinsett St., Greer, S. C.

CHAPLAINS

C. Logan Landrum is to become pastor of the First church, Brunswick, Ga.

Adam H. Davidson, now in Scotland, was listed here as available for a call soon. He plans to continue his studies there for a longer period of time.

FROM AFRICA

John Morrison from Luebo, Africa, to Montreat, N. C., General Delivery. The Morrisons expect to leave for their furlough on April 14, arriving in New York on the 16th or 17th.

DEATHS

Arthur Thomas Young, 77, a member of the Presbytery of New Orleans, died at Hot Springs, Ark., February 22. After 16 years service in the USA church, Mr. Young served the US churches at Hamlet, N. C., and Garyville, La. Since 1927 he had lived in Hot Springs.

UNAVA names

RECEIVED
APR 30 1947
Southern Regional Council

1350 Jackson Avenue
New Orleans 13, La.,
April 28, 1947

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

UNAVA finally decided to send the information requested several weeks ago. I am enclosing the information with the hope that the information will still make the press before the final copy of the directory is completed.

You will also find the material sent announcing the first national convention of UNAVA in New York. The National Adjutant asked if we would have a representative present for the convention. I am passing this information on to you in the event you weren't informed.

This information should be about all needed to complete the directory. Don't forget to send me a completed copy when they are available.

What about the Florida Survey? I was in Florida last week and I was asked about the survey.

Give my regards to members of the staff.

Sincerely,

Wesley R. Brazier

Wesley R. Brazier

Unava dope

Alabama:

Harriet Tubman Auxiliary: President: Mrs.B.V.Durr
147th 9th Court
Birmingham 4,Ala.

Sec.: Mrs. Louphenia Thomas
6520 Court F.
Fairfield,Ala.

Montgomery,Chapter: Commander: Mr.W.J.James
Route 3,Box B.
Montgomery,Ala.

Arkansas:

Arkansas State Chpt.: Commander: Roscoe A. Sharpe
209 Century Bldg.
Little Rock,Ark.

Adjutant: James Yerger
209 Century Bldg.
Little Rock,Ark.

Georgia:

Dorie Miller Chapter: Commander: Rev.E.C.Smith
308 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta,Georgia

Adjutant: J.C. Coppuck
129 Linden St.,N.E.
Atlanta,Ga.

Eastpoint,Ga.Chapter: Commander: Marion J.Summers
405 Holcomb St.
EastPoint,Ga.

Macon,Ga.State Chapter: ~~Commander~~
Finance Officer: Paul L.Howard
602 Third Ave.
Macon,Georgia

Kxxxxxx

Oklahoma :

Oklahoma State Chapter: Commander: Wilbur Mack Box
Langston University
Langston, Okla.

Early McDaniel, Chapter: Commander:

South Carolina:

AEHLR Chapter: Commander: Norman T. Robinson Jr.
Route 4, Box 44
Bennettsville, S.C.

Adjutant: Lawrence Ellison
P.O. Box 206
Bennettsville, S.C.

Columbia, S.C. Chapter: Commander' Reginald D. Jackson
1422 Oak Street
Colubmia, S.C.

Finance Officer: Albert C. Redd
2360 Washington St.
Columbia, S.C.

Talley Stephenson Chapter: Commander: John E. McCall
15 Tote Street
Cheraw, S.C.

Adjutant: Robert L. Powe
213 Marion Street
Cheraw, S.C.

Texas:

Cleveland Campbell Chapter: Commander: Weldon H. Berry
1211-53rd Street
Galveston, Texas

Adjutant: Cleveland Campbell
13-B Palm Terrace
Galveston, Texas.

Virginia:

Ruptured Ducks Chapter: Commander: Reginald Davis
233 Carver Circle
Portsmouth, Virginia

Adjutant: Joseph Williams
268 Carver Circle
Portsmouth, Va.

Negro Veterans

May 21, 1947

Mr. R. L. Williams
South Macon Street
Fort Valley, Georgia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I have held your letter of April 14 until I had completed a fresh version of our directory of veterans organizations in the South. Here is a copy. If you can add to it or correct it in any way, we would appreciate it.

Also, I send our last survey and the final one we shall be doing. This one is Florida.

I am sorry I cannot answer your questions about the Mississippi survey. Harry Wright did it and did it after a good deal of travel in his native state.

The Council is asking people from the various Southern States - mostly officers of the several State Interracial Committees - to be in Atlanta on June 18. On that day we want to talk with them particularly about ways in which they can help develop more educational opportunities - particularly trade opportunities - for veterans in the South. If you happen to be nearby, we would very much like to have you present that day. The meeting will be here in this building.

We are glad you are back in Georgia and hope to see you frequently.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

National Council of Negro Veterans, Inc.

VERNON C. COFFEY
National Commander

MOLTON H. GRAY
Vice Commander

ROBERT E. POWELL
2nd Vice Commander

MACK C. SPEARS
National Adjutant

O. S. BONDS
Nntional Treasurer

Send him directory & ask for more name

Headquarters: 1215 N. 10th St.
KANSAS CITY 2, KANSAS

RECEIVED
APR 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

L. D. LAMB
National Chaplain

J. R. BOOKER
Nat. Judge Advocate

D. J. ALBRITTON
Historian

R. L. WILLIAMS
Nat. Service Officer

JAMES A. BEARD
Nat. Sgt.-At-Arms

South Macon Street
Fort Valley, Georgia
14 April 1947

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director Veterans Service
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am deeply greatful for your thoughtfulness and do want you to know that I think the survey is quite informative. It is my sincere hope that something will be done immediately to bring about changes in the horrible conditions that exist in the State.

Our organization, through the National Service Officer, is doing all that we can to support the motto, " Readjustment Through Enlightenment and Guidance". We are trying not to attack governmental or local agencies but to arouse community participation in such a manner as to cause a respective community to ask for what they need and want.

The above statement was made inorder that I might make an unfavorable comment which I hope you want understand to be a critism.

There are in the State of Mississippi several groups sponsored by Colored veterans, as well as community advisory centers that I know are listed by the State Commission . Why did the Writer fail to include this in his report? Are the veterans interested in their welfare ? If so, what are they doing about it? What agency is working with Colored communities to develop interest and to motivate them to concerted planning? Is there a guidance center in the State? What is the Mississippi Colored State Teachers Association doing about educational opportunities?

These are some of the questions that I would like to read in a survey. No, I do not want to imply that Colored communities should be responsible for activities for veterans. It is my conclusion that all organizations, agencies and the like must share this responsiblity and until then we are going to have a one-sided affair.

National Council of Negro Veterans, Inc.

VERNON C. COFFEY
National Commander

MOLTON H. GRAY
Vice Commander

ROBERT E. POWELL
2nd Vice Commander

MACK C. SPEARS
National Adjutant

O. S. BONDS
Nntional Treasurer

Headquarters: 1215 N. 10th St.
KANSAS CITY 2, KANSAS

L. D. LAMB
National Chaplain

J. R. BOOKER
Nat. Judge Advocate

D. J. ALBRITTON
Historian

R. L. WILLIAMS
Nat. Service Officer

JAMES A. BEARD
Nat. Sgt.-At-Arms

When I read an article that fails to give credit to the many thousands of Colored people who are actually carrying the load, I wonder about the source of information.

Heres news for you: I have just returned from Chester, Pennsylvania and Delaware . Believe me, I don't know whether to stay here and cry the blues, or to go there and weep. Both areas are about the same for Colored veterans. They are just out of the picture.

Again, I want to thank you for the information, and the opportunity to write you. Somehow, I feel when writing you that you always understand.

Respectfully yours

R. L. WILLIAMS

14 - Hays, Brooks

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
514 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
CLAUD D. CURLIN

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Negro veterans

Little Rock, Arkansas
September 13, 1947

Orps - General

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1947
ATLANTA, GA.
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George C. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Do you know anything about the school for Negro GI's at Greenville, Mississippi? There is a request here for authority to set-up a similar school by one of the former instructors there and there is some question as to its value. If you have any information that I ought to have in advising the authorities here please let me have the benefit of it.

With highest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

September 16, '47

Dear Brooks,

Thanks for your letter about the Greenville School.

I haven't been to it, but I've had two people look it over. One was colored and one was white. I've also discussed it with various people in the now-defunct Retraining and Reemployment Administration and the VA.

I conclude that the school is well-run, and is accomplishing what it set out to accomplish, and is a considerable boon to the Negro GI's in that area. I also conclude that it would be much better in the long run if the school were publicly owned and operated.

When I had it looked at it had 360 veterans. If you figure them at a year apiece and at the maximum tuition of 500 dollars per year per veteran, you get a sizeable annual income, from VA funds, for the privately owned school. My people couldn'T see how the staff was costing more than half the tuition money (if they get 500 a year)(per veteran as tuition money). That would leave a biggish profit. I looked to us as if the first year's would-have-been profit was committed in advance in machinery and equipment, and that thereafter what would be taken in above staff would be gravy, and the machinery and equipment, being well-maintained, would have a substantial resale value at the end of the program.

The State of Mississippi, through its regular school officials, tried to start something of that kind. The school people wanted to tap a State loan fund, to put such a school into motion. The Upper Crust State officials turned the school people down. I suspicion that this private-enterprise deal neatly substituted itself for what the State might otherwise have done. The Greenville thing isowned, mainly if not wholly, but an alert local lawyer, not twithout political connections. His reputation is one not without altruism, however.

I was told a year ago that there is a string of about five such privately-owned outfits in Mississippi - Natchez, Hattiesburg, and elsewhere.

Item; The Contract of the Greenville School with the State of Mississippi, or perhaps rather than the con ract the document submitted by the school as petition to the State for approval, sets out that the persons trained will not betrained to finished skill, but will be made of the level of competent helpers in the several trades to which they are introduced. That's a gyp.

The main trouble with having the thing private is that when the GI's (dragging with them their federal benefits) have worked through the school the chances are high that the school will close, whereas if the school were State operated the chances would be all that it would live and serve oncoming generati ons.

I would say, looking at the matter broadly, that the winning-through of that odd kind of school is a part of the general situation in the Delta. Quite possibly (I've never heard this) the politicoes and the educators decided that politics being what they are in Mississippi, a private show could get by with a better job than a public. Then you've got the wish of the Delta planters to train up trouble-free (?) labor to handle their new machinery operations.

I'm pretty sure that VA would look very fishily at any new such ventures, though by law they must pay on what the State approves. Wherefore, I'd see to it that high-ups in VA know about what's cooking, and let them make known, gently, what their views are on what's desirable. (They're really powerless, except by suasion)

Certainly it's wrong for anybody to make big-time money out of these fellows.

Also, they should be offered standard training, in standard trades. I know the local Voc. Ed. people will kick, but these fellows are going to migrate in some numbers, and they can get work in modern trades elsewhere. We have no right to deny them what white veterans can get.

Best, Brooks,

GSM

Negro Suffrage

(2)

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

September 27, 1947

RECEIVED
SEP 29 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Herewith, the "Boswell Amendment:"

"Section 181. After the first day of January, nineteen hundred and three, the following persons, and no others, who, if their place of residence shall remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence prescribed in section 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under section 182 of this constitution: those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who are physically unable to work and those who can read and write; understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business, or occupation, trade, or calling for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time they offer to register, including those who are unable to read and write if such inability is due solely to physical disability; provided, however, no persons shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government."

Sincerely yours,

Alex. Heard

Alexander Heard
Research Associate

AH/ah

G - misc.

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

Negro Veterans

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

November 27, 1947

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
DEC 1 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I was certainly pleased to have participated in the very fine program which you carried on there in Atlanta recently in connection with the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to follow through successfully in presenting the needs facing Negro veterans to the proper officials in Washington. I assure you that if I can be of any service in this particular project, you may feel free to call upon me since we here at Florida A. and M. College are vitally concerned about the training opportunities that could be made available to Negro veterans in this area.

Respectfully yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG/czs

26 - Negro Servicement + Veterans

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

8 March 1948

Miss Margaret Price
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

In reply to your letter of 23 January 1948, the following states are known to have Negroes in National Guard Units. (Statistics as of 31 December 1947 - no data available on number of Negroes in other units.)

State	No. of Negroes	Percentage of States Total Enlistment
California	596	7%
District of Columbia	250	18
Illinois	928	10
Maryland	142	5
Massachusetts	118	1
Michigan	149	3
New Jersey	138	2
New York	422	4
Ohio	88	1
Washington	36	1

In general, the question of enlistment of colored personnel accords with State law and policy, and the federal government simply inspects and recognizes units to determine their professional efficiency. These inspectors have no instructions to determine or report upon the composition of units by race.

We hope the above information will answer your query.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans
Civilian Aide to the
Secretary of the Army

GKW

January 23, 1948

Mr. James C. Evans
Assistant Civilian Aide ~~to~~
Department of National Defense
Pentagon Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

We should like to have the following information if you can make it available to us:

What states include Negroes in National Guard units?

Are the Negro units segregated or non-segregated?

How many Negroes are included in National Guard units, by states? What percentage of the Guardsmen are Negroes, by states?

We shall appreciate your sending us this information.

Respectfully yours,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

Mrs. Frank R. Veal
529 Rutledge Avenue
Charleston, South Carolina

August 14, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Regional Office
NPAC, C.I.O.
75 Ivy Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

This is to inform you of what I am attempting to do in Charleston and to request any assistance you may be able to send me in the way of literature or suggestions.

I had the pleasure and rich opportunity of working with Mr. James Lehman of the C.I.O. in Cincinnati, Ohio. I decided to make use of this experience here in Charleston. I moved here with my husband who is a Methodist minister last August.

The Negro citizens have not registered to vote to the extent one would expect after the decision handed down by Judge Waring with reference to the Democratic primary. Therefore, I have organized a group of teen-agers for a doorbell ringing campaign which begins next Thursday, August 26. We hope to have covered

Mrs. Frank R. Veal
529 Rutledge Avenue
Charleston, South Carolina

ten wards thoroughly by the Fall of 1950. Here one can register to vote only the first three days of every month. This is only one of the many handicaps. So we are starting out early with our campaign.

The youngsters are being schooled by me and will have literature to distribute. We aim to get 2,000 citizens registered.

Any assistance you can give will be greatly appreciated. For the present the NAACP is underwriting the campaign expenses.

Sincerely yours,
Maude T. Veal
(Mrs) Maude T. Veal

RECEIVED
AUG 24 1949
Southern Regional Council

6-3.5 - Voting - Charleston SC

August 26, 1949

Mrs. Frank R. Veal
529 Rutledge Avenue
Charleston, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Veal:

Your letter of August 14 addressed to me at the Regional Office of the NPAC, CIO, reached me here.

I gave up the PAC job in 1945 and have been with the Southern Regional Council ever since.

The head man for the Southeastern States on CIO PAC is Mr. Dan Powell, 136½ South Second Street, Memphis, Tennessee. The head of CIO itself for South Carolina is Mr. Franz E. Daniel, 191½ East Main Street, Spartanburg, South Carolina.

I have written Mr. Powell and told him simply that I had inquiry from you for literature about PAC. I suggest that you write either to him or to Mr. Daniel, telling them just what sort of literature will be most useful to you.

I know of few better undertakings in the South today than the encouragement of a wider use of the franchise.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

LYNN COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH SEGREGATION IN THE ARMED FORCES

formerly National Citizens' Committee For Winfred Lynn

360 WEST 125TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. UN. 4-9335

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Ludlow Werner
Samuel Wolchok

•

Selma De Kroyft
Secretary
Nancy G. Macdonald
Treasurer

Dear Friend:

We wish you could read the dozens of letters that pour into our office from men in uniform:

> "...what's this war about when you get a jim-crow army fighting for democratic aims...?"
>
> "...the saddest thing to take is to read about a democratic war and then be subjected to the endless indignities of segregation..."

Day after day such letters flood across our desks. You may have received some yourself---letters that make you, as a decent American, burn with shame and anger.

And you know that the present policy of racial segregation in the armed forces is definitely contrary to the stated letter of the law. Not only contrary to the letter of the law, it is also contrary to every hope of building a free and equal post-war America.

The Lynn Committee appeals to you to support its activities. It is the only organization in the country devoted exclusively to the problem of ending military jim-crowism.

The enclosed leaflet, gives you the facts about the well-known LYNN CASE, the SEABEE CASE, the PERRY HANSBERRY CASE. All these important attacks on military segregation and discrimination are sponsored by the Lynn Committee. Read about these men, and then realize that their heroic struggles are multiplied a hundred times, a thousand times.. and we know you will give---generously and now!

At this moment funds are urgently needed to expand our work, and to carry our story to every thinking man and woman in the United States.

Our work is carried on solely by funds received from people like you. Please send in your contribution today.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Schuyler

Carey McWilliams

A. Philip Randolph

HELP FIGHT

Jim Crow In Uniform!

- **The War's Greatest Scandal!**
- **The Post-War's Greatest Challenge!**

THE LYNN COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH SEGREGATION IN THE ARMED FORCES

BACK UP THE LYNN COMMITTEE'S FIGHT } TO END MILITARY JIM-CROWISM FOR A DECENT POST-WAR AMERICA

WENDELL WILLKIE before he died wrote: "Of all the indignities and injustices practiced against the Negro, the most ironic and cruel has been the discrimination practiced by and in our armed forces."

On no other issue are colored Americans so united and determined. For no other problem do white Americans feel so great a responsibility.

The treatment of Negroes in the armed forces is indeed "the war's greatest scandal." Its poison reaches beyond the armed forces into every nook and cranny of our national life. It is insidious, all-powerful, many-faceted. It is explosive! The race riots in Detroit, Harlem, Los Angeles and elsewhere gave us but a small foretaste of what lies ahead in post-war days, if white and colored Americans do not reach a better understanding of each other.

—Do you know that, despite a few concessions extorted by Negro pressure, the basic pattern in this war is as Jimcrow as it was in the last one?

—Do you know that colored troops get all the dirtiest jobs—the great majority are in "service" regiments (polite language for latrine cleaners and ditch-diggers)?

—Do you know that conditions in some places are so bad that some colored soldiers and sailors have been driven to desperation, risking even the death penalty to call attention to their wrongs?

What can be done?

A little more than a year ago a number of people—white and colored—decided that something could be done. They started the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces.

The Lynn Committee is the only organization in the United States set up to deal specifically and exclusively with racial discrimination in the army and navy.

The Lynn Committee says—Change segregation and discrimination in the armed forces, and you will change the face of America; you will make it possible for millions of young Americans to know and respect each other—not as racial robots pulled by the strings of vicious anti-racial prejudice—but as human beings.

The Lynn Committee's work is carried on through hard-hitting legal action, through a nation-wide publicity and educational program and through meetings and public protests.

Here, in brief, are the main facts about the three major cases around which its activities revolve:

1 THE LYNN CASE

The case which the Committee was originally formed to support is the now nationally famous "Lynn Case." In 1942 Winfred Lynn asked for his discharge from the army, in a habeas corpus action, on the grounds that he was illegally selected under an all-Negro quota in violation of Section 4a, of the Draft Act (quoted on flap below). The action was brought against a certain Colonel Downer, then his commanding officer. This was the proper and prescribed legal action insisted upon by the court.

Lynn was denied his rights, and in February 1944 the case moved up to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals which split two-to-one against Lynn. Then in May the case, handled by Arthur Garfield Hays and Gerald Weatherly acting for the American Civil Liberties Union, went to the U. S. Supreme Court.

But the court, by a legal twist, refused to review the case on the grounds that it was "moot"; that is, it could not be determined one way or the other. And the reason it was moot, said the highest court in the land, was that Lynn was no longer under Colonel Downer's command! Of course, he was not! The very army against which Lynn was bringing suit had ordered him to the Pacific area where he is now serving.

This piece of legalistic sleight-of-hand has not gone unchallenged. Through widespread publicity, the Lynn Committee has sought to make known to the American people that the means by which the court has sought to avoid the issue make a mockery, not only of the immediate question involved, but also of the whole principle of habeas corpus. Through certain legal steps, the case has been reintroduced in the Supreme Court, and there is every indication that the court will reverse its earlier decision and hear the case before long.

2 THE HANSBERRY CASE

Last summer Perry H. Hansberry, a young married man with three children, was ordered by his Chicago draft board to report for induction. Instead of complying, he started another legal test of military Jimcrowism similar to the Lynn Case. His brief states that he "is ready, willing and able, as well as anxious, to join any branch of the military service of the USA, but feels it would be the height of folly to be inducted into a Jimcrow, segregated, discriminated army. . . ."

Immediately, a branch of the Lynn Committee was organized in Chicago to support the case. Among its members are such prominent Chicago liberals and trade unionists as Henry D. Spaulding, Horace Clayton, Willard Townsend, Francis Heisler, Rev. Joseph Evans and Rev. James Horace.

To avoid the run-around that the Supreme Court tried to give the Lynn Case, Hansberry goes right to the top! He petitions the court for an injunction restraining President Roosevelt, the Commander-in-Chief, and various other Federal and State authorities from inducting him into a Jimcrow army.

It was Carl Hansberry, Perry's father, who in 1938 fought the famous *Lee v. Hansberry* Restricted Covenant Case through to a successful finish before the U. S. Supreme Court. This case struck a serious blow against the private agreements by which racist-minded property owners tried to prevent Negroes from renting or buying in certain districts. The Hansberry family thus has a splendid record as fighters for the democratic rights of all Americans—Jew, Protestant or Catholic, white or colored.

3 THE CASE OF THE 19 SEABEES

On October 22, 1943, nineteen colored Seabees were discharged from the Navy. They were discharged against their will, and not honorably. A veteran with such discharge papers obviously finds himself handicapped in reestablishing himself in civilian life.

The story behind these discharges would seem incredible were it not so fully documented—and so representative of the experience of scores of other Negro soldiers and sailors. The Seabees had been building an airport in Trinidad. Jimcrow conditions had been bad, especially in the vital matter of promotion. No Negro Seabee—and there were Ph.D.'s and skilled machinists among them—could get a first-class rating; whites with far inferior qualifications rose easily in the ranks. Finally the Commanding Officer called a meeting at which he requested a number of colored Seabees "to tell us your grievances man to man."

Thus invited, the Seabees respectfully stated some of their complaints. The C. O. was sympathetic (verbally, at least). A few days later, nineteen of the colored Seabees were kicked out of the service with papers, reading: "UNDESIRABLE by reason of UNFITNESS" and "ORDINARY by reason of INAPTITUDE." Some had attended the C.O.'s little "off-the-record, man-to-man" meeting, some had not.

Last spring Isaac G. McNatt, one of the Seabees, brought his plight to the Lynn Committee, which immediately began action on his case. Acting for the Lynn Committee, Arthur Garfield Hays and Gerald Weatherly are representing four of the Seabees, Mr. McNatt, Robert Louis Mims, Harvey Steele and Clarence O. Clarke. The N.A.A.C.P. is handling the cases of most of the remaining Seabees. Since the new "G.I. Bill of Rights" provides that a soldier or sailor who has been discharged otherwise than honorably without a hearing (as was the case with the Seabees) has the right to have his case reviewed by a special military board, the case of the 19 Seabees will shortly be heard.

The Lynn Committee, which revived interest in the Seabees' case last summer, will keep it before the public eye until the injustice is redressed, and the Seabees receive the honorable discharge they deserve.

WILL YOU HELP?

The Lynn Committee needs funds to expand its work and to carry the whole shameful story of Jimcrow in Uniform to ever-wider sections of the American public.

This is not merely a war-time issue. Following the war, the United States will have a permanent standing army and navy of somewhere between two and four million men. There may also be a system of compulsory military training. In both the standing army and in the training camps, the problem of race relations will continue to be all-important.

We must put an end to discrimination and segregation in the armed forces *now!*—if we want a democratic America after the war.

Won't you help us? Join our committee. Establish branches in your home community. Distribute our literature. Send in as generous a contribution as you can spare.

(Please fill out and mail today)

NANCY G. MACDONALD, *Treasurer*
LYNN COMMITTEE
360 West 125th Street, N. Y. 27, N. Y.

☐ I am enclosing $..... to assist your work.

☐ Please send me ..... copies of this pamphlet.

☐ I enclose a list of friends who should get your literature.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... *Zone* ..... *State* .....

These People Sponsor the Lynn Committee:

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These Organizations Endorse Its Work:

American Civil Liberties Union
C.I.O. War Relief
March On Washington Movement
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Workers Defense League
General Conference, African Methodist Episcopal Church

THE LYNN COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH SEGREGATION IN THE ARMED FORCES

National Office
360 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

THE LAW

"In the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color."

—*Selective Training and Service Act of 1940: Section 4 (a)*

THE PRACTICE

EXHIBIT A

"1. Your Quota for this Call is the first . . . White men and the first . . . Negro Men who are in Class 1A."

—*Selective Service, N. Y. City Headquarters. Subject: Requisition for Examination—Induction*

(Form sent to all local draft boards)

EXHIBIT B

"What we are doing of course, is simply transferring discrimination from everyday life into the Army."

—*General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service*

EXHIBIT C

The following is a partial list of colored soldiers killed while wearing the uniform of their country—killed not by enemy action but by other Americans, civilian and military:

"THE ROLL OF SHAME"

PVT. ROBERT SPECELY, killed by white bus driver in Durham, N. C.

SGT. WELLINGTON D. ABRAMS, shot by white MPs at Brookley Field, Ala.

PVT. THEODORE SAMUELS, fatally wounded by Mobile, Ala., policeman.

PVT. RAYMOND McMURAY, murdered by Gadsden, Ala., police officers.

PVT. RAIF G. WILLIAMS, killed by Little Rock, Ark., deputy sheriff.

PVT. TYREE JACKSON, shot to death by military guard, San Antonio, Tex.

SGT. THOMAS P. FOSTER, slain by civilian police, Little Rock, Ark.

PVT. ALLEN COX, shot to death by white woman near Kisatchie, La.

TEN SOLDIERS, killed by civilian and military police during "Night of Terror" riot at Alexandria, La.

PVT. RAYMOND CARR, killed by State policemen at Alexandria, La.

UN NAMED SOLDIER, killed by sheriff at Centreville, Miss.

PVT. HENRY WILLIAMS, slain by white bus driver at Mobile, Ala.

SGT. GILBERT WAGONER, shot by civilian police at Tampa, Fla.

PVT. HERMAN HANKINS, fatally shot by MP at Camp Tyson, Tenn.

PVT. LAWRENCE BAILEY, killed by policeman at Pine Bluff, Ark.

PVT. BOYD BRYANT, mysteriously shot near Trenton, S. C.

Reprinted from The Pittsburgh Courier

For Release upon Receipt

THE LYNN COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH
SEGREGATION IN THE ARMED FORCES
360 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

DISCHARGED SEABEES ASK FOR REVIEW OF CASES

In one of the first, if not the very first, requests for a hearing as provided for under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, more commonly known as the G. I. Bill of Rights, two of the 19 Seabees who were discharged without hearing last October after they had complained of intolerable Jim Crow conditions at their Caribbean base, have written to the Secretary of the Navy asking for a review of their cases, THE LYNN COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH SEGREGATION IN THE ARMED FORCES announced today. The Lynn Committee is handling the men's cases and will provide counsel for them at the hearing. All previous appeals, including letters to President Roosevelt, had proven of no avail.

Harvey Steele, 26, and Isaac G. McNatt, 27, both living in New York at present, were discharged on the grounds of unfitness. This prejudicial type of discharge has denied them mustering out pay and other rights and privileges provided for veterans of this war. It has also made it impossible for them to resume their normal place in civilian life, barring them from many schools and opportunities for employment. Steele, after passing all his examinations for a Civil Service job, was told he could not be hired because of his type of discharge. McNatt, who is studying law at night, can not be admitted to the New York Bar because of it.

The Negro Seabees, all volunteers, were discriminated against and Jim Crowed from the very first day of their boot training. They were offered inferior and Jim Crowed mess halls, recreational facilities, ship's store service and liberty leave. Of the 1,000 men in their battalion, only 200 were white, but all officers and petty officers above second class were white, and the men were told openly that no Negro would be promoted above second class.

The 19 men were discharged after they had been invited into the C.O.'s office and asked about conditions at the base. They were assured that this was a "man to man", off-the-record talk, and were asked specifically to discuss the racial situation. The men were therefore frank in airing their grievances. The next day, the regimental commander had the men called back into the C.O.'s office and upbraided them for "griping" and petty complaints, and told them he would tolerate no conferring and "committee-ing". A few days later the 19 men were discharged, sixteen as undesirable on grounds of unfitness and three on grounds of inaptitude. These three later upon appeal were given honorable discharges.

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act directs the Army and the Navy to establish boards of review to hear cases of discharge from the armed services with the exception of those resulting from a general court martial. Attempts are being made to reach the remaining men.

The N. A. A. C. P. and the C. I. O., through the Veterans Division of its National C. I. O. War Relief Committee are also supporting the case.

# # # # #

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IN ANSWER TO EASTLAND

a statement Prepared By The Southern Regional Council Atlanta, Georgia

Mimeograph 100 copies single space

On June 29, when the United States Senate began the day, this was the chaplain's prayer: "We thank thee for public servants who in the darkened valleys of these tragic times have failed not to lift unto the hills of help the eyes of this stricken generation, messengers of good will, who from the mountain tops of vision are now heralding a dawning day. So guide by Thy wisdom the deliberations of this body entrusted with vast power that awes and solemnizes our hearts that here in the fires of a great passion for healing peace the sacrifices for freedom may be sanctified...."

This was the next to last day of the fiscal year. The business before the Senate was an appropriation bill, carrying funds for the next year for a sheaf of war agencies, including the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. Senator Bilbo of Mississippi had wasted days of the Senate's time in his filibuster against FEPC, and now it was the turn of the Junior Senator from that State, 40-year-old James O. Eastland, to block a bill that a great majority of the Senate was ready to vote favorably on.

Senator Eastland trotted out the old, discredited arguments: The FEPC, he said, is staffed with Communists; it is not needed; the object of those who push it is agitation for the sake of division; it prepares the ground for racial amalgamation, threatens free enterprise, and is another step in CIO-PAC's drive to "take over" American business. He was talking for time, and he threw in a long denunciation of Liberia, and scathing comments on the personnel of the various FEPC offices.

This was old stuff, that ordinarily would not have made the papers. But in the course of the speech, Eastland repeatedly attacked the record of

Negro troops in this war. His statements were insulting to the United States armed forces, and a bitter wound to the pride of the million Negroes in the Services, and the twelve million Negroes from whose homes the soldiers and sailors and marines went into the War.

Here is some of the abuse. "I recently returned from Europe. While there I talked to numerous high-ranking generals of the American Army, some of them in a peculiar position to know the facts..... What is the combat record of the Ninety-second Division, the only Negro division that has seen service in Europe?

"To begin with that division - and I state it authoritatively - had the best equipment... (and) training of any division in the American Army. For political reasons - and when I say 'political reasons' I quote American generals - they were forced to commission some Negro officers for that division. In not one instance...could they place a Negro officer in a responsible position. In not one instance could they place upon his shoulders the responsibility of combat, and I tell you now... that division could not be placed in an important position in the line....

"The Negro soldier was an utter and dismal failure in combat in Europe. When I make that statement it is not from prejudice. I am not prejudiced against the Negro."

(Laughter in the galleries)

"....In a number of instances these soldiers would desert their posts of duty, officers would desert their posts of duty, without cause, and the whole division would, without cause, rhyme, or reason, quit fighting. The officers told us the soldiers had no initiative, no sense of responsibility, very low intelligence, and

were a failure."

After further charges that Negro troops in Normandy had been guilty of atrocities, and that French Senegalese soldiers had abused captive German women, the Senator declared that "the conduct of the Negro soldier.... all over Europe was disgraceful", and that the Negro soldiers have disgraced the flag of their country. "...He will not fight. He will not work."

Towards the end, after allusions to the views of prejudiced white soldiers, he said, "This agitation for social equality has destroyed racial tolerance, and I state frankly, that the white soldier is openly and avowedly waiting for his chance when he returns to the United States."

Through the weary years of Ben Tillman and Tom Watson and John Rankin and Theo. Bilbo we have become accustomed to race-hate oratory. But it is a new thing to condemn the fighting spirit of Negro soldiers. Think what these words mean to the ~~boys~~ men who have worked and fought for their country, and to all Negroes, everywhere.

Eastland named no names for his authorities. His charges are belied by repeated praise of Negro troops from Generals Eisenhower, Clark, MacArthur, Stilwell, Eaker, Lanham, Patton, and others. Undersecretary of War Patterson has praised their qualities, since Eastland's speech.

Here are quotes from some of the Generals:

General MacArthur: "Race has nothing whatever to do with a man's ability to fight.....(The services of the Negro soldiers)"have been magnificent, their patience, their fortitude, their courage, and their complete devotion to their country mark them as belonging to the

nation's noblest citizens."

General Eisenhower: "I have seen Negro soldiers in this war and I have many reports on their work where they have rendered very valuable contributions and some of them with the greatest enthusiasm.....They have done their job, and they have done the job given them."

General Stilwell: "Before these troops arrived no one ever thought of working during the monsoon season, but I have seen these men continue on the job when there was 10 inches of rainfall in one day."

General Lanham: "I have never seen any soldiers who have performed better in combat than you."

Here is a sample pair of the citations of Negro soldiers in the 104 Timberwolf Division, for bravery in the battle of Germany:

Silver Star

To: Staff Sergeant Claude Pierce, Jr., 308 South 5th Street, Easton, Pennsylvania

"....then private first class, Infantry, Company A, 414th Infantry, United States Army, for gallantry in action in Germany on April 13, 1945. When a tank was hit and set afire by enemy artillery, Sergeant Pierce dashed across open terrain in the face of devastating enemy fire to remove the trapped crew. Although twice knocked from the tank by the concussion of near misses from direct enemy artillery fire, he climbed back on the flaming tank, extinguished the fire, and removed the crew from the tank. After administering first aid, he carried the more seriously wounded men across two hundred yards of fire-swept terrain to safety and medical aid. The gallantry and cool courage in the face of grave danger displayed by Sergeant Pierce, far above and beyond the call of duty, exemplify the finest tradition of the American combat soldier."

Bronze Star Medal

To: Private First Class Peter Dodson, 81 Orchard, Roslyn Heights, Long Island, New York.

"....leading a patrol into enemy territory, Private Dodson (then private) was wounded in the hand, but he tenaciously continued his mission. Observing an enemy tank two hundred yards distant, he advanced alone, threw a rock at the tank to attract attention, and shot the tank commander with a captured pistol when he emerged from the tank. The remainder of the tank crew were so terror-stricken that they immediately surrendered. The audacious intrepidity and cool courage displayed by Private Dodson exemplify the finest traditions of the American combat soldier, reflecting the highest credit upon himself and the military service."

As to the 92nd Division, by April 1945, their men had won seven awards of the Legion of Merit, 65 Silver Stars, 162 Bronze Stars, four Air Medals, and 1,377 Purple Hearts.

We all ~~of us~~ know Negro ~~men~~ in the armed forces whose spirit we would match against anybody's. White veterans of the Italian war have been heard to say they owed their lives to the combat job of Negro troops.

The South is proud of all her sons who have gone into the War. We want them back, and we want them honored for what they have done.

White Southerners have now a special job of making it clear to the Negroes that we know they did their whole part, notwithstanding the disadvantages and the insults that were put upon them - as civilians and as soldiers. Some justice lives in the South. After Eastland's speech it will be harder than ever to convince Negroes

that this is so, but we have the job to do.

Mississippians can write Senator Eastland, and tell him they don't like what he said. That will help. Perhaps the best we can do is to see to it, in our own communities, that as these boys come home their home towns give recognition - public recognition and personal recognition - of the full share they bore in the victory over fascism abroad.

Copies of this memorandum may be obtained free on request from
S— R— Council
63 Auburn Ave
Atlanta 3, Ga.

NAACP PROTESTS ARMY DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGROES

October 25, 1946

Washington,DC, Oct 22--The War Department has employed the practice of requiring prospective Negro enlistees to make a score of thirty-nine (39) on the Army "R2" tests when white prospective enlistees are only required to make a score of fifteen (15) on the ame test in order to be eligible for enlistment. In protesting this, the NAACP Secretary of Veterans' Affairs sent the following letter of protest to Secretary Patterson:

"On October 4, 1946, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wrote you a letter protesting discriminatory practices and policies used by the War Department regarding enlistments The specific discriminatory policy which we sought to have eliminated was that requirement restricting Negro enlistments to high school graduates.

"Upon inquiry we were informed that enlistments were opened to Negroes, which if opened on the same basis for all enlistments, was a democratic victory. Following our policy of investigating alleged discriminatory practices, a visit was made to the Washington Recruiting Office where we found that each prospective enlistee was required to take a test known as the "R2" test and prospective Negro enlistees are required to make a score of thirty-nine to be eligible for enlistment, whereas white prospective enlistees are required to make a score of onl fifteen on the same test.

"To require a score based on race is discriminatory and undemocratic and should be abolished. We, therefore, protest against any such policy or practice in any recruiting office and strongly request that you use the power and influence of your office to eliminate such policies and practices where they are used and direct the abolition of all policies and practices based on race or color."

NAACP CHARTERS 22 NEW BRANCHES

October 25, 1946

New York, Oct. 24th--Growing community-consciousness throughout the nation is manifesting itself in a growth of NAACP branches. At the October meeting of the NAACP board of directors, charters were granted to branches in the following communities: San Pedreo and Wilmington,

(Continued)

Negro Services & Vets
1/28/48

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON NEGRO SOLDIERS

A white officer commanding Negro troops in the European Theatre of war wrote of his experiences in Harpers' Magazine for April 1946. His two main conclusions were that the army's policy for colored troops was a failure and that unless we understand the reasons for that failure it is likely to be repeated. He says that the pattern of segregation and discrimination in American life and in army life, as well as the low state of education for Negroes has seriously handicapped the Negro soldier.

"For instance, the low state of education for Negroes in the South is a well-known fact and most Negroes still come from the South. This is bound to be a matter of some conern even to the most prejudiced Southerner, if, by chance, he happens to be assigned to command a company or battery and finds on his men's classification cards that their average education is four to seven grade school years. The need for better education is indeed so apparent to everyone that we are almost certain to see some improvement here.

"More important is the habituation of colored men to discrimination and a dependent inferior position in civilian life. Most colored soldiers, before they entered the Army, resigned themselves to acceptance of the white man's arrogance and unfairness and forgetfulness of his professed ideals--largely because the colored man couldn't see much hope of remedying the situation by his own individual efforts. This frame of mind is definitely not the stuff of which good soldiers are made. The white man's arrogance in America is just one facet, considerably distorted, of the American philosophy of independence, devil-take-the-hindmost, and any-man's-as-good-as-another. And this philosophy has been a powerful ingredient in making the American GI the consistently able and daring soldier he is. The fact that the colored man, by and large, has never been privileged to feel this stimulus to action--or perhaps the fact that when he has felt it, after a too early, too believing study of the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution, he has been subsequently rudely awakened to reality--has formed a tremendous barrier to his ability, let alone desire, to be a competent combat soldier.

"The discrimination and segregation to which he has been subjected in civilian life are carried over into military life. He is placed in segregated units, his uniform is often no protection against illegal treatment at the hands of civilians, he is commanded by white officers whose dislike of him and of their job is too often obvious, he is sometimes denied pleasures and privileges enjoyed by white soldiers for the very real reason that serious trouble would develop if he were allowed to enjoy them. Yet he is asked to risk his life against the enemy as bravely and with as few questions as the white soldier. Colored soldiers would be more than human if a lot of them didn't have very serious mental reservations about that setup."

MADE IN U.S.A.

Negro

September 5, 1950

Col. Campbell C. Johnson
Office of General Hershey
U. S. Selective Service System
Washington, D. C.

My dear Colonel Johnson:

We thought so highly of the recent report on the integration of Negroes in the armed forces that we did this boiled-down version of it and got it out to our 4,500 subscribers, most of whom are in the South.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

September 5, 1950

Mr. Philleo Nash
Executive Offices of the President
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Philleo:

We thought so highly of the Army report that we did a boil-down and sent it out to our 4,500 subscribers.

I thought you might like to have a few extra copies as a means of showing friends of yours that the report got this extra circulation in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encls: 10

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

September 5, 1950

Mr. James C. Evans
Assistant Civilian Aide
to the Secretary of Defense
Department of Defense
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

We took the recent Report and made a boil-down of it and have got it out to our 4,500 mainly Southern subscribers.

Congratulations to you on these good fruits of your labors.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

SRC — Info. Req.

Negro Suffrage

April 9, 1952

Miss Yolande H. Chambers
2143 Yale Station
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Miss Chambers:

Virginia—Dr. J. M. Tinsley, 531 N. 4th St.

North Carolina—Alexander Heard, Dept. of Government, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. (This guy is an authority. Wrote most of V. O. Key's famous book. Has a new book out on a two-party system, which you should consult pronto. May be just what you want. I would check on my statistics with Heard.)

South Carolina—John H. McCray, you are querying.

Florida—M. A. F. Ritchie, Department of Human Relations, University of Miami, Coral Gables.

Alabama—Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Coordinator, Southeast Regional Office, NAACP, 729 Masonic Temple Bldg., 1630-4th Ave., N., Birmingham.

Mississippi—Percy Greene, Editor, Jackson Advocate, Jackson.

Louisiana—President A. W. Dent, Dillard University, New Orleans.

Texas—Mrs. William H. Hogue, 5319 Cherokee St., Houston 5.

Oklahoma—Sol Sutker, Dept. of Sociology, Oklahoma A&M College, Stillwater.

Arkansas—Ocie Lee Smith, 1500 Bishop St., Little Rock.

Tennessee—Herman Long, Southern Chairman, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University, Nashville.

Miss Yolande Chambers, April 9, 1952

Kentucky—Mrs. Hortense Young, 818 S. 6th St., Louisville.

Georgia—The figure I am told is 92,000.

None of these people except Alexander Heard are authorities. They are just people that happen to know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

RECEIVED
APR 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

2143 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut
April 4, 1952

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of March 14 and the pamphlet by Mr. Jackson.

You indicated that, in a pinch, you could supply me with the names of persons in the Southern States who might supply the information I need. The pinch has come. Because of some unavoidable circumstances, this chapter has to go to press in about two weeks rather than in May as originally planned.

I am writing letters to the secretaries of State for the registration figures as you suggested. I also wrote Mr. McCray of Columbia.

I am compiling the information I have already received and will look forward to receiving theadditional names as soon as you can send them.

Sincerely,

Yolande H. Chambers

Yolande H. Chambers

Info Req.

March 14, 1952

Miss Yolande H. Chambers
2143 Yale Station
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Miss Chambers:

The only way to get what you want is to make a trip to each State capital and get such figures as can be had from central registration authorities, from newspaper editors, and from good guessers, and put them all together and make your own guess.

We got a very able man, who unfortunately died a couple of years ago, to go and do that for us about four years back. Here are his results.

Last year I had occasion to make up my own estimate, which was as enclosed.

I doubt that you will ever be able to pin down a case showing that because the law was changed (by act or by decision) the Negro vote swelled. All of them are simply cases of post hoc ergo propter.

In many instances the Negro vote was growing well when the law was changed, and then the Negro vote began to grow a whole lot faster. But many influences were at work besides simply the law and the regulations.

By the way, I was quite reliably told the other day that in a Louisiana primary election last month the Negro registration was approximately 90,000, and the New Orleans (of course, included in the 90,000) Negro registration was somewhere around 34,000.

The general argument of Luther Jackson's pamphlet still stands. It isn't the poll tax, and it isn't the other restrictions that slow the Negro vote so much as apathy and dependence.

By the way, Luther Jackson before his death put out annually for the Virginia Voters League, I think, a case study of the exact growth of the Negro vote, county by county, in Virginia. His widow, Mrs. Luther Jackson, at Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia, could send you a set or tell you how to get a set.

Miss Yolande H. Chambers, March 14, 1952

For South Carolina I think the most reliable and best-informed man is Mr. John H. McCray, The Lighthouse and Informer, Columbia. In a pinch, I could give you the names of people in many of the other States who would be pretty well-informed.

Most Southern States keep a separate registration for white and for Negro voters, and the secretary of State or some other official can, if he wishes, supply the totals. But those are registration figures only.

Many local voting precincts keep a record, officially or unofficially, of Negro and white voters, but it is difficult to get the figures from local officials.

Of course, as you understand, the primary is the most significant one, and it is the hardest to get a record of. It is the property not of the State, but of the State Democratic Committee. The only real way to do it is to have somebody around at the time of the election who will clip the final round-up out of the newspaper. That or else send someone to see the chairman of the Democratic Committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:cc
Encls.

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

2143 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut
March 3, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Professors Thomas Emerson and David Haber of Yale Law School are reaching the final stages of work on their constitutional law casebook which they hope to have published during the summer. As an honors project, I am attempting to gather material for one chapter which is somewhat less than adequate at this point.

Included in their book are the leading cases pertaining to Negro suffrage. As yet, however, it does not appear that any reliable materials are available regarding the actual effect these court decisions have had on Negro registration and voting. Such information, if available, would add immensely to the utility of the text. Several articles on the subject have appeared in various magazines but, as you will readily understand, unless we can verify their accuracy, information reported there would not be suitable for this purpose.

Is there any way to get official information on the number of Negroes who have registered and voted in primaries which were previously closed to them? Have any reliable statements been made as to the overall effect these court decisions have had and as to present trends in Negro voting?

If you have any such information or can suggest any methods or sources which might prove fruitful I would be indeed grateful.

Very truly yours,

Yolande H. Chambers

Yolande H. Chambers

THE Nation

Negro Suffrage

August 15, 1952

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In re our special issue of the Southern Negro: 1952, of which I am enclosing a revised outline, I would greatly appreciate it if you could find time to check the enclosed list of incidents that have arisen in connection with the attempt to vote.

If your files show additional incidents occurring between April 1944 and when the United States Supreme Court decided Smith vs. Allwright, would you be kind enough to indicate them on the enclosed chronology and return to us.

With many thanks,

Carey McWilliams

Carey McWilliams

THE SOUTHERN NEGRO: 1952.

A special issue to be published the
last week in September, 1952.

Now that the Democratic and Republican parties have convened, adopted platforms, and selected nominees, the general public has been made more aware than ever before that something like a revolution is taking place in the politics of the South. The fight over the Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas delegations echoed loudly in the Republican convention. For the first time in years a "new Republican" element is making itself felt as a real force in the Republican Party. And for the Democrats, the "Southern problem" is, as always, an acute issue.

There is a phase of this so-called "Southern problem," however, which too seldom receives the discussion it merits, namely, the changes that have been taking place in the region in the last decade and the impact that these changes have had upon the outlook and attitude and political behavior of Southern Negroes. While the Republicans appeal for the support of the "white" South, including the Dixiecrats, by soft-pedaling the civil-rights issue, and the Democrats appeal for the support of Northern Negroes in the pivotal states, what happens to the Southern Negro? how much of a factor is he in the rapidly developing "revolution" which is undermining the old Solid South?

The rise of the Southern Negro as a political force carries with it immense political implications. At stake could be not only the tradition of the Solid South, but even the two-party system. For here is the country's greatest potential bloc of new voters, unpledged to any single party, increasingly aware of their rights as Americans, and increasingly determined to use the ballot to claim them. Nearly 2,000,000 Southern Negroes are expected to vote for President this November - a number almost sufficient to have given Dewey the victory over Truman in 1948.

Yet this dramatic "second emancipation" of the Southern Negro is being given relatively little notice. The machinations of Southern white politicians traditionally take the center of the Southern political stage, relegating grass-roots movements to the background. Moreover, arrogant White Supremacists, who refuse to acknowledge developments which don't accord with their wishes, have succeeded in blinding America to the facts of political life.

For these reasons THE NATION is planning, for the last week in September, a special issue to be called "The Southern Negro: 1952." Prepared by outstanding experts in the field, the issue will contain the following articles:

I. "The South: Giant of Tomorrow" by Henry Lesesne, Southern regional correspondent for the New York Herald-Tribune, outstanding authority on the Southern socio-economic-political scene. "The spires of industry cast long shadows over the cotton and tobacco fields and the piney woods of Dixie," writes Mr. Lesesne in a lead article discussing the amazing socio-economic changes which have taken place in the South of recent years. It is, of course, these changes at the base of the society which have begun to produce aberrant political

behavior foreshadowing the demise of the "Solid South." A fine article by a top-notch writer.

II. "The Negro Vote in the South, 1952", by Henry Lee Moon, Director of Public Relations for the NAACP. Mr. Moon analyses the growth in the number of Negroes voting in the South and points up the significance of this phenomenon. Mr. Moon has given more attention to the Negro in politics than any other American authority. He is the author of Balance of Power: The Negro Vote (1948).

III. "The Neo-Dixiecrats" by Tarleton Collier. A native of Alabama, Mr. Collier has been an editorial writer on the Louisville Courier-Journal for the last ten years. He is the author of several studies about the South, including studies of its penal systems, and a novel Fire in the Sky. In this lively piece, Mr. Collier examines the basis of the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in Congress.

IV. "The Civil Rights Fight in Congress" by Clarence Mitchell, Director, Washington Bureau, NAACP. No one has been closer to the fight to secure enactment of an adequate civil rights program in Congress than Mr. Mitchell, Here, in full detail, is the complete story of the how, and the why, of the defeat of the civil right program in recent sessions of the Congress.

V. "Reconstruction, Number Two" by Lewis W. Jones, Director of Research, Tuskegee Institute. An outstanding authority, Mr. Jones discusses the impact of recent socio-economic changes in the South as they affect Southern Negroes. "The economic emancipation of the Negro in the South may or may not have been anticipated as coming through the good offices of white-faced cattle and tractor-drawn farm machinery," writes Mr. Jones, "but these appear to have been the instruments most effective in releasing him from profitless hand-labor tasks and the sharecropper system."

VI. "The Negro Vote in National Politics" by R. H. Brisbane. A member of the faculty of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. Brisbane discusses the significance of the Negro vote in national politics.

In addition, the issue will contain an article by Dr. Ira de A. Reid, a series of short reports from key areas in the South indicating the present temper of Southern Negro opinion, and a report on the long and heroic struggle of Southern Negroes to achieve the right to vote.

We feel that this issue will represent not only an important contribution to an understanding of present-day political behavior in the South, but that it will be of definite aid and assistance to Southern Negroes in their fight for the ballot. On the basis of these reports, candidates can be asked the kind of questions that will test their intentions and attitudes on an issue of paramount importance to American democracy.

I R

Suffrage

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
GAINESVILLE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

RECEIVED
MAR 13
Southern Regional Council

March 10, 1953

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am currently working on a thesis at the University of Florida for the MA degree in Political Science and I am in need of some information and references which I hope you may be able to help me to obtain. My subject is "The Role of the Negro in Florida Politics: 1944-1952." Of course, the whole story would fill volumes, but I believe this will be the first detailed study of the achievements and difficulties still faced by Negroes in a Southern state since abolition of the old white primary.

Our library does not have a copy of Dr. Luther P. Jackson's study of Race and Suffrage Since 1940, which is a must for background information and suggestions relating especially to the pre-1948 period for which it is now rather hard to get accurate first hand accounts because of the passage of time, the death (or murder) of important figures (like Harry Moore), and other reasons. Would it be possible for me to buy, beg, or borrow use of a copy of this study from you? I would also appreciate it greatly if you have any mimeographed lists of material which you have available. Since extra-legal social pressure often plays such an important roll in intimidating Negroes I want to get every possible reference to acts of violence in Florida during the period in question.

Sent 3/16/53

There is one other favor I would like to ask of you--could you tell me the current address of Mr. Stetson Kennedy, formerly of the Southern Regional Council? He has been recommended as a very valuable person to talk to for first hand information on the Florida situation. So far I have been working through leads provided by the Urban League, NAACP, and Senator Pepper's followers--any additional suggestions you could make as to individuals who might be able to help me in this project would be greatly appreciated.

I am hopeful that my study may dispel some of the erroneous myths concerning a "purchaseable Negro bloc vote" and also provide some insight into the most successful methods of increasing registration and encouraging participation in both local and national elections.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh D. Price

Hugh D. Price

Hugh D. Price
931 W. University Ave
Gainesville, Fla

Negro Servicemen - Vets

IN ANSWER TO EASTLAND

A Statement Prepared By The
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

On June 29, when the United States Senate began the day, this was the chaplain's prayer: "We thank Thee for public servants who in the darkened valleys of these tragic times have failed not to lift unto the hills of help the eyes of this stricken generation, messengers of good will, who from the mountain tops of vision are now heralding a dawning day. So guide by Thy wisdom the deliberations of this body entrusted with vast power that awes and solemnizes our hearts that here in the fires of a great passion for healing peace the sacrifices for freedom may be sanctified...."

This was the next to last day of the fiscal year. The business before the Senate was an appropriation bill, carrying funds for the next year for a sheaf of war agencies, including the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. Senator Bilbo of Mississippi had wasted days of the Senate's time in his filibuster against FEPC, and now it was the turn of the Junior Senator from that State, 40 year-old James O. Eastland, to block a bill that a great majority of the Senate was ready to vote favorably on.

Senator Eastland trotted out the old, discredited arguments: The FEPC, he said, is staffed with Communists: it is not needed; the object of those who push it is agitation for the sake of division; it prepares the ground for racial amalgamation, threatens free enterprise, and is another step in CIO-PAC's drive to "take over" American business. He was talking for time, and he threw in a long denunciation of Liberia and scathing comments on the personnel of the various FEPC offices.

This was old stuff that ordinarily would not have made the paper. But in the course of the speech, Eastland repeatedly attacked the record of Negro troops in this war. His statements were insulting to the United States armed forces and a bitter wound to the pride of the million Negroes in the Services and the twelve million Negroes from whose homes the soldiers and sailors and marines went into the War.

Here is some of the abuse. "I recently returned from Europe. While there I talked to numerous high-ranking generals of the American Army, some of them in a peculiar position to know the facts.... What is the combat record of the Ninety-second Division, the only Negro division that has seen service in Europe?

"To begin with that division - and I state it authoritatively - had the best equipment... [and] training of any division in the American Army. For political reasons - and when I say 'political reasons' I quote American generals - they were forced to commission some Negro officers for that division. In not one instance could they place upon his shoulders the responsibility of combat, and I tell you now... that division could not be placed in an important position in the line...

"The Negro soldier was an utter and dismal failure in combat in Europe. When I make that statement it is not from prejudice. I am not prejudiced against the Negro."

/Laughter in the galleries/

".... In a number of instances these soldiers would desert their posts of duty, officers would desert their posts of duty, without cause, and the whole division would, without cause, rhyme, or reason, quit fighting. The officers told us the soldiers had no initiative, no sense of responsibility, very low intelligence, and were a failure."

After further charges that Negro troops in Normandy had been guilty of atrocities, and that French Senegalese soldiers had abused captive German women, the Senator declared that "the conduct of the Negro soldier..... all over Europe was disgraceful," and that the Negro soldiers have disgraced the flag of their country. "... He will not fight. He will not work."

Toward the end, after allusions to the views of prejudiced white soldiers, he said, "This agitation for social equality has destroyed racial tolerance, and I state frankly, that the white soldier is openly and avowedly waiting for his chance when he returns to the United States."

Through the weary years of Ben Tillman and Tom Watson and John Rankin and Theo. Bilbo we have become accustomed to race-hate oratory. But it is a new thing to condemn the fighting spirit of Negro soldiers. Think what these words mean to the men who have worked and fought for their country, and to all Negroes, everywhere.

Eastland named no names for his authorities. His charges are belied by repeated praise of Negro troops from Generals Eisenhower, Clark, MacArthur, Stilwell, Eaker, Lanham, Patton, and others. Under-secretary of War Patterson has praised their qualities, since Eastland's speech.

Here are quotes from some of the Generals:

General MacArthur: "Race has nothing whatever to do with a man's ability to fight.... /The Services of the Negro soldiers/" have been magnificent, their patience, their fortitude, their courage, and their complete devotion to their country mark them as belonging to the nation's noblest citizens."

General Stilwell: "Before these troops arrived no one ever thought of working during the monsoon season, but I have seen these men continue on the job when there was 10 inches of rainfall in one day."

General Eisenhower: "I have seen Negro soldiers in this war and I have many reports on their work where they have rendered very valuable contributions and some of them with the greatest enthusiam.... They have done their job, and they have done the job given them."

General Lanham: "I have never seen any soldiers who have performed better in combat than you."

Here is a sample pair of the citations of Negro soldiers in the 104 Timberwolf Division, for bravery in the battle of Germany:

Silver Star

To: Staff Sergeant Claude Pierce, Jr., 308 South 5th Street, Easton, Pennsylvania

"...then private first class, Infantry, Company A, 114th Infantry, United States Army, for gallantry in action in Germany on April 13, 1945. When a tank was hit and set afire by enemy artillery, Sergeant Pierce dashed across open terrain in the face of devastating enemy fire to remove the trapped crew. Although twice knocked from the tank by the concussion of near messes from direct enemy artillery fire, he climbed back on the flaming tank, extinguished the fire, and removed the crew from the tank. After administering first aid, he carried the more seriously wounded men across two hundred yards of fire-swept terrain to safety and medical aid. The gallantry and cool courage in the face of grave danger displayed by Sergeant Pierce, far above and beyond the call of duty, exemplify the finest tradition of the American combat soldier."

Bronze Star Medal

To: Private First Class Peter Dodson, 81 Orchard, Roslyn Heights, Long Island, New York.

"...leading a patrol into enemy territory, Private Dodson (then private) was wounded in the hand, but he tenaciously continued his mission. Observing an enemy tank two hundred yards distant, he advanced alone, threw a rock at the tank to attract attention, and shot the tank commander with a captured pistol when he emerged from the tank. The remainder of the tank crew were so terror-stricken that they immediately surrendered. The audacious intrepidity and cool courage displayed by Private Dodson exemplify the finest traditions of the American combat soldier, reflecting the highest credit upon himself and the military service."

As to the 92nd Division, by April 1945, their men had won seven awards of the Legion of Merit, 65 Silver Stars, 162 Bronze Stars, four Air Medals, and 1,377 Purple Hearts.

We all know Negroes in the armed forces whose spirit we would match against anybody's. White veterans of the Italian war have been heard to say they owed their lives to the combat job of Negro troops.

The South is proud of all her sons who have gone into the War. We want them back, and we want them honored for what they have done.

White Southerners have now a special job of making it clear to the Negroes that we know they did their whole part, notwithstanding the disadvantages and the insults that were put upon them - as civilians and as soldiers. Some justice lives in the South. After Eastland's speech it will be harder than ever to convince Negroes that this is so, but we have the job to do.

Mississippians can write Senator Eastland, and tell him they don't like what he said. That will help. Perhaps the best we can do is to see to it, in our own communities, that as these boys come home their home towns give recognition - public recognition and personal recognition - of the full share they bore in the victory over fascism abroad.

Copies of this Memorandum may be
obtained free on request from the
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMBERS OF THE U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS 7-15-64

Ernie ok

(from Eugene Patterson's secretary)

President John A. Hannah (Chairman)
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

m Professor Robert S. Rankin
1227 Vickers Avenue
Durham, N. C.

m The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana

m Dean Irwin A. Griswold
Harvard Law School
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass

Mrs. Frankie Muse Freeman
1209 N. Grand Blvd.
Me St. Louis, Missouri

Mr. Eugene Patterson, Editor
Atlanta Constitution
VC Jouranl-Constitution Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

William (Enw) 1701 Penn. Ave.

Bill Taylor, Gen. Counsel U.S. Comm on Civil Rights

Dear Bill:

The attached memorandum, submitted to Vice President Humphrey, has been sent to each Commissioner of your agency.

~~The~~

Sincerely yours,

John H Wheeler
President

(3 copies each to each Director, with copy Humphrey letter
1 copy to each Board member, with copy Humphrey letter)

John Macy, Chairman.
U.S. Civil Service Commission.
1701 Pennsylvania Ave.

(same letter as Freeman, Kinney, etc.)

(EWB)

Janet Shortt

Louis Martin, Deputy Chrm.
Natl. Demo Com.
1730 K St. N.W.

Dear Louis,

(6)

I hope you can give the problem discussed in the attached memorandum even more of your personal attention than you are already.

enclose Humphrey letter JR

separate letter to each member of CCR: Hannah, Ginwell, Hesburgh, Cate (EWB)

Dear Mr Hannah:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President & Mr Shriver. I hope that you may find it viewed helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Encl.

Executive Offices of The President
20506

Shriver - OEO

same letter,
except in 3rd graf say
"to Vice-President Humphrey"

Pres. Johnson Encl.

The ~~encl~~ attached memorandum has been
submitted to the Vice-President and Mr Shriver.
I wished that you
office might have a copy of it as well.

With best personal regards.

enclose memo
+ copy of Humphrey letter ok.

Wiley
John Stewart
office of V.P.

Humphrey:

~~The memorandum which I submit to you~~

Since 1961, ~~the~~ our country has made great progress in human relations, & a large part of the credit for this advance belongs to the administration of President Johnson & the late President Kennedy. Now through President Johnson's leadership we are embarked on great national programs ~~to move ahead to complete the make dem~~ complete & fulfill our democracy.

The attached memorandum prepared by our staff on instruction from the Council's Executive Committee, ~~deals~~ discusses one area of concern I am in these new programs. ~~Because~~ I know that you share fully & equally this same concern, and I hope

that you may ~~have an opportunity to consider our~~ find our views ~~too~~ helpful in the exercise of your office.

~~This~~

I am also submitting the memorandum to Mr. Shriver, & sending copies of it to several other of your associates as well as the President.

If your schedule would permit, I would greatly appreciate an opportunity to come to ~~a~~ Washington, ~~for~~ with ~~one or~~ two or three ~~young~~ other representatives of the Council, in order to discuss ~~these matters~~ these matters with you.

With best personal regards,

S

~~To~~ (EWW)

Celebrezze, Sec. HEW

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President & Mr Shriver. I mention it because matters of interest to your department, I am forwarding a copy to you as well. I hope that you may find it a useful helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

Mr John Stewart
assistant to the
Vice President
Office of the V.P.

With all good wishes,

S

same letter to Freeman, Wirtz, Andrew Brimmer
Commerce

(EWW)

same letter to Keppel, except say "your agency"
Office of Education

send blind copy of Humphrey letter + memo to John Stewart ok
" " " Keppel " " " Brooks Butler ok
" " " Wirtz " " " George Weaver ok
" " " Johnson " " " Lee White ok
Hobart Taylor ok
Cliff Alexander ok

Doc. - Pers
b

RECIEPIENTS OF THE MEMO ENTITLED "NEW FEDERAL PROGRAMS IN THE SOUTH." Sent with cover letter from John Wheeler

The President

Hubert Humphrey - Vice President

Willard Wirtz - Secretary of Labor

William Taylor, General Counsel, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

Mr. Francis Keppel - Office of Education, Dept. of Health, Ed. & Welfare

Mr. John W. Macy, Jr. - Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission

Professor Robert S. Rankin, Member, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Rev. T. M. Hesburg, C.S.C. Member, U. S. Com on Civil Rights

Dean Irwin A. Griswold, Member, U. S. Com on Civil Rights

Mr. Eguene Patterson, Vice-Chairman, U.S. Com on Civil Rights

Mrs. Frankie Muse Freeman, Member, U. S. Com on Civil Rights

Mr. John A. Hannah, Chairman U. S. Com on Civil Rights

Andrew Brimmer, Under Secretary of Commerce

Orville Freeman. Secretary of Agriculture

Anthony J. Celebrezze - Secretary of Health, Ed. and Welfare

Louis Martin, Deputy Chairman, National Democratic Committee

Sargent Shriver, Director, Office of Ec Opportunity

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 2, 1965

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Vice-Chairman
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Atlanta Journal-Constitution Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Patterson:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. I hope that you may find its views helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 2, 1965

Dean Irwin A. Griswold
Member, U. S. Commission
on Civil Rights
Harvard Law School
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Griswold:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. I hope that you may find its views helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 2, 1965

The Reverend T. M. Hesburg, C.S.C.
Member, U. S. Commission on
Civil Rights
Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Mr. Hesburg:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. I hope that you may find its views helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Enforce
Clear Onion Skin
FLUORESCENT

March 2, 1965

Professor Robert S. Rankin
Member, U. S. Commission on
Civil Rights
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Rankin:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. I hope that you may find its views helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

Clearcopy Onion Skin

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 2, 1965

Mrs. Frankie Muse Freeman
Member, U. S. Commission
on Civil Rights
1209 N. Grand Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Freeman:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. I hope that you may find its views helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

Clearcopy Onion Skin

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 2, 1965

Mr. John A. Hannah, Chairman
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Hannah:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. I hope that you may find its views helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 2, 1965

Mr. William Taylor, General Counsel
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Original Copy On Skin

Dear Bill:

The attached memorandum, submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver, has also been sent to each Commissioner of your agency.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Copy

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Jackson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

March 2, 1965

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United
States
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Vice President:

Since 1961, our country has made great progress in human relations, and a large part of the credit for this advance belongs to the administration of President Johnson and the late President Kennedy. Now through President Johnson's leadership we are embarked on great national programs to complete and fulfill our democracy.

The attached memorandum, prepared by our staff on instruction from the Council's Executive Committee, discusses one area of concern to us in these new programs. I know that you share fully and equally this same concern, and I hope that you may find our views helpful in the exercise of your office.

I am also submitting the memorandum to Mr. Shriver, and sending copies of it to several other of your associates as well as the President.

If your schedule would permit, I would greatly appreciate an opportunity to come to Washington, with two or three other representatives of the Council, in order to discuss these matters with you.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Check
Clear Copy Onion Skin
FLUORESCENT

March 2, 1965

The Honorable Andrew Brimmer
Under Secretary of Commerce
Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Brimmer:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. Inasmuch as it discusses matters of interest to your department, I am forwarding a copy to you as well. I hope that you may find its views helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 2, 1965

Mr. Sargent Shriver, Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Executive Offices of The President
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Shriver:

Since 1961, our country has made great progress in human relations, and a large part of the credit for this advance belongs to the administration of President Johnson and the late President Kennedy. Now through President Johnson's leadership we are embarked on great national programs to complete and fulfill our democracy.

The attached memorandum, prepared by our staff on instruction from the Council's Executive Committee, discusses one area of concern to us in these new programs. I know that you share fully and equally this same concern, and I hope that you may find our views helpful in the exercise of your office.

I am also submitting the memorandum to the Vice President, and sending copies of it to several other of your associates as well as the President.

If your schedule would permit, I would greatly appreciate an opportunity to come to Washington, with two or three other representatives of the Council, in order to discuss these matters with you.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 2, 1965

The President
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. I wished that your office might have a copy of it as well.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosures 2

Great Copy Orion Sh
FLUORESCENT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 2, 1965

Mr. Louis Martin
Deputy Chairman
National Democratic Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Louis:

I hope you can give the problem discussed in the attached memorandum even more of your personal attention than you are already.

Sincerely,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

Glassmeyer Stan
FLUORESCENT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Colorado
Clearcopy Onion Skin

March 2, 1965

The Honorable Anthony J. Celebrezze
Secretary of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. Inasmuch as it discusses matters of interest to your department, I am forwarding a copy to you as well. I hope that you may find its views helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 2, 1965

The Honorable Orville Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. Inasmuch as it discusses matters of interest to your department, I am forwarding a copy to you as well. I hope that you may find its views helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

March 2, 1965

Mr. Francis Keppel
Office of Education
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Keppel:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. Inasmuch as it discusses matters of interest to your agency, I am forwarding a copy to you as well. I hope that you may find its views helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

bcc: Mr. Broadus Butler

March 2, 1965

The Honorable Willard Wirtz
Secretary of Labor
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. Inasmuch as it discusses matters of interest to your department, I am forwarding a copy to you as well. I hope that you may find its views helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1
bcc: Mr. George Weaver

March 3, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Leslie W. Dunbar

From: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Les, this is in regard to Negro deputy marshalls in the South. The following places I got directly from the "horse's mouth," that is, Walter Lewis of the Civil Rights Commission, who read to me from the list he received from the Justice Department.

You were right about Greensboro.

Birmingham
Greensboro
~~Tuba~~
Charleston
Nashville
Alexandria
Jackson
Montgomery
Raleigh - does not go on duty until March

VEJ,Jr/js

March 11, 1965

Mr. John W. Macy, Jr.
Chairman
U. S. Civil Service Commission
1900 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

The attached memorandum has been submitted to the Vice-President and Mr. Shriver. Inasmuch as it discusses matters of interest to your agency, I am forwarding a copy to you as well. I hope that you may find its views helpful in addressing a matter of common concern.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/rh
Enclosure 1

P. 5 (delete)

... and the applicant state agency in Florida.

George Lewis wrote that no Negroes have been hired by the state director.

VJV

D R A F T - 1.

M E M O R A N D U M

This memorandum is addressed to an issue which, in the judgment of the staff, is of critical current importance. The subject is the participation of Negroes in federal civil rights and poverty programs in the South.

Recent history as well as recent legislation has placed federal policies and administration at the very center where basic decisions are being made and will be made in the continuing struggle to remove racial inequities. How the federal government does its job is, therefore, a matter of first-rank interest.

SRC has on other occasions expressed gratification with the federal record since 1960 in the equal employment program within the federal government. At the same time, we have pointed out that federal appointment of Negroes to upper-level jobs in southern offices has been disappointingly behind progress elsewhere.

This has been particularly true regarding those positions dealing with civil rights.

We are concerned now not only for what has been and is, but for what may come. Because the government has been reluctant to have Negroes represent its civil rights policies in the South, we are doubly fearful that Negroes in upper-level positions will not be appointed to southern offices administering the poverty program and Title VII. We understand also that the Commission on Civil Rights is planning one or more southern offices, and staffing of

these will be of concern. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has immensely important new responsibilities under Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; although we are not informed of the administrative plans of HEW, it seems likely that some of this repsonsibility will be exercised by regional offices. All of this adds up to the fact that the federal government is entering on an unprecedented period of staffing in the southern region for civil rights and poverty assignments, and that this new period must be started off right.

At the present time, there are no Negroes serving as U. S. Attorneys in the South.

-- there are, to our knowledge, five Negro assistant U. S. attorneys (in southern Florida, middle North Carolina, western Tennessee, southern Texas, and eastern Virginia)

-- there are no Negro U. S. marshals serving in the South

-- to our knowledge, there are five Negro deputy marshals (in Birmingham, Huntsville, Jackson, Miss., Greensboro, and Charleston)

The regional compliance officer serving out of Atlanta for the contractor employment program of the Air Force is Negro. Federal housing agencies employ seven or so Negroes as inter-group relations specialists, working out of southern regional offices.

To our knowledge, the above is a full list of Negroes stationed in the South at federal jobs concerned with civil rights.

Seldom does the Department of Justice assign Negro attorneys to participate in southern civil rights litigation. Negro F.B.I. agents are never seen.

There are no Negro judges on the federal bench or on state courts. Because state politics is dominant in the appointment of both state judges and federal district judges, the likelihood is that the first Negro judge in the South will have to start on the federal Court of Appeals.

Though lacking adequate documentation, our strong impression is that very few Negroes are employed in administrative or teaching roles in MDTA programs. There is substantial evidence that Negroes have not drawn direct benefits from ARA programs proportionate to their interests.

We believe that Negroes should serve in prominent and important federal civil rights and poverty positions in the South for the following reasons:

1) These jobs, just as any other federal jobs, should be filled on a non-discriminatory basis;

2) Federal programs would be strengthened when persons intimately familiar with the problems are helping direct them; this is especially true of the poverty program;

3) Federal sincerity and seriousness of purpose would be demonstrated to the South;

4) The confidence of Negro Southerners in federal administration would be strengthened;

5) There are often beneficial consequences when white Southerners confront Negroes in positions of authority.

A related matter is the participation of Negroes, Negro groups, and bi-racial groups in the Community Action Program of the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity. To date, three series of CAP grants have been made. Our records show them as follows:

ALABAMA	-	Ala. Advisory Comm. for Econ. Opportunity in Montgomery	$ 134,000
ARKANSAS	-	Yell County	49,980
FLORIDA	-	Suncoast Progress Inc. St. Petersburg	63,000
	-	Econ. Opp. Program, Inc., Miami	34,210
GEORGIA	-	Ga. Office of Econ. Opp.	132,500
	-	Atlanta-Fulton Co. Econ Authority	1,080,000
	-	Ga. Mountains and Development Comm.	16,700
	-	Slash Pine Area Planning and Development Comm.	11,483
	-	Southwest Ga. Planning and Development Comm.	10,550
	-	Univ. of Ga. Institute of Community and Area Development	29,154
	-	Chattahoochee Area Planning and Developing Comm.	10,325
	-	Heart of Ga. Planning and Redevelopment Comm.	10,992
	-	Macon Bibb Co. Econ. Opp. Council	11,177

	-	Coastal Plain Area Planning and Development Comm.	$ 10,260
	-	West Central Ga. Area Planning and Development Comm.	16,192
	-	Central Savannah River Area Planning and Development Comm.	19,005
LOUISIANA	-	Acadiana Neuf Comm. Action Organization, Lafayette	42,435
	-	Southern Consumers CopOp	25,000
	-	Office of the Governor	132,000
MISSISSIPPI	-	Corinth Urban Renewal Agency	49,887
NORTH CAROLINA	-	N. C. St. Dept. of Administration	171,500
	-	N. C. Fund	109,700
SOUTH CAROLINA	--	S. C. Office of Econ. Opp.	51,635
TENNESSEE	-	Oneida - Scott Co. Econ. Opp. Authority	13,162
	-	Metropolitan Action Comm. Nashville	87,862
	-	Livingstone Development Corp.	25,866
TEXAS	-	Office of the Governor	70,000
VIRGINIA	-	Progressive Community Club of Washington Co.	67,851
		TOTAL	$ 2,486,426

Hopefully, many of these programs will benefit Negro Southerners: in very few of them do Negroes have any responsibility for planning their own welfare.

They have few opportunities for imparting their insights and experience into the programs.

They have few opportunities - and this is not unimportant - for sharing administrative honors and salaries.

Of the above listed organizations, the Southern Consumers Co-Op (Louisiana) is a Negro group. Negroes participate representatively in the leadership of Suncoast Progress, Inc. (Florida) and of the North Carolina Fund. Grants to these three total $197,700 or 8% of the total CAP southern grants to date. The other organizations, to the best of our knowledge, do not have more than, at the most, token Negro participation.

The CAP grants do not, of course, exhaust the areas of concern under the Economic Opportunity Act. The Work-Training and Work-Study Programs, for example, will also require sophisticated administration by federal officials in order to insure that minority-groups participate fully and equitably in benefits.

MEMORANDUM September 2, 1959

To: John Constable
Paul Anthony
Mildred Flowers

From: Emory F. Via

Re: NAME TO BE ADDED TO "L" & Friends of SRC LISTS.

I suggest that you add the name of Mr. Don Slayman, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO, 815 - 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. to both the "L" list and to the Friends of SRC List.

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

ATRAN CENTER FOR JEWISH CULTURE
25 EAST 78th STREET • NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • LEHIGH 5-3700

ADOLPH HELD
Chairman
DAVID DUBINSKY
Treasurer
ISIDORE NAGLER
Secretary
JACOB PAT
Executive Secretary
NATHAN CHANIN
Chairman, Office Committee
BENJAMIN TABACHINSKY
National Campaign Director
EMANUEL MURAVCHIK
National Field Director

Vice-Chairmen
SHELLEY APPLETON
MORRIS BLUMENREICH
ISRAEL BRESLOW
HARRY BURAKOFF
JOSEPH DORFMAN
MOE FALIKMAN
HARRY FISHER
BENJAMIN GEBINER
MARTIN GERBER
DAVID GINGOLD
I. H. GOLDBERG
PAUL L. GOLDMAN
HARRY GREENBERG
MURRAY GROSS
DR. LOUIS HENDIN
SAMUEL HERSHKOWITZ
JULIUS HOCHMAN
LOUIS HOLLANDER
LOUIS HYMAN
EPHIM JESHURIN
BENJAMIN KAPLAN
JOSEPH KESSLER
MORRIS KOVLER
EDWARD KRAMER
CHARLES KREINDLER
I. LEVIN-SHATZKES
MARX LEWIS
ABRAHAM MILLER
ISAIAH M. MINKOFF
NATHANIEL M. MINKOFF
DAVID NISNAVITZ
SAUL RIFKIN
JACOB ROBERTS
GEORGE RUBIN
ELEANOR SCHACHNER
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
MATTHEW SCHOENWALD
DR. SAMUEL SILVERBERG
ABRAHAM SNYDER
WILLIAM STERN
LOUIS STULBERG
JOSEPH TUVIM
JUDAH TYBERG
MAY VLADECK-BROMBERG
OSSIP WALINSKY
MEYER WEINSTEIN
WILLIAM WOLPERT
MAX ZARITSKY
CHARLES ZIMMERMAN
JACOB T. ZUKERMAN

November 2, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED NOV 4 1959
RECEIVED NOV 4 J

Dear Harold:

When you were in New York I mentioned that we would appreciate it if you would put the JLC field staff on your mailing list to receive SRC materials. Here it is:

Dr. Samuel Neistadt
2356 Eutaw Place
Baltimore 17, Md.

Mr. Julius Bernstein
27 School Street
Boston 8, Mass.

Mr. Leonard Bright
Green Farms, Conn.

Mr. Aaron Aronin
127 N. Dearborn St.
Chicago 2, Ill.

Mr. Bill Goode
163 Madison Ave
Suite 225
Detroit 26, Mich.

Mr. Max Mont
590 N. Vermont Ave.
Los Angeles 4, Calif.

Mr. Louis Lerman
2639 University Ave.
St. Paul 14, Minn.

Mr. Stephen Remsen
924 Walnut Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Mr. Sam Bottone
401 Commonwealth Annex
Pittsburgh 22, Pa.

Mr. William Becker
2940 16th Street
San Francisco 3, Calif.

Mr. Sid Blum
4848 St. Lawrence Blvd.
Montreal, Quebec
Canada

Thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Jake

Jacob Schlitt
Field Representative

JS:jb

ISIDORE AXELROD, Cleveland
HARRY BERGER, Philadelphia
JOSEPH BERNSTEIN, Detroit
MORRIS BIALIS, Chicago
PHILIP BLOCK, Boston
J. A. CHERNIAK, Winnipeg
HARRY DORDICK, Philadelphia
JOSEPH DUNTOV, Miami
DOROTHY DWORKIN, Toronto
JACOB EDELMAN, Baltimore
MAX FEDERMAN, Toronto
JOSEPH GREENFIELD, Boston
NICHOLAS KIRTZMAN, Cleveland
ABRAHAM KIRZNER, Toronto
DR. SHMARYA KLEINMAN, Detroit
PHILIP KRAMER, Boston
TEVYA MAISEL, Mexico City
NATHAN MALYN, Pittsburgh
MICHAEL MERLIN, Atlanta
LOUIS ORLIKOW, Winnipeg
SAMUEL OSHRY, Los Angeles
SAMUEL OTTO, Los Angeles
MORRIS POLIN, Chicago
HYMAN A. REIFF, Montreal
WILLIAM ROSS, Philadelphia
MICHAEL RUBINSTEIN, Montreal
ARTHUR SCHECHTER, Grand Rapids
DAVID SCHIER, Chicago
JOSEPH SCHWARTZ, Philadelphia
MAX SEGAL, Philadelphia
BERNARD SHANE, Montreal
JACOB SIEGEL, Chicago
MAURICE SILCOFF, Montreal
SIDNEY STARK, Pittsburgh
ISIDORE STENZOR, Los Angeles
BESS TOPOLSKY, Pittsburgh
MEYER WEINTRAUB, Los Angeles
SAMUEL WEISBERG, Cleveland
MAX WOHL, Cleveland
JOSEPH WOLMAN, Baltimore
JOSEPH ZACHARIAS, Mexico City

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

To: JC

John, Jacob Schlitt sent the following names of persons. He states that the following "JCL field staff should be put on your mailing list to receive SRC materials." I don't know whether they would go on the interagency list or the all-purpose list - use your own discretion.

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE:

Dr. Samuel Neistadt
2356 Eutaw Place
Baltimore 17

Mr. Julius Bernstein
27 School Street
Boston 8

Mr. Leonard Bright
Green Farks, Conn.

Mr. Aaron Aronin
127 N. Dearborn St.
Chicago 2

Mr. Bill Goode
163 Madison Ave,
Suite 225
Detroit 26

Mr. Max Mont
590 N. Vermont Ave.
Los Angeles 4

Mr. Lewis Lerman
2639 University Ave.
St. Paul 14

Mr. Stephen Remsen
924 Walnut Street
Philadelphia 7

Mr. Sam Bottone
401 Commonwealth Annex
Pittsburg 22

Mr. William Becker
2940 - 16th Street
San Francisco 3

Mr. Sid Blum
4848 St. Lawrence Blvd.
Montreal, Quebec
Canada

May 13, 1960

MEMO TO BC, JC,

Please put the following person on your New South and "All-Purpose" Lists.

Mr. Lee Nichols
United States Information Agency
Room 560
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

3/24/60

MEMO TO: JC
BC

FROM: MFlowers

Please add Mrs. A. S. Vandervoo
23 S. Wynden Drive, Houston 27,
Texas to our complimentary N.S.
list.

Mr. Chas. Shaw writes that
he wants her to get"other
publications released by the
Southern Regional Council" so
John please put her on the
appropriate list.

March 11, 1960

MEMO TO JC, BC et.al.

Please remove Rev. William G. Wright's name from your lists (National Council of the Protestant Episcy. Church) and replace it with:

Mr. Clifford L. Samuelson
Acting Director
Home Department
NCPEChurch
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

MFlowers

June 8, 1960

JC MF

Please put Miss Mary Alice Baldinger, National Civil Liberties Clearing House, 1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D.C., on your all-purpose mailing list.

Bernice has just told me that she is already on the New South list.

June 14, 1960

RHA, JC, BC mf

Ruth: Please pull check and initial

JC: Please put Mrs. George on New South for two years.

BC: For your information.

The name is:

Mrs. Carole Ann George
4225 Sutro Avenue
Los Angeles 8, California
(Sent $5.00 contribution to SRC)

Return correspondence to me for filing. Thanx

Interoffice Memo

JUNE 14, 1960

JC, BC, LEC

MF

Please put the following person on our All-Purpose mailing list as well as New South list (bill him later for New South).

Mr. Anthony Higgins
Associate Editor
Wilmington Morning News
Wilmington 99, Delaware

Higgins is ~~&&&&&&&&&&&&&&&&~~ working under Creed Black, who has moved from Savannah Morning News to become Executive Editor of the Wilmington Morning News.

June 28, 1960

JC, BC MF

Please put the following person on your "ALL-PURPOSE" mailing list:

Mr. David J. Webster
British Broadcasting Corporation
Television Studios
Lime Grove
London, W. 12, England

July 11, 1960

JC MF

Please put the following person on your ALL-PURPOSE mailing list:

Reverend Keith Barden
3129 Southmore Boulevard
~~Hou~~ Houston, Texas

(Suggested by Charles Shaw - SRC Bd. member)

July 29

JC sm

Please note change of address for:

Dr. Merrimon ~~Cuniggim~~ Cuninggim
8000 Crescent Drive
Clayton 5, Missouri

Also, please change him from Board to Friends list. He is to be Director of the Danforth Foundation as of next May. *

Mildred, will you do likewise on your files inasmuch as I don't know which is which. Also, see Harold's note at top about nominating suggestions.

August 4, 1960

jc sm

Please add to New South mailing list:

Mr. Andrew Janaskie, President
American Federation of Hosiery Workers
2319 North Broad St.
Philadelphia, Penna.

32

August 5, 1960

jc sm

Please add to New South mailing list:

Mr. Nicholas Kirtzman
Vice-President, ILGWU
3233 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland 15, Ohio

August 9, 1960

To: JC, BC

From: MF

Please add the following person to our

New South mailing list:

Mr. Alex Rose, President
United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers
International Union
245 Fifth Avenue
New York 16, New York

thanx

August 18, 1960

JC, BC MF

Please put the following person on our all-purpose and New South list.
mailing list,/ Suggested by bd. member Chas. A. Shaw.

Mrs. Darnell Mitchell
2415 Longfellow Street
Detroit 6, Michigan

thanx

August 19, 1960

JC, BC, WF

MF

Please put the following person on complimentary NewSouth for six (6) months only:

Mr. Gadson N. Swann
2713 Mapleton Avenue
Norfolk, Virginia

WF: Also send him a copy of School Desegregation: First Six Years, & Margaret Price's special report on sit-ins.

August 19, 1960

JC, BC MF

Please put the following person on your all-purpose mailing list:

Mr. Andrew Bennett
Assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer
International Union of Electrical, Radio and
Machine Workers
1126 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Thanx

August 25, 1960

STAFF MF

Beginning September 1, 1960 the address for Reed Sarratt formerly with the Winston-Salem Journal in North Carolina should be changed to:

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tenn.

Also on Sept. 1, Grace Hamilton (bd. member) will leave the Urban League to head a new post at the National Board of the YWCA, 41 Exchange Place, S. E. This should be noted on all lists.

August 25, 1960

JC MF

Please put the following persons on the all-purpose mailing list:

Miss Bonnie Kilstein
81 East 79th Street
New York 21

and

Mr. A. E. Cox
Delta Foundation
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis, Tennessee

August 30, 1960

JC, BC

MF

Please check to see if Hylan Lewis is on our all-purpose mailing list or any other list that you have. If not, than please put him on. His address at home is:

3516 - 28th Street, N. E.
Washington 18, D. C.

September 13, 1960

MEMORANDUM

To: JC, BC

From: MF

Please put the following person on your all-purpose mailing list:

Mr. O. Richard Nottidge
U. N. H. C. R.
Palais des Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

(A package of materials is being sent him today)

thanx

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Postage paid $5.00

O. RICHARD NOTTIDGE
U.N.H.C.R.
Palais des Nations
GENEVA
SWITZERLAND

Send packet
Segregation Laws and
other relevant information
on the Negro Problem.

+ put on all-purpose
mailing list.

MEMORANDUM September 19, 1960

To: JC, LEC

From: ME

Please add the following person to your all-purpose mailing list:

Mr. Robert Young
Film Director
~~[illegible]~~ Creative Projects
NBC News

October 29 , 1960

TO: JC, LEC

FROM: MF

The following person should be put on our all-purpose mailing list:

Mr. James Cook
386 Vallejo Street
San Francisco, California (11)

MEMORANDUM September 20, 1960

To: JC, BC

From: MF

Please put the following person on New South mailing list:

Mr. Louis Nelson
Manager-Secretary
Knitgoods Workers' Union, ILGWU
Local 155
815 Broadway
Brooklyn 6, New York

September 26, 1960

TO: WF
FROM: MF

Please send thirteen (13) copies of the September 1960 NEW SOUTH to Prof. August Meier. (Label attached).

thanx

MEMORANDUM Oct. 7, 1960

To: BC, JC

From: MF

Please add the following person to New South mailing list:

Mr. Bernard Shane
Vice-President
Montreal I.L.G.W.U. Joint Fund
225 Plateau Street
Montreal 18, Canada

October 21, 1960

TO: LEC, BC, JC.

FROM: MF

Please add the following person to the New South and all-purpose mailing lists:

Mrs. Georgia Trevan
9401 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

(SUGGESTED BY MR. CHAS. A. SHAW - SRC BD. MEMBER OF HOUSTON, TEX.)

MEMORANDUM October 23, 1960

TO: BC, JC

From: MF

Please note change of address of John Lofton who is on your press list.

Former address: 1072 Osage Drive,
Pittsburgh 35, Pa.

New address: 151 Leland Avenue
Menlo Park, California

October 26, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: JC, LEC

FROM: MF

Please add the following person to our

All-Purpose mailing list:

Prof. Lawrence B. deGraaf
Orange County State College
800 North Cypress Avenue
Fullerton, California

thanx

Nov. 1, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: BC, JC

FROM: MF

Please put the following person on our New South mailing list:

Mr. Luigi Antonini, President
United-Italian American Labor Council
218 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

thanx

Nov. 11, 1960

to: B.C.

from: M.F.

Bernice, put the following person on our

New South list:

Mr. Benjamin Kaplan
Manager-Secretary
Local 117, ILGWU
242 West 36th Street
New New York 18, New York

thanx

NOVEMBER 11, 1960

MEMORANDUM

To: BC, LEC, JC

from: MF

Take the following person off all mailing lists:

Mr. Alex W. Moffat
47 West Street
Beverly Farms, Massachusetts

NOVEMBER 11, 1960

TO: BEC

FROM: MF

Please put the following on the

All-Purpose mailing list:

Miss Anne Lockwood
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

also:
Remove from list
Mr. Alex W. Moffat
47 West Street
Beverly Farms, Mass.

SEAVER COLLEGE

Nov. 30, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO:WF AND LEC

FROM:MF

WF: Please send three copies of "Racial Crisis and the Press" to Mr. Howard D. Samuel - Hillman Fd.

LEC: Please put this man on your mailing list (all-purpose). His address is as follows:

Mr. HowardD. Samuel
Executive Director
The Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square West
New York 3, New York

thanx to you both! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! !

Dec. 1, 1960

Bernice,

Put the following person on New South complimentary mailing list for one year (1 YR.)

At the end of that one-year period - ~~bill~~ bill accordingly.

Mr. B. J. Dalton
History Department
University of New England
Armidale, N.S.W., AUSTRALIA

thanx

MF

SHAPIRO'S MEMBERS

B. J. DALTON
History Department
University of New England
Armidale, N.S.W.,
AUSTRALIA.

Hef talked with 12/1/60

Complimentary 1 year
Theoretes - Gill
MHCJ

January 3, 1961

MEMO

TO: LEC

FROM: MF

Lu,

Please put the following person on our All-Purpose Mailing List:

Miss Mary Goepfert
5529 Woodlawn Boulevard
Minneapolis 17, Minnesota

thanx

MEMORANDUM January 12, 1961

To: LEC, WF

From: MF

Lue: Please put the following person on our all-purpose mailing list: and New South

Mrs. Betty W. Platt
620 E. 53rd Street
Savannah, Georgia

Phil: Please send the following materials to Mrs. Platt:

L Reports
Racial Violence & Law...
New South
If Schools are closed...
(suggested by Mrs. Geo. Wolfe)

Jan. 16, 1961

Lu:

Please put the following person on our all-purpose list:

Mr. August Heckscher
Director
Twentieth Century Fund
41 East 70th Street
New York 21, New York

thanx, MF

MEMORANDUM January 24, 1961

TO: BC

FROM: MF

Please see that the following person is put back on New South - or if he never was, put him on for the first time. He says that used to get it and now has stopped receiving it.

Mr. Joseph Cumming, Jr.
Bureau Assistant
NEWSWEEK
1316 C. & S. National Bank Bldg.
Marietta Street at Broad
Atlanta

thanx

MEMORANDUM February 3, 1961

TO: WF & LEC

FROM: MF

Phil:

Please send one (1) copy of "The Federal Executive..." to the person listed below. (Label attached)

Lou:

Please add the following person to your all-purpose mailing list:

Mr. J. Martin England
Administrative Secretary
American Baptist Convention
497 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

thanx

MEMORANDUM February 3, 1961

TO: LEC

FROM: MF

Please put the following person on our all-purpose mailing list until JUNE of this year.

Mr. Gustav Saron
3269 Berkeley Road
Cleveland 18, Ohio

thanx

MEMORANDUM February 7, 1961

TO: LEC

FROM: MF

Please put the following person on all-purpose mailing list - FOR ONE YEAR.

Mrs. William Resnik, Fox Hill Road
Stamford, Connecticut

MEMO Feb. 7, 1961

To: JC, LBC, BC

From: MF

Note: change of address for Odom Fanning:

13 Halsey Drive
Old Greenwich, Connecticut

MEMORANDUM Feb. 20, 1961

TO: BC & LEC

FROM: MF

Bernice:

Will you send to the person listed below copies of New South since last October.

Also, change his address and see that he begins now to get New South again. (He used to be in Dickson, Tenn.)

Lou:

Would you put the following person on our All-Purpose mailing list:

Rev. Robert D. Nicholson
Minister of Education
Calvary Presbyterian Church
Jackson and Fillmore Streets
San Francisco 15, California

~~the Fed. Executive~~

thanks to you both.

mf

MEMORANDUM February 20, 1961

TO: WF

FROM: MF

Please send the following to Rev. Leslie Eugene Ellison, First Presby. Church, Winters, Tex:

SRC Reports the Changing....

Congressional Record Reprint

January NEW SOUTH

"The Federal Executive..."

The Student Protest Movement

thanx, mf

Def Card w/this note: Sent at the Request of Rev. Robt. D. Nicholson

MEMORANDUM February 27, 1961

TO: LEC

FROM: MF

Lu:

Please put the following person on our all-purpose mailing list:

Mr. Joseph M. Moseson
Executive Director
Savannah Jewish Council
5111 Abercorn Street
Savannah, Georgia

Mailing list

Joseph M. Moseson

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SAVANNAH JEWISH COUNCIL
SAVANNAH, GA.

5111 ABERCORN ST.
ELGIN 5-8111

MEMORANDUM March 17, 1961

To: JC, LEC, BC

From: MF

Helen Fuller (on leave from the New Republic) wishes to be sent an extra copy of whatever she receives currently to her home address:

1635 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6

thanx

MEMORANDUM March 17, 1961

TO: JC, BC, LEC

FROM: MF

Please put the below listed person on both the New South and All-Purpose mailing lists - complimentary.

Mr. Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
405 Park Avenue
New York, New York

MEMORANDUM March 20, 1961

TO: LEC

FROM:: MF

Please add the following persons to our all-purpose mailing list:

Mr. Walter B. Lewis
Community Organization Secretary
626 Third Street, N. W.
Wash Washington 1, D. C.

Mr. Hammett Worthington-Smith
Box 1013
Washington 13, D. C.

thanx, mf

MF
Please have these two men added to our gen. mailing list.

HCF

WASHINGTON URBAN LEAGUE

WALTER B. LEWIS
Community Organization Secretary

626 Third Street, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

REpublic 7-0367

Chm., Dept. of English, Bowie State Coll.
Bowie, Md.

Emmett Worthington-Smith
Box 1013
Washington 13, D. C.

MEMORANDUM March 24, 1961

TO: BC, WF

FROM: MCF

Bernice: Please put the following person on New South list. (Pull check, initial ltr. and return to me) Her New South sub. should go to her at the address shown on the enclosed form.

Fill: Please send the following person the following materials; at the following address:

Miss Gretchen Tuthill
c/o Friends Africa Mission
Kaimosi, Kisumu
Kenya

6	copies:	School Desegregation....
6	"	Three Views of the Segregation Decisions
6	"	A Report on School Desegregation
6	"	Changing Patterns in the New South

NOTE: Miss Tuthill instructs as followin on mailing: "The post office requires material sent overseas as 'prints' to be in tied parcels or tied cartons; no gummed tape may be used to fasten it together."

MEMORANDUM April 3, 1961

TO: BC

FROM: MF

I've checked your New South stencils for a Rev. Emory Burton of Huntsville, Ala. He did not appear there. I had Ruth check her book and found that he did, as he indicated in a letter of March 20, 1961, send $2.00 last year - as of Feb. 17 - for a subscription.

Would you, therefore, send him back issues for the year 1960 and extend his subscription through the year 1961. A brief note can be included in the ~~package~~ package letting him know that an oversight occurred on this end and that his subscription will continue through this year.

~~&His&add~~ His address:

Reverend Emory Burton
Highlands Methodist Church
3701 Crestmore Avenue
Huntsville, Alabama

MEMORANDUM April 3, 1961

To: BC

From: MF

Please put the following person on our New South mailing list and bill accordingly.

Mr. Walter Brown
Wilson Lake Shores
Sheffield, Alabama

thanx, mf

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

3/30/61

MF -

Please see that the following gets new South. (He can be billed if necessary) -

Mr. Walter Brown
Wilson Lake Shores
Sheffield, Ala.

HCF

MEMORANDUM April 4, 1961

TO: LEC

FROM: MF

Lu,

Please add the below listed lady to our mailing list (all-purpose):

Mrs. Edward W. Macy
Consultant
Religious Resources Project
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

thanx, mf

MEMORANDUM April 26, 1961

TO: BC & LEC

FROM: MF

BC: Please add the following person to our complimentary New South list - for one year only.

LEC: Please put the following on our All-Purpose mailing list.

Mr. Hans Spiegel
Community Tensions Center
Springfield College
Springfield 9, Massachusetts

thanx, mf

July 24, 1961

Pr LWD

In the future, will you send copies of your Newsletters to the following:

Mr. Stephen Currier, President
Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, N.Y.

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

New South Subscrip

September 21, 1961

Mr. A. R. Mead
1719 N.W. Sixth Avenue
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. Mead:

Since Mr. Fleming is no longer with the Council your letter of the 18th has been called to my attention. We are very sorry about this second six-up on your subscription. And, quite the contrary to bothering us with detail, we appreciate your patience in again calling this to our attention.

Our "New South" records on your subscription were in order but for some reason our mailing stencil was not. This has been corrected and I trust you will have no further difficulty. In the meantime we are sending you the issues you have missed.

Again, thank you for calling this to our attention. We are grateful for your interest and support over the years.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mhb

RETIRED TEACHERS SECTION
FLORIDA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT
DR. A. R. MEAD
1719 N.W. Sixth Avenue
Gainesville (1961)

PAST PRESIDENT
DR. RALPH L. EYMAN
1210 Golf Terrace
Tallahassee (1961)

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. KATE HODGES
624 W. Emma Street
Lakeland (1961)

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK J. GOTTWALD
230 N.E. 20th Street
Miami (1961)

SECRETARY-TREASURER
WILLIAM L. GOETTE
627 S.W. 12th Street
Gainesville (1961)

DIRECTORS
MRS. MAUDE YAWN
1615 Watrous Avenue
Tampa (1963)

L. C. HARWELL
1626 Glendale Street
Jacksonville (1963)

MRS. RUTH CRABTREE
1633 E. Belmont Street
Pensacola (1963)

OLIVER HOOVER
811 Malaga Avenue
Coral Gables (1961)

NATALIE LAMB
518 N. Wild Olive Avenue
Daytona Beach (1961)

MRS. SORCHIE M. BAIRD
2901 Sunrise Boulevard
Fort Pierce (1961)

KATHRYN V. SCOTT
2839 W. Tamiami Circle
Sarasota (1962)

GLADYS MORSE
502 W. Green Street
Perry (1962)

Gainesville, Florida, September
18,1961.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:-

For many yeays I have been closely associated with our local Council on Human Relations-in fact called the meeting which organized-it- -and am a paid-up member of the Florida State Council,Mr. W illima Williams, Director, Some months ago, I called to their attention that I was not receiving the New South. Mr. Williams wrote your office and I received a package including the issues of the NEW South up to and including that of April,1961. I have received none since then.

I am aware that you must be burdened with a ~~mas~~ mass of details and have refrained from bothering you with this matter. I am anxious to continue receiving the New South and the other publications that are issued to members. Moreover, I cannot tell to whom to send this inquiry direct other than to you. Will you please have someone get my name and address into the mailing list and the back issues sent to me?

W ith all good wishes I am
Sincerely yours,
A. R. Mead
A.R.Mead,
1719 N.W. 6th Ave.
Gainesvillem Florida.

October 10, 1961

W. Fillmore LWD

Saturday Review

Please send 10 copies of The Saturday Review
to the following address: (label attached)

Mr. William Foster, Professor
The University of Wisconsin
The School of Law
Madison, Wisc.

December 7, 1961

WF LWD

Mailing List

Please check to see that Mr. Harry Golden, Editor of The Carolina Israelite, 1312 Elizabeth Avenue, Charlotte, N. C., is on our mailing list.

He is no longer a Council member but we do want to see that he receives our material.

Dec. 7, 1961

ML LWD

December New South

Please send a New South, as soon as it comes from the printers to:

Mr. James L. Dickey, III
2930 Westminster Circle, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

file
N.S.

Jan. 30, 1963

BC MMJ

Bernice,

Please send 200 copies of October New South to Dr. Herman Long, Fisk University (label attached). Bill Dr. Long for $30.00 (.15 each)

thanx, mmj

Free
N.S.

January 31, 1963

BC MMJ

Please send a copy of NOVEMBER/DECEMBER NEW SOUTH to Mr. Handler at the New York Times. (Label attached)

thanx, mmj

3/20/63

MG MMJ

Mary,

Les has written Mr. Bragdon saying that he should disregard our notice to him about New South -- his organization and ours exchange publications. Les wants this arrangement to continue. Please see that he is not billed again.

~~Mh~~ thanx, mmj

March 20, 1963

Mr. Marshall Bragdon
The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Marshall:

I don't have to tell you that when "the system" goes to work it doesn't always recognize names and faces. Please disregard the notice about New South. We are happy to continue the exchange.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

3/21/63

MG MMJ

Mary,

Re the attached letter. Les has written Mr. O'Neill saying that we'd continue sending him New South on a complimentary basis. Please see that he is kept on and not billed again.

Re: Mr. Wilbert J. O'Neill (Wilbert J. O'Neill & Earl J. Krock
Williamson Building Law Offices)
Cleveland 14, Ohio

March 21, 1963

Mr. Wilbert J. O'Neill
Williamson Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Mr. O'Neill:

The notice which you received regarding New South had been sent out routinely, and as is the way with these things, went to some persons for whom it was not intended. We are very pleased to continue sending New South to you.

With best regards and renewed thanks for your past support,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LAW OFFICES
WILBERT J. O'NEILL AND EARL J. KROCK
WILLIAMSON BUILDING
CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

March 12, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

I have your circular letter concerning subscriptions. Several years ago, through Mr. Paul Williams of Richmond, who was then president, I made a contribution of $200.00 to the Southern Regional Council. I assume that the copies of the NEW SOUTH, which have been coming to me for some time, represented a recognition of that donation. I do not feel that the Council is under any obligation to continue it.

Very truly yours,

W J O'Neill

WJO:BK

April 3, 1963

Mr. Earl Mazo
New York Herald Tribune
Washington Bureau
National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Mr. Mazo:

The notice you received regarding your New South subscription had been sent out routinely, and as is the case whenever a system goes to work, some notices were sent that we had not intended. We are very happy tossend you New South, and I hope that you will call on us whenever we can be of service.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

April 3, 1963

MG MMJ

Mary,

Les has written a letter to Mr. Mazo (see attached letter) telling him that we are continuing him on our complimentary New South list. Would you see that this is done and that he does not get another bill.

thanx, mmj

MLW
Free - N.S

NORTH CAROLINA
STATE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE
RALEIGH

R. EUGENE BROWN
ACTING COMMISSIONER

May 14, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am in receipt of a letter dated May2, 1963, from Miss Mary Goodwin, Secretary to the Editor of NEW SOUTH, informing me that you are sending a copy of NEW SOUTH on a complimentary basis for one year. I deeply appreciate this generous gesture on your part.

For several years, I was a member of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, and received this publication as a result of paying my dues. During the past year, I have had so many demands on limited resources that it has been necessary to cancel or drop some publications from my list.

I have always found NEW SOUTH to be informative, objective, and educational.

Sincerely,

J. R. Larkins

J. R. Larkins
Consultant

CAROLINA CHARTER TERCENTENARY

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE METHODIST CHURCH
Pine City New York
Phone REgent 3-4485

MINISTER
J. RUSSELL CARPENTER
933 SPRUCE ST., Elmira, N. Y.
PHONE REGENT 3-7532

ASSOCIATE MINISTER
HORACE R. PITTMAN
315 SYLVESTER PL., Elmira, N. Y.
PHONE REGENT 4-0400

RECEIVED MAY 17 1963

RECEIVED MAY 17 1963

ML please reply

May 14, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In the "Christian Science Monitor" for May 11 I found excerpts from two sermons, credited to "The New South," published by the Southern Regional Council. Will you please send me information about "The New South," how often it is published, and the subscription price?

At intervals for over twenty years I have had some correspondence with Mr. Dabbs. I treasure his two books. It was my good fortune to meet him in February, 1962. He is to lecture at a four-day pastors' school for the Methodist ministers of the "Syracuse Area" of The Methodist Church in September. I have great respect for him and for the work of the Council.

Our letterhead looks so strange because we have recently moved into a new church building and because the post office department has been exploring the possibility of changing some of the Pine City addresses to Elmira. It turns out that the church address will remain Pine City, but our printing order is not ready yet.

I enclose a stamped addressed envelope for your convenience in letting me know about "The New South."

Sincerely yours,

J. Russell Carpenter

J. Russell Carpenter

MLD for
the in dean's
Duke divinity school

H. SHELTON SMITH
2721 DOGWOOD ROAD
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
SEP 23 1963

Sept. 21, 1963

MJ file

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

For some time I have been using the New South magazine in the Duke library, but ~~I should~~ like to become a regular subscriber to it. Kindly, therefore, send me the latest issue accomapnied with a year's subscription to New South.

Since I do not have a copy before me, I cannot recall the subscription price, hence please enclose bill with first copy.

This magazine is doing an excellent job in reporting developments on the racial front.

Sincerely,

H. Shelton Smith

H. Shelton Smith

September 30, 1963

Dr. H. Shelton Smith
2721 Dogwood Road
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Smith:

Thank you for your letter of September 21 and its good comment about New South. I am enclosing the latest issue and also a subscription blank.

We have a rather odd practice here of charging for New South, but send certain other of our publications to selected people without charge. If you would like to be placed on the mailing list for them, please let me know. I am inclosing also a copy of our two latest publications.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosures

October 11, 1963

NM MMJ

Nobbie,

Please put the following person on our mailing list (Category #7):

Professor H. Shelton Smith
2721 Dogwood Road
Durham, North Carolina

thanx,

file

H. SHELTON SMITH
2721 DOGWOOD ROAD
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

Oct. 2, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlamta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Certainly I want to subscribe to the admirable publication, New South, for which a check is enclosed.

Also, kindly place me on your mailing list to receive copies of your occasional publications.

Sincerely,

H. Shelton Smith
Professor Emeritus of
American Religious Thought,
Duke University

MI
JS

Ck $2.00
10/7/63

Recd 2/16/65

A UV

JS 2-17-65 - pls send copies

MLL

PW

SW-file

Free New South

MECHANICS AND FARMERS BANK

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

February 15, 1965

Mr. Joe L. McMillin, C. L. U.
Director, Estate Planning Service
1111 Park Avenue
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. McMillin:

Thanks so much for your appraisal of the current issue of New South. Obviously you join many of us who realize that much of today's progress in Race Relations may be credited to the stout-hearted few who were pioneers many years ago.

Your request for 10 copies of New South is being sent to the Atlanta Office and will be processed promptly.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Wheeler

JHW/p

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

COPY

c h the

forgm

April 27, 1966

Franklin Square Agency, Inc.
545 Cedar Lane
Teaneck, New Jersey

Gentlemen:

We are in receipt of your orders No. MC0067 and MC0103 covering one year's subscription to NEW SOUTH at $2.00 per year. Our subscription price on NEW SOUTH has been raised to $3.00 per year, and while we will honor both of these orders at the price submitted we would appreciate all future orders being taken at the $3.00 price.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis
Executive Assistant

EL/km

Please send:

Jack Davis
Florida Council of Churches
100 Liberty St.
Orlando
32801

25 copies of

New South

875-9155

none to mail
see th 4-27-66

File New South

June 21, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Ed Lewis

Please ship the following amount of our newest promotional brochures on NEW SOUTH to the following state Councils:

AMOUNT	COUNCIL
1200	ALABAMA COUNCIL
700	ARKANSAS COUNCIL
2500	FLORIDA COUNCIL
2000	GEORGIA COUNCIL
500	MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL
2000	SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL
1200	TENNESSEE COUNCIL
3000	VIRGINIA COUNCIL

Labels are attached.

Sales
New South

July 13, 1966

Mr. Charles Feltus
Economic Opportunity Program, Inc.
395 N. W. First Street
Miami, Florida 33128

Dear Mickey:

This will serve as your invoice for NEW SOUTH.

Auburn is already receiving a paid subscription to the magazine, thereby saving you $3.00.

It was good to meet you.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

cc: Janet Smith

File New South Corresp.

July 25, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Emory Via

FROM: Ed Lewis

If you will please forward the additional 11 names for complimentary NEW SOUTH issues it will save both Janet Smith and Ruth Alexander considerable duplication of effort.

File New South

August 10, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Ed Lewis

Please add four subscriptions, total amount $12.00 to the funds, to be charged to the Labor program and credited to NEW SOUTH for four additional complimentary subscriptions.

EL/km

File New South Corresp.

August 10, 1966

Mrs. Samuel P. Goddard, Jr.
The Executive Mansion
Phoenix, Arizona 85012

Dear Mrs. Goddard:

Mr. Gordon Henderson has entered a subscription to our magazine, NEW SOUTH, for you and Governor Goddard.

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of our winter issue.

We are pleased to know that you are interested in our magazine.

Copy of Winter issue Mailed 8/10/66

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Mr. Gordon Henderson

August 10, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please enter a subscription to:

Mrs. Samuel P. Goddard, Jr.
Executive Mansion
Phoenix, Arizona

PA/km

August 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Enclosed is my personal check for three dollars for a year's subscription to New South for Governor Goddard and his wife. I should like the subscription entered in her name rather than his because at dinner the other night she took delight in her discovery of the magazine and had read the issue I gave her from cover to cover and also because her secretary is apt to think, without asking, that copies of New South that come to the house are just one more thing somebody is sending the Governor and route it down to the office mail clerk who in turn will turn it over to me to dispose of since he knows this sort of thing is in my department.

Also if you have it available would you send Mrs. G. a copy of the first issue, the one with Leslie's article in it. I mentioned it to her and I think she would very much like to see it. Perhaps I might also mention, finally, (put on your best administrator's hat for this part of the letter) that both Goddards are in their separate rights wealthy. A little brainwashing via New South may develop something. And then again maybe not.

Sincerely,

Gordon

Gordon G. Henderson

3rd ck - 8-8-66 rh

32 East Keim Drive
Phoenix, Arizona 85012

Samuel P

Goodard, Jr.

File
Anthony
New South

Janet Smith

November 28, 1966

300 12-19-66

Mr. J. Kenneth Morland
New Asia College
The Chinese University of Hong Kong
6, Farm Road, Kowloon
Hong Kong, China

Dear Ken:

Delighted to hear from you and delighted and envious to hear that you and the family are well settled and having an exciting experience. We will see that you get all materials, including the NEW SOUTH. There is no charge, although if you wish the subscription to NEW SOUTH is $3.00 a year. I wouldn't even raise this except that we are trying desperately to increase the paid circulation in order to prove the magazine's worth.

It was a pleasure seeing you at Stetson and meeting your wife and daughters there. I still occasionally have regrets that I didn't ask to keep that wonderful dog for the year!

Every good wish for a good year. And, come home ready to get back to work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 11/22/66

(2)

香港中文大學新亞書院

NEW ASIA COLLEGE

THE CHINESE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

6, FARM ROAD, KOWLOON

HONG KONG

CABLE ADDRESS: NASCOL

November 18, 1966.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
U. S. A.

Dear Paul:

Greetings from Hong Kong! My family and I are having an exciting experience here. It has been a struggle to find a place to live and to get it furnished. But we are well settled now, with our children in British schools and with my one class, in social anthropology, well underway. While this is a fascinating place, I miss knowing what is going on in the States, and would like to be put on the SRC mailing list. Things sent by surface mail take about a month and require little postage. Let me know what a year's "subscription" to NEW SOUTH and other publications is, and I'll send in my check.

Again, it was good being with you for a short time this summer. You were a wonderful asset to our program at Stetson, and we appreciate your willingness to participate.

All the best,

Sincerely,

Ken

J. Kenneth Morland

please set to MMJ

BY AIR MAIL

PAR AVION

AIR LETTER

AEROGRAMME

Mr. Paul Anthony

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 Forsyth Street, N. W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30303

U. S. A.

←Second fold here→

Sender's name and address:

J. Kenneth Morland

NEW ASIA COLLEGE

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

6 Farm Road, Kowloon,

Hong Kong

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

The Flying Goose Aerogramme Form

Form approved by Postmaster General

Hong Kong No. 7/52

←To open cut here

7/8/69

jw pr

mailing list

please add to all-purpose list

The Rev. James Noland
Greater Houston Council of Churches
9 Chelsea Place
Houston, Texas

Old Address:

John Lofton
1072 Osage Drive
Pittsburgh 35, Pa.

New Address:

John Lofton
151 Leland Avenue
Menlo Park. Cal.

Please change your records. We would like to continue hearing from you.

Sincerely,

John Lofton